

THE FORMATION OF THE MARĀTHĪ LANGUAGE

BY
JULES BLOCH

TRANSLATED BY
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MOTILAL BANARSIDASS
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FOREWORD

The present work had been published in French, under the title *La formation de la langue marathe*, in 1920, by Jules Bloch. It immediately got a great success and the edition was soon out of print. The Marāṭhī language had since long been described in several grammars. An elaborate dictionary of this language had been published at Bombay as early as in 1831 by J. T. Molesworth assisted by George and Thomas Candy. A second edition of the same, revised and enlarged by J. T. Molesworth, appeared in 1857. This work was very comprehensive and careful and till now remains authoritative. In the *Linguistic Survey of India*, the chapter dealing with the Marāṭhī language, prepared by Sten Konow, had been published in 1905. Much material for a comparative grammar of the Indo-Aryan languages of India had already been collected. But the work of Jules Bloch was the first systematical undertaking to coordinate all the data and to understand the evolution from Sanskrit through Prākṛit and Apabhraṃśa to Old-Marāṭhī and from the Old-Marāṭhī to the modern one.

Jules Bloch had been specially equipped to undertake such a task. After getting a general training in Indo-European linguistics with linguists like Antoine Meillet and indologists like Sylvain Levi, he had been appointed in 1908 as a member of *Ecole française d'Extrême-Orient*. In this capacity he studied in India both in the field of dravidology and in the field of Marāṭhī. Marāṭhī has been sometimes in the past considered as *drāviḍa*. That was wrong from the linguistic point of view, but, as Marāṭhī has developed in contact with neighbouring Telugu and Kānnāḍa, it has been influenced, at least in its vocabulary, by these Dravidian language. Jules Bloch conducted his studies in Tamil and dravidology for a fuller knowledge of Indian linguistics and not only in connexion with his Marāṭhī studies, but his double competence in Indo-Aryan and Dravidian languages, enabled him to properly place the Marāṭhī language in its whole environment.

The first one, *Indo-Aryan from the Vedas to modern times*, has been largely revised by Jules Bloch himself and translated by Dr. Alfred Master (Paris, Adrien Maisonneuve, 1965). The other one *The Grammatical Structure of Dravidian languages*, has been translated in English by Dr. Ramkrishna Ganesh Harshe and published by Dr. S. M. Katre for the Deccan College, Poona.

The need for the translation of the oldest one, i.e. on the formation of Marāṭhī, from French into English, was therefore greatly felt by Indian students who rarely have a proficiency in Western languages other than English. Dr. Dev Raj Chanana undertook the translation with full competence and devotion. He had just completed the task when his premature and sudden death snatched him from his family, his friends and the field of indology itself.

Thanks to our common friend Shambhu Datt Sharma, who kindly took care of the printing, the book is now at the disposal of the scholars.

Copies of the original text were very rare and wanted. Now, in the present English version, this historical work is available again just half a century after its first publication.

College de France,
Paris,

February 26, 1970.

JEAN FILLIOZAT

P R E F A C E

It is my very sad duty to write a few lines by way of a preface to this book. My husband, Dr. Dev Raj Chanana, who most painstakingly translated this book by Mr. Jules Bloch, passed away in May 1968, soon after finishing this work.

I am extremely grateful to Prof Jean Filliozat, Chaire de Langues et Litteratures de l' inde, College de France, Paris, my husband's guide and mentor, for writing the Foreword to the book. I have no words to thank Mr. Shambhu Datt Sharma, a research-student of Dr. Dev Raj Chanana, for his invaluable help in getting the book printed. My thanks are also due to Dr. Romila Thapar, Reader in History, University of Delhi Mrs. R. A. Menon, Reader in Economics, University of Delhi, and Dr. L. Rai for their valuable help at various stages.

My thanks also to Madame Bloch and Madame Caillat of France.

New Delhi,
April 12, 1970.

V. CHANANA

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ABBREVIATIONS

acc. accusative.
Adj. Adjective.
Adv. Adverb.
Amg. Ardha-Māgadhī.
Aor. Aorist.
Apa. Apabhraṃśa.
Ar. Arabic.
Arm. Ro. Armenian Romany.
Ass. Assamese.

B. Bengali.
B.B. *Bibliotheca Buddhica*, St. Petersburg.
BEFEO. *Bulletin de l'ecole Française d'Extrême Orient*.
Bih. Bihari.
Bhojp. Bhojpuri.
Bull. Soc. Ling. *Bulletin de la Société de Linguistique de Paris*.

Caus. Causative.
Comm. Commentary.
Comp. Compound.

D. Deśī.
dat. dative.
Deśī. Deśināmamālā.
Dhatup. Dhātupāṭha.
du. dual.
E.B. Eastern Bengali.
Eur. European.

f. feminine.
Fr. French.

G. Gujarati.
G.G.A. *Göttinger gelehrte Anzeigen*.
Ger. German.
Gr. Greek.

H. Hindi.
Hem. Hemacandra.

Inscr. Inscriptional.
instr. instrumental.
Ind. Ant. *Indian Antiquary*.
I.E. Indo-European.
I.F. *Indogermanische Forschungen*.
J.A. *Journal Asiatique*.
J.A.S. *Journal of the Asiatic Society*, Bombay.
J.A.O.S. *Journal of the American Oriental Society*.
J.BBAS. *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Asiatic Society*.
J.R.A.S. *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*.

K. Kashmiri.
Kan. Kannarese.
KZ. *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung*.

Lat. Latin.
loc. locative.
L.S.I. *Linguistic Survey of India*.

m. masculine.
M. Marāṭhī.
Māg. Māgadhī..
Mah. Mahārāṣṭrī.
Maith. Maithilī.
Mél. S. Lévi. *Mélanges S. Lévi*.
Mod. Modern.
M.S.I. *Mémoires de la Société de Linguistique de Paris*.
n. noun.
Nep. Nepalese.
O. Oriya.

P. Pali.

et. poetic.
on. pronoun.

aj. Rajasthani.
o. Romany.

Sindhi.
ur. Śaurasenī.
m. Simhalese.

ved. vedic.
vulg. vulgar.

W. Panj. Western Panjabi.

Z.D.M.G. *Zeitschrift der
Deutschen Morgenlandis-
chen Gesellschaft.*

INTRODUCTION

§ 1. Not one of the Indo-European languages, currently spoken in India, seems to go back to any language greatly different from Sanskrit, made known to us by the Vedic and Classical texts. To write the history of any one of them, Marathi for example, therefore amounts essentially to show as to how the alterations undergone, during the course of history, by the linguistic system of Sanskrit have resulted in the constitution of firstly the various dialects of the Middle Indian, and subsequently of this modern language itself.

In reality this design can be correctly and legitimately carried out only subject to important reservations. In the present state of available documentary evidence, none of the ancient Indo-European languages gives us a sure foot-hold for analysis. Even the most archaic Sanskrit texts have already got the traces of the mixture of important dialectal mixtures and subsequently the different speeches have always been subjected to the influence of Sanskrit, have reacted on one another and have, in their turn, contaminated Sanskrit itself. It is, therefore, but proper to examine first of all each of the known forms of Indo-Aryan and the value of documents representing them, in order to determine the extent to which the sources can be utilised for the study of Marathi.

§ 2. It has been often remarked that the chronological succession of the most ancient texts of Sanskrit corresponds to a progressive geographical extension of this language towards the East. It is but natural that in course of time one notices therein a considerable contribution made by new elements and dialectal mixtures; but the language of the R̥gveda, so similar to ancient Iranian, and spoken at the borders of the Iranian world, in a domain comparatively so limited, is likely to have represented a definite and pure dialect, capable of serving as a solid base for linguistic comparison. But no such possibility exists.

By isolating the most recent parts such as the tenth Maṇḍala, by taking note of various editings and correcting the various rejuvenations of the text, one does end up with a basically

unique language : but this language is traditional and composite (on all these points see Wachernagel, p. X-XXII). Or, to put it in better terms, the editors of the Ṛgveda, as we have it, have partially adapted to their own dialects various religious texts composed in another dialect. Meillet, in his article, 'Les consonnes intervocaliques en védique' (I. F., XXXI, p. 120 ff.) gives the following proofs in support of the above statement :

Firstly, the opening of the intervocalic aspirate sonant, constant in the Ṛgveda for the middle-occlusive **jh*, is also found therein for *bh*, *dh*, notably in grammatical forms (First person plural Middle *-mahe*, Second person singular imperative *-hi*, etc.): but often ancient *-bh* and *-dh* are preserved. This is so because the editors of the actual Ṛgveda have reintroduced in a large number of words the occlusion which had persisted in their dialects. They could not, however, touch the grammatical forms without seriously modifying the aspect of the religious language borrowed by them.

The distribution of *r* and *l* in Sanskrit is explained by a series of analogous adaptations. The dialect on which rests the Ṛgveda was a Western dialect, where as in Iranian every *l* got mixed up with *r*. Now the presence, in the most ancient parts of the available text, of words where *l* corresponds to an Indo-European *l* proves that the editors of this text have introduced therein several forms of their own dialects. It is in fact known that there has existed an Eastern dialect where *l* represented *r* or *l*. The number of adaptations increases in course of time, the vocabulary of Sanskrit and of Middle Indian confronts us on this point with inextricable confusion.

Finally the grammar of the Ṛgveda itself carries the traces of contamination; the arbitrary use of the terminations of instrumental *-ebhiḥ* and *-aiḥ* is explained by the conflict of two speeches, one tending to extend *-ebhiḥ* to adjectives, then to nouns, as will be done later by Middle Indian, the other tending to maintain and even extend the termination *-aiḥ*, as will be done by classical Sanskrit.

Vedic Sanskrit is, therefore, in its most authentic and most ancient form, a literary language and a common language. This is all the more reason why classical Sanskrit must show these characteristics and lack the unity.

§ 3. After the Ṛgveda, the other collections and notably the Atharvaveda, then the Brāhmaṇas, the Sūtras, Pāṇini, who opposes the *bhāṣā*, defined by him in an archaic *chandaḥ* (see S. Lévi, J. A., 1891, II, p. 549; M.S. L., XVI, p. 278-79), his commentators, who point out, consciously or otherwise, the progress of the language since Pāṇini, finally the Epics and the classical works mark the successive stages which appear to define the internal evolution of Sanskrit (see Wackernagel, pp. XXII ff, XI-IV ff.). Even by admitting that the ancient sacerdotal literature follows the autonomous development of the language,—and what we know of the Ṛgveda renders this hypothesis improbable—, we quickly reach an epoch where Sanskrit must have come into contact with and been subjected to the influence of other dialects whose existence had been recognised. A century after Pāṇini, Aśoka covers the entire country with inscriptions in Middle Indian. About 150 B. C., Patañjali in a famous passage, (quoted by Bhandarkar, JAS *Bombay*, XVI, p. 335) describes Sanskrit as the language of the cultivated Brahmins of the Āryāvarta : this amounts to saying that in India, it is already an exceptional language and that it would not have survived without the prestige due to its use by religion and by scholarship.

In profane usage,—epigraphy and literature—, Sanskrit appears later than linguistically younger dialects; leaving aside the Epics, whose early editing is not known and which besides in certain aspects, are attached to religious literature, the classical period of Sanskrit begins only in the first century of our era. At that moment Buddhism usurps the language of the Brahmins and employs the same for its propaganda. One of its masters, Aśvaghoṣa “embellishes” with literary forms the pious tales and dogmatic manuals: he writes dramas where Sanskrit has for neighbours the Prākritis already promoted to the rank of cultivated languages (see S. Lévi, JA, 1908, II, p. 57 ff). Several foreign kings having the courage to have their official documents written in Sanskrit (of which Aśoka undoubtedly had no idea : It is a Śaka, the *mahākṣatrapa* Rudradāman who first of all, in 150 A. D., has a long inscription in Sanskrit engraved at Girnar, as evidence of the talent claimed by him “of composing in prose and in verse different works satisfying all the conditions of rhetorics” (see S. Lévi, JA, 1902, I, p. 109, 111, 119). Henceforward completely desecularised, Sanskrit serves, right upto

our days, as the literary and scientific language, and as a means of communication between the cultured persons of all the parts of India. Like the usual Latin during the period when Roman languages were already in existence, classical Sanskrit shows two opposite characteristics, which get accentuated in the course of time. Firstly, from the very moment of its fixation it is a fundamentally archaic speech : it has preserved the occlusion of intervocalic consonants and has restored *ḍ* and *ḍh* in place of *ḷ* and *ḷh* of Vedic and Middle Indian, it has preserved several forms already out of common usage, such as the dual number, the middle voice, the Perfect and has inversely eliminated other forms whose survival is attested by the Middle Indian and modern languages (see Wackernagel, p. XXX ff.). But at the same time Sanskrit could not have failed to be subject to influences coming from all sides; the vocabulary in particular, had to be impregnated with borrowed elements, with more or less adaptation, from different Aryan or non-Aryan speeches of India and even from languages foreign to India (see Wackernagel, p. LI ff).

As a consequence during no period can the Sanskrit documents be considered as exactly reflecting the contemporary linguistic state of affairs; and even the difference of aspect presented, periodwise, by Sanskrit, "is not the difference we find between the various phases of a naturally developing popular language"—(Wackernagel, p. XXIII).

§ 4. One can see, therefore, the difficulties and the traps to be encountered in the linguistic interpretation of Sanskrit texts. Will the Middle Indian, which we have seen to appear from a very early date beside these texts, offer us documents, surer and more capable of being put to better use?—Given their abundance and variety, one could suppose so.

From the middle of the 3rd cent. B. C., Aśoka gets engraved, from the North-West upto Bengal, from the Terai upto Mysore, numerous edicts which are the first known documents of Middle Indian. There is no doubt that the original texts of these edicts had been written in a dialect of Magadha, where the capital of Aśoka had been situated. But the variations presented by these inscriptions are numerous, and if one can not, quite often, attribute them to the errors of the copyists, they can not be easily explained by the existence of clearly

separated dialects. We have been led to consider (see O. Franke, *Pali und Sanskrit*, p. 109; T. Michelson, *Am. J. Phil.*, XXX, p. 284; JAOS, XXX, p. 78) that the original text of these edicts, preserved, with a few variants, in the Eastern inscriptions, had been translated by the administrators of the North-West and of the South in local speech, but with a certain number of eastern forms being able to slip into these adaptations. Can these insertions or adaptations be, however, sufficiently explained by the mere presence of the eastern model before the eyes of the translator? It is not improbable that often the scribes had believed themselves to be able to use the words of the eastern model because such words were not completely alien to their speech, or atleast to the official language of their region. Undoubtedly the religious prestige of Buddhism and the political prestige, already going back to several generations of the Mauryan Dynasty had enabled the language of the Magadha to extend itself over the entire North of India, atleast among the cultured sections of the population and in so far as a part of the vocabulary was concerned (*cf.* Lüders, *Bruchstücke*, p. 40).

But did the original itself not represent the language then current in Magadha? Here is, on one side, an indisputably Magadhan text, the inscription of Śutanukā at Ramgarh, which palaeographically is contemporary of Aśoka. Found therein is only the palatal sifflant, lacking in the eastern versions of Aśoka (see Lüders, *ibid.*, p. 41). On the other hand the undoubtedly textual citation of Buddhist texts incorporated by Aśoka in the Bhabra edict offers us an example of a Magadhan dialect, already admitting the sonorisation of intervocalic occlusive words (see S. Lèvi, JA, 1912, II, 495 ff., for similar facts in other inscriptions, see Senart, *Inscriptions de Piyadassi*, II, p. 427). What is then the relationship between these three forms of language?

If only the inscription of Śutanukā were in question, it could be supposed that the language of Aśoka represents a dialect of Magadha, which already admitted a dental *s* like the central dialects; that is why Lüders brings it beside the Ardhamāgadhī of the dramas. But the Buddhist citation would seem also to prove that the language of the Imperial chancellory was already

tending to be archaic, something which is not surprising, less in India than elsewhere.

Therefore, even when the readings are sure and the meanings well established, none of the inscriptions of Aśoka furnishes us with a direct document concerning some definite dialect of India in the 3rd century B. C. An extremely careful analysis has, however, enabled us to bring out some probable indications concerning the distribution of certain traits. In the eastern group, "there is no cerebral η nor a palatal $\tilde{\eta}$, the initial y is elided, l replaces r , the masculine nominative, and ordinarily the neuter is in $-e$, the locative in $-asi$; the other [group] distinguishes the cerebral η from the palatal $\tilde{\eta}$, preserves the initial y and r , has the nominative singular of masculines in $-a$, the locative in $-amhi$ or in $-e$ " (Senart, op. cit.

II, p. 431). Moreover, the inscriptions of the West preserve the consonantal groups that are assimilated by Gangetic India. Skr. r is normally represented in the North-West by ir , ur , at Girnar by a , in the east by a or i ; r +dental gives a dental in the west, a cerebral in the east, $k\varsigma$ becomes ch in the west and kh in the east. Finally the final $-ā$ becomes short, $-tiy-$, $-dhiy-$ get simplified in $-ty-$, $-dhy-$ in the eastern-most inscriptions (see on all these points, T. Michelson, I.F., XXIII, p. 219-71; *Am. J. Phil.*, XXX, p. 284 ff, 416 ff; XXXI, p. 55 ff.; JAOS, XXX, p. 77 ff., XXXI, p. 223 ff.).

These indications are precious and will be utilised further; but it should be, above all, borne in mind that before the Christian era, linguistic influences from Magadha have been active upto the west of India, these being measureable with difficulty but undoubtedly quite profound. It is possible that these influences ceased to be active less than a century after Aśoka : but the long pre-eminence of Magadha is certain; and nothing prevents us from accepting the evidence of the inscriptions of Delhi, which have i for r and n for η (see Senart, *ibid*, II, p. 373, cf. II, p. 434). We know from Patañjali that the forms like *vaṭṭati* and *vaḍḍhati*, which were only Magadhisms during the time of Aśoka, had shortly thereafter penetrated in the usual language of Central India.

§ 5. Right upto the time when Sanskrit becomes the only language for epigraphy, that is to say in Northern and Central India towards 350 A. D. (Fleet, JRAS, 1904, p. 485)

there is a large number of inscriptions in Middle Indian, one after the other. New ones are still being found, but the data drawn by linguistics from the same is obscure and fragmentary. As a whole, despite the extremely vast space and the four or five centuries on which they are spread, these inscriptions present a remarkably uniform aspect (see Senart, *ibid*, II, p. 493); and still, if examined in detail, the phenomena therein are extremely disparate and the dialectal variations appear to be numerous : but for each series of facts the distribution varies (see O. Franke, *op. cit.*, ch. VIII, notably p. 126). It happens often that in entirely neighbouring contemporary inscriptions the phonetic and even morphological characteristics get inextricably mixed up. In certain cases a possible explanation can be found : it is possible that in the Deccan inscriptions the more or less of Sanskrit influence corresponds to the more or less social level of those who had them engraved (see J. Bloch, *Mélanges S. Lévi*, p. 14; cf. Bhandarkar, *JAS Bombay*, XVI, p. 341 and note). But what to say, for example, of the neighbouring donations on the stūpas of Bharhut and Sanchi? The genitive of the word denoting the Buddhist nun, Skr. *bhikṣuṇī* is at Bharhut (see Hultzsch, *ZDMG*, XL, p. 60 ff.) sometimes *bhichuniya* (Nos. 27, 31, 101), sometimes *bhikhuniyā* (No. 29, 75, 81), sometimes *bhichuniye* (Nos. 65, 120, 121), and once *bhikhuniyi* (No. 103). At Sanchi (edn. of Bühler, E. I., II, p. 97 ff., p. 370 ff) are found for the same word the forms *bhikhuniyā* (I, 6, 199, 315, 332), *bhikhuniya* (I, 244, 286, 304, 350; II, 8, 9, 11, 40, 42, 43, 70, 76), *bhikhunaya* (II, 54); *bhichuniyā* (I, 28, 100, 186, 224, 283, 337, 343, 351; II, 29, 47); *bhichuniya* (I, 37, 52, 126, 227, 326, 355; II, 48), *bhichunayā* (I, 119, 353), *bhichuniyā* (I, 253), *bhichanaya* (I, 252); *bhichuniye* (I, 38, 78, 101, 105, 110, 158, 180, 183, 192, 214, 293, 316, 329, 341). Some of these forms are probably mistakes : but nothing permits us to find out the reason for the distribution of *ch* and *kh*, or of the genitive in *-iyā* and in *-iye*; the origin of the donors clarifies nothing: in the inscriptions due to the donors from Besnagar and Nandinagar as in those of the donors from Ujjain, the two terminations are found (however at Kurara-Kuraghara, one does not come across the termination in *-a*,) ; and Skr. *kṣ* is represented in two different forms in two absolutely neighbouring inscriptions and coming in all probability from the same person (*sami-*

yā bhikhuniya dānaṃ; sāmikāya bhichuniyā dānaṃ); Sanchi I, p. 50-51).

The inscriptional documents, therefore, do not yield for linguistics, anything except extremely uncertain informations. In certain cases one could undoubtedly interpret them with the aid of what is known from elsewhere, for example by utilising the Prākṛit of the dramas, as has already been attempted by scholars (*Bruchstücke*, p. 40 ff.); but for the moment one can not go far in this direction.

§ 6. After the inscriptions, now let us examine the texts. The oldest or at least those whose language is the most archaic, are those of the Buddhist Canon preserved in Ceylon. That the language of these texts—is appropriately called *Pāli*—is of continental origin, something of which no one has any doubt. But to which part of India, to which period of India, does it attach itself? Ignorance on these points is more or less complete. According to the Ceylonese tradition, the definitive editing of the Canon dates from the Council called by the king Duṭṭhamaṇī towards 80 B. C.; this provides the lowest date for the latest pieces of the Canon. As regards the language, the books themselves call it Māgadhī. Now all that is known to us about Māgadhī through inscriptions or literature goes against this date. Undoubtedly it goes back to the primitive text, which is cited by Aśoka and not to the translation available to us.

We are, therefore, obliged to have recourse to historical induction for determining the place of origin of Pāli : this is a process which rarely leads, at least in India, to firm and sure conclusions. On one side Oldenberg (*Vinayapiṭakam*, introduction, p. LIV) brings Pāli from Orissa; basing himself for his conclusion on the resemblances shown by this language with the inscription of Khāravela at Udayagiri,—resemblance confirmed by the aspect of certain Ceylonese inscriptions according to E. Müller (*Pāli Grammar*, preface, p. X). But the two dialects are far from being identical ; and the absence of the labial nasal, among other traits, clearly separates the dialect of Khāravela from Pāli.

The most generally admitted and the most probable hypothesis locates Pāli more to the west, not far from the large centres of pilgrimage denoted by the most ancient stūpas of Bharhut and Sanchi, more particularly in the Malwa. In

the first place, is adduced the argument of the linguistic relationship of the inscriptions of this region with Pāli. We are also reminded of the fact that the capital of Malwa, Ujjain, had been the residence of Aśoka, then of his son, Mahinda, when they had been the Princes. According to tradition the mother of Mahinda had also been born at Ujjain and that Mahinda had passed his childhood there; now we know that the introduction of Buddhism in Ceylon is attributed to the same Mahinda (see notably O. Franke, *Pāli und Sanskrit*, p. 138-9). If the relationship between Ceylonese and the western speeches had been definitively established (see *infra*, § 18) one could very well think of an immigration bringing from the same region a living dialect destined to evolve on the spot and of books written in an already fixed religious language.

In any case, Pāli can not be considered as a purely western dialect; the passage of the occlusive group $\div v$ or $v \div$ to bb takes it at least to the central Plateau (see § 17). That is not all. Pāli is not homogenous; there are at least seven centuries between the *gāthās* of the Jātakas and their prose-commentary (see Foucher, *Mélanges S. Lévi*, p. 235, 245-47); consequently we need not be surprised to find in Pāli the traces of the most diverse influences from the Magadhisms (see Windisch, *Congrès des Orient à Alger*, I, p. 280 ff.) right upto the loan-words from Ceylonese (see E. Müller, *Pāli Grammar*, p. X-XI).

Of uncertain origin and heterogeneous in essence, Pāli cannot, therefore, but be provisionally considered as a linguistic type representing an ancient form of literary Middle Indian and marking a stage in the general evolution of the Indo-Aryan.

§ 7. If Pāli had been surely a central or western dialect succeeding an eastern dialect in the reduction of the Buddhist Canon, its history in its turn would clear the history of another religious dialect, that of the Jains.

The texts of the Jaina Canon are said to have been edited in Ardha-Māgadhī or "semi-Magadhian." This dialect, also used in the Buddhist and Classical dramas, appears to be more western not only than Māgadhī properly speaking, as it has an *s* and not *ś*, but also more western than the dialect of Aśoka himself, as it has *r* and not *ḷ*; the nominative singular of the masculine nouns is as in Māgadhī, in *-e*. But later on the centre of Jainism, as is known, had been shifted to the Deccan and to

Gujarat; from then on the dialect changes in aspect; the forms in -o insinuate themselves in the oldest poetic texts; in course of time the language becomes more and more western and gets increasingly mixed with Māhārāṣṭrī.

S 8. Pali is, however, not the only Middle Indian dialect of Buddhism. In the neighbourhood of Khotan have been found several fragments of the Dhammapada written before the end of the 2nd century A. D., in a dialect not known before (edn. of Senart J.A, 1898, II, p. 193 ff.). In these dialects the intervocalic consonants had not uniformly lost their occlusion; but the final vowels had been shortened to the point where -e and -o become most frequently -i and -u. This last characteristic gives to the dialect a more recent aspect than the classical Prākṛits, whereas by the partial preservation of the intervocalic consonants it appears as the most archaic. In any case, on both the points it is in accordance with the general development of the literary Prākṛits. But the treatment of consonants following a nasal is altogether unique in this dialect; thereby it separates itself from the remaining varieties of Middle Indian. Thereby also—a unique case in the Buddhist literature—, it enables us to locate it with precision : the speeches of the western Panjab and of the Himalayan North-West even today present the same characteristics (see J. Bloch, JA, 1912, I, p. 331 ff.).

Certain Buddhist texts, notably the *Mahāvastu* and the *Lalitavistara* are written in a strange dialect, or seem to be arbitrarily mixing up Sanskrit, Pali and Prākṛit. Are to be found therein, for example side by side forms like *abravi* and *abravit*, nominative plurals in neuter in -ā and -āni, etc (see Senart, *Mahāvastu*, I, p. XII-XIII). The study of the syntax has enabled us to recognise therein several strata respectively characterised by the verbal and the nominal phrase (see Oldenberg, GGA, 1912, p. 123 ff.). On the other hand criticism has often enabled us to guess the Middle Indian form of the incorrect forms of Sanskrit in which it abounds (see Wackernagel, p. XXXIX; lastly Kern, IF, XXXI, p. 194 ff.). But to find in their origin only the ignorance of the maladroit adapters is to render more difficult the explanation of the relationship of the different and voluminous texts, and to forget the mastery with which Buddhism had known to handle Sanskrit. Besides, the Middle Indian

observed in this incorrect Sankrit is as yet of an un-determined type.

It is, therefore, in every way impossible to recognise the linguistic reality corresponding to these texts. Comparative grammar can help in the philological interpretation of these texts, without however being able to make any use thereof.

These are, therefore, the only documents available to us before the flowering of the classical Prākṛit. On a future date one will be, undoubtedly, able to get help from a profane dialect utilised in Central Asia. All that is known, for the moment, amounts to the fact that the language of the tablets brought from Niya by Stein is not related to the group to which belong the leaves of Dutreuil de Rhins (comm. of M. Senart, JA, 1912, I, p. 411).

§ 9. With the drama and lyrical poetry appear in literature new dialects, to which the grammarians have attributed the name of Prākṛit. A certain number from among them bear the name of the country. Thus in the enumeration of Bharata (XVII, 48) :

*māgadhyavantijā prācyā sūryasenyardhamāgadhi
bāhlikā dākṣiṇātyā ca sapta bhāṣāḥ prakīrtitāḥ,*

six out of seven are geographically determinable and three out of these four (Māgadhi, Śaurasenī, Mahārāṣṭri) are mentioned by Vararuci. Later on Daṇḍin adds to these three Lāṭī "and other similar ones" (*Kāvya-darśa*, I, 35). Should one, therefore, rely on the texts or on grammars as authentic documents concerning the speech of Magadha, Mathura, the Deccan or of Gujarata ?

But we hope in vain. First of all, these geographical names co-exist with names of an altogether different nature. Already that of Ardha-māgadhi, "semi-Magadhan", given by Bharata, is not clear. Later on Vararuci situates the Paisāci on the same level as the three great Prākṛits with a geographical name. Now despite the attempts made in this direction, it is impossible to recognise in this name that of a definite people, and with stronger reason that of a civilised national group as are the three others (see Lacôte, *Essai sur Guṇāḍhya et la Bṛhat-kathā*, p. 47 ff.). In reality the names borne by the Prākṛits are due to the circumstances of their entry in literature. The names of local appartenance are, atleast in the ancient epoch, those

of the groups of actors, of bards or of singers. The name of Paisācī is to be probably explained by a detail of the Guṇādhya legend, or of his work (see S. Lévi, *Théâtre indien*, p. 330-32; Lacôte, op. cit.): Ardha-māgadhī, regardless of its origin, looks to be a mixture during a period, when notwithstanding the progress of grammar, we had been far from having discovered that the lines of isoglosses only rarely coincide among themselves (see the quotation of Abhayadeva in Pischel, S 17). Naturally, the more numerous the Prākṛits become, the more acute becomes the confusion of classification. No principle could enable one to clearly demarcate the works of diverse origins, as the traditional method had not been based on any definite principle.

If the grammarians have admitted these incoherences in the denomination of Prākṛits, it is because they did not see spoken languages in them. It is not in vain that they find its source *truly* in Sanskrit, that is to say in a literary and traditional language or that they put in opposition to the Prākṛit vocabulary, the *śloka*, that is to say the words used by the writers, but nevertheless according to the rules of Prākṛit grammar and unknown to Sanskrit dictionaries (see Bühler, B.B., IV, p. 76 ff.).

§ 19. The real relationship between the Prākṛits and the spoken languages gets admirably clarified by a comparison of the modern literary languages of Hindustan. Sometimes they are the speeches fixed during an ancient period and with each of them serving special cycles of legends or of special literary genres. The language of Braj is used for the cycle of Kṛṣṇa, that of Bundelkhand for that of Ālhā-Ūdal, that of Avadha for that of Rāma and generally speaking for the Epic—(S 19). But these languages can not remain pure, when the poets do not belong to the region, whose dialect they borrow or when they sing for people who do not know that dialect. One may expect mere borrowings, adaptations and also false adaptations, exaggerating, if one could say so, the traits of the original dialect. The dialect of Braj for example, had invaded Bengal following the renaissance of Vaishnavism: the name of *brajaboli* denotes in such cases something new. "It is", says D. C. Sen (*History of Bengali Language and Literature*, p. 337), "a type of Hindi prevalent at Darbhanga. This mixture of Hindi and Bengali is due to the Vaishnava writers' predilection for the dialect of

Vrindāvan [where many of them had lived, see *ibid.*, p. 599]. They adopted it also for imitating Vidyāpati, the great master of lyrical poetry, who wrote in the language of Mithilā.” At another place the same author adds that in their efforts for propogating their faith all over India, the Vaishnavas came into contact with the different races of India speaking different languages. Hindi had already become the *lingua franca* of the entire country, united under the sovereign power of the Muslim emperor of Delhi....The Vaishnavas adopted a large number of Hindi words in their works to make them intellegible throughout India.” (*ibid.*, p. 599-600). Let us note, finally, without however accepting completely, the affirmation: “The brajaboli is not the spoken dialect of any province and yet it is not an artificial dialect” (*ibid.*, p. 546).

Other types of the formation of literary languages are furnished by Urdu and Hindi, generally known as Hindustani; to bring out this point it will suffice to borrow the terms used by Grierson for describing them in *The Languages of India*, S 202, 205.

Hindustani, he says, was firstly the speech of the Upper Gangetic Doab; its purest form is that of the neighbourhood of and north of Meerut. This dialect, at the cost of some adaptations of the vocabulary, has become the spoken language of India, chiefly of the entire North India. Even the name of this language is of European make. As the common language, Hindustani was born in the bazar attached to the Delhi Court (*Urdū*) and was carried all over India by the lieutenants of the Mughal empire. It has been alive since then. It has several recognised varieties, particularly Urdu and Hindi.

Urdu is that form of Hindustani which is written in the Arabic alphabet and which liberally employs Persian and consequently Arabian vocabulary. It is spoken chiefly in the towns of western India, and by the Muslims and Hindus, who have been subjected to Persian influence. Persian words are found everywhere in Hindustani, even in the rustic dialects, but in literary Urdu the use of Persian words is carried to an almost unbelievable degree. In writings of this type are to be found entire phrases where only the grammar is Indian, and where the words are Persian from beginning to end. There is, however, a curious fact, and noted rightly by Charles Lyall,

that this Persianisation of Hindustani is not the work of conquerors, ignorant of the popular languages. It has on the contrary, been the result of the efforts of the Hindu, ever busy to assimilate the language of his masters. It is the work of the Persian-knowing Kayasthas and of the Khatriis employed by the administration.

Hindi is the language of literary prose for those Hindus who do not use Urdu. It is modern in origin and owes its creation to English influence in the beginning of the last century. Upto that time, when a Hindu wrote prose and did not use Urdu, he wrote in local speech : Avadhī, Bundelī, Braja Bhākhā, etc. Under the inspiration of Gilchrist, Lalluji Lal, by writing his celebrated *Prem Sagar*, changed all this. The prose-parts of this work were in short in Urdu, with Persian words replaced everywhere by Indo-Aryan words. This experiment was a great success : the new dialect gave a "lingua franca" to the Hindus. It enabled peoples of different provinces to talk together without having recourse to the vocabulary, for them imposed, of the Muslims. It was easily intelligible everywhere because its grammar was of the language which every Hindu used in his official relations with administrators, and its vocabulary was the common property of all the Indo-Aryan languages of Northern India. Moreover, except the commentaries and similar works, upto that time very little prose had been written in Indo-Aryan languages. Naturally the language of *Prem Sagar* became the model of Hindu prose throughout Hindustan, from the Bengal to the Panjab. From the time of Lalluji Lal, Hindi has adopted certain rules of style which differentiate it from Urdu. The chief ones concern the order of words which is much more fixed here. Moreover, the vocabulary of Hindi has, since some little while, been under the attack of Sanskrit. In this way Hindi runs the risk of changing as much as Bengali, without having the same excuse. Because the Hindi of the peasant has its own vocabulary, so rich that nine-tenths of the Sanskrit words encountered in modern Hindi are as useless as they are unintellegible; but Sanskrit vocabulary seems to add to the dignity of style.

S 11. Religious influences, official influences, the prestige of a learned language, the rôle of a literary work serving as the prototype, these are the many traits which might have characterised the birth of ancient literary languages as that of the

modern ones. Moreover, let us suppose that the modern dialects fixed or adapted remained tied to the culture of a literary genre, and a moment will come when Brajaboli, Urdu or Hindi will require, for being understood, as much of study as Sanskrit. It will be necessary to prepare their grammars, wherefrom will result, on the other side the biggest normalisation of each of these dialects. That the Prākrits demand in fact some special education, is attested by the passage of the anthology of 1. āla, rightly pointed out by Senart (*Inscriptions de Piyadasi*, II, p. 497), where people "not able to read nor listen to the ambrosia of Prākrit poems" are put to shame.

It will, therefore, be in vain to demand from the Prākrits direct documents concerning the spoken languages in the various regions of India in the classical epoch. From the moment they started writing in Prākrit, the authors were prisoners of the literary and grammatical tradition; and during nine or ten centuries Prākrit has undergone only insignificant changes. The vocabulary has been enriched, but we can not rely even on the loan-words. The usage of regular substitutions (see Meillet, *De la méthode dans les Sciences*, II, p. 301), which has increased the Sanskrit vocabulary, enabled in its turn the admission of Sanskrit words as also of vulgar ones. It also undoubtedly hides the frequent mixtures among the Prākrits themselves, so that the evidence of the Prākrits, suspect because of their origin, becomes all the more so with the increase in the number of documents.

§ 12. Can we then say that the written tradition is of no use and should we renounce it to take into account any modern language because we can learn of their ancient forms? This conclusion would be necessary if Linguistics, above all, were to be the history of vocabulary. To follow the isolated words in their development and in their migration is, in fact, a task possible only in those countries, where the general history of language being known, the study of the minute details of philosophy and dialectology enable us to rigorously delimit the area of use and the epoch of the vitality of different words or of their different forms. But it is a question of, as here, establishing the general history itself of a language, vocabulary is but an instrument; in the words are considered not the words themselves.

but the action of the phonetic laws and the use of grammatical forms.

Hereafter, it matters little whether the real aspect of the language has been falsified by the application, in literature, of the principle of regular substitutions. These substitutions reveal to the historian the normal phonetic state of the dialect as imposed on the writers by tradition. This tradition having in short, fixed a real dialect at a given moment of its development, the literature furnishes us with indirect but as a whole certain evidence concerning each of the principal dialects at the moment when it had been fixed. On the other hand, are found several phenomena which go against the general laws determined in this way in each dialect. These divergences are precious and they reveal facts posterior to the fixation of the dialect and which literature has been unable to entirely ignore.

We can, therefore, reconstruct in its totality the history of principal facts making use of the texts available to us. It should, however, be understood that this history will appear to be simpler than it has been in reality. To take an example, the sonorisation of intervocals was not produced everywhere simultaneously. A chance quotation enables us to assure that it was acquired by Māgadhī during Aśoka's time. In Śaurasenī also, the form of the name of the town, *Madhurā* for *Mathurā*, given a century later by Patañjali (*Madhurāpāñcālāḥ*, I, 2, 51, V, 5 quoted by Wackernagel, S 103) shows that the alteration is old; but in the Deccan it is only in the first century that it is noted by the *Periplus* and the inscriptions. Similarly it has been observed that the dialect of the Dutreuil de Rhins MSS is at some places more archaic and at other more recent than classical Prākṛit.

S 13. Irrespective of these chronological differences we can, therefore, recognise the history of essential phenomena by following them across the different series of texts.

Among the phonemes, the system of vowels has, very early, assumed the aspect it presents till today. Sanskrit had inherited *a*, *i*, *u*, short and long which have subsisted without any change during all the periods of the Indo-Aryan. The Indo-Iranian diphthongs, on the contrary, have been simplified. Those whose first element had been short, **ai* and **au*, became long *e* and *o* during the Vedic period; those whose premier element

had been long, * *āi* and * *āu*, became, during the same period, *ai* and *au*; but in this new form they were not stable and became in their turn *e* and *o* like the former ones during the most ancient period of Prākṛit (see Meillet, *Mélanges S. Lévi*, p. 30). During the same period the groups *-aya*, *-ava* became simplified as *-e* and *-o*.

Moreover Sanskrit possessed two sonant vowels *ḷ* and *ṛ*. The first has never had more than an extremely limited existence even in Sanskrit : long *ṛ* plays therein a purely morphological rôle. As regards *ṛ*, it does not take long to get mixed up with *a*, *i* or *u* (cf. § 31). The R̥gveda already presents us with examples of this alteration inside words where *ṛ* was not kept due to the sentiment of morphological gradation (see Meillet, "Sur l'étymologie de l'adjectif védique *ninyah*", *Mélanges Kern*, p. 121-22) and in certain terminations (see Meillet, "La finale *-uḥ* de Skr. *pituh*, *vidhuh*, etc.," *Mélanges S. Lévi*, p. 1 ff. chiefly p. 20). The oldest Prākṛit, therefore, possessed short and long *a*, *i*, *u*, normally long *e* and *o* (shortened before double consonants, like all long vowels, see Müller, *Paii Gram*, p. 13 ff.; Pischel, § 83-84). It has preserved these elements without any other modification except those depending on their place in the word ; particularly the weakness of final vowels, which has provoked their disappearance in modern times, has already left its traces in the oldest texts of Middle Indian.

§ 14. The history of consonants is more complicated, but the chief traits are equally clear. The articulatory system of the occlusives has remained considerably identical during all the epochs : it has in all its series (labial, dental, cerebral, palatal, guttural) a non-aspirate surd and a sonant and an aspirate surd and a sonant, the only changes that have taken place depend on the place occupied by the occlusives in different words.

Only the initial occlusives have remained. Others have undergone more or less serious changes.

The final consonants have, all of them, disappeared in Middle-Indian. The principle of the loss goes back to the pre-historic epoch (see Meillet, *Introduction*, p. 109-111). In Sanskrit the final consonants had been implosives (see Wackernagel, I, § 260) and it is known that the occlusion of the sifflants and of final *m* had already become extremely reduced

From the oldest period of the Middle-Indian all the words, therefore, ended in a vowel, this vowel being nasalised in cases where the lost consonant had been a nasal (see Pischel, S 348, 350).

All the intervocalic consonants have lost more or less a large part of their occlusion. We have seen in S 2 that in the case of aspirated sonants, this loss of occlusion was on one hand prehistoric and consequently *h* even in Sanskrit had often to be considered as a phoneme of real Prakritic nature. The intervocalic occlusive surds have resisted longer, undoubtedly because in India they could not be subject to the easier alteration, namely that of the occlusive into a corresponding spirant (see Maillet, 'Des consonnes intervocaliques en védique', I F, XXXI, p. 120-21); but between the 3rd century B. C. and the 1st century A.D., they have, all of them, become sonants. At the end of this period, Middle Indian had at the intervocalic position only the sonant occlusives (except the geminated ones) simultaneously representing the ancient surds and sonants. It did not take long for these sonants to get transformed into sonants, with the exception of *ḍ* and *ḍh*. Moreover this exception is probably in mere appearance, if one is to judge by the Vedic *ḷ* and *ḷh* (see Meillet, *ibid.*, p. 122) and by the modern pronunciation of intervocalic *ḍ* and *ḍh*. In the other categories of occlusives, all the aspirates are definitively reduced to *h* (*bh* survives longest, see Vararuci, II, 24-26); *b* becomes *ɓ* (possibly already in old days, see Wackernagel, p. XL VIII, a propos of *ḷ* and *ḷh*, found in the *Rāmāyaṇa*), and *d*, *j*, *g* become *y*. Finally *ṣ* thus obtained disappears from the signs of classical Prākṛit, save in the Jaina MSS. (see Pischel, S 187), and in fact gets lost, influencing or not, according to the cases, the timbre of the neighbouring vowels.

The groups of consonants appear, from a very early date, to have been difficult to pronounce. In certain cases, the assimilation is prehistoric and the oldest Sanskrit already offers the geminated consonants (see Wackernagel, S 97 a a). Among the groups maintained in Sanskrit, those having *r* accept the insertion of a vowel from the oldest epoch (see Wackernagel, S 49-51); and Patañjali, in the 2nd cent. B. C., cites as usual the form *supatī-* for *supti-*. The most frequent tendency is that of simplifying the articulation : in the

3rd cent. B. C., Kātyāyana notes the form *āṇapayati* for *ājñā-*, and in the next century Patañjali gives *vaṭṭati*, *vaddhati* for *vart-*, *vardh-* as current. In fact in the Aśokan inscriptions all the groups are unified except *st-*, *ṣṭ* and consonant *-r* which survive at Girnar and in the North-West, that is to say in the regions where these groups have been maintained in the spoken languages upto modern times. In Buddhist Prākṛit and in the document of the beginning of the Christian Era (see J. Bloch, *Mél. S. Lévi*, p. 10-15) assimilation is general and the classical Prākṛits have in the interior of the word, only the geminated occlusives.

§ 15. Such is, in its totality, the history of the occlusives. That of the continuents is less uniform; yet the sonants have undergone, in the intervocalic position, changes similar to those of the occlusives; *y* has taken in the initial position a particular occlusion and has got mixed with *j* between the 1st cent. (see Lūders, *Bruchstücke*, p. 48, 60), and the classical epoch. Thereby the opposition of the initial and of the intervocalic has been re-established¹; *m* kept in the initial position, has become the nasal *v* in the intervocalic position (see Pischel, § 251).

The cerebral nasal and the dental, become cerebral on the one hand and on the other *l*, have remained in classical Prākṛit; but the later history of these phenomena reveals similar changes (see *infra*). Only *r* and *v* remain unaltered during all the periods.

As regards the sifflants, they are everywhere jumbled into a unique one. The ancient inscriptional Prākṛit still distinguishes them, but the unification is effected in Pali and in all the extant Prākṛits of the Buddhist period, except one, which is the eastern-most of all : it is the Dhakkī which still distinguishes *ś* of Skr. *ś* from *ṣ* of Skr. *ṣ* and *ṣ* (Pischel, § 228). In Prākṛit the sifflant is everywhere dental, except in Māgadhī where it is palatal, it will be seen that the aspect of Prākṛit is reproduced by modern Indo-Aryan : everywhere, except in the Himalayan North-West and in the Romany

1. In Māgadhī the confusion seems to have occurred in the inverse sense, and *y* represents an old *j* as also *y* (Pischel, § 252, cf. § 236) Probably this is but an orthographic tradition.

languages of Europe (where $\acute{s} < \text{Skr. } \S, \acute{S}; S < \text{Skr. } S$; see Grierson, *Pisāca Language*, p. 21-22; Miklosich, IX, p. 39); on principle there is only one sifflant and this is s , except in Bengali and Oriya where it is \acute{s} (see Grierson, *Phon.*, p. 18-19).

§ 16. The history of grammatical forms can be reconstructed less easily. However, already the sacerdotal literature of Sanskrit furnishes through its irregularities and incoherences a number of precious documents (see Wackernagel, p. XIV, XXII ff.). Adding classical Sanskrit to the same, one can follow from close enough the progressive dislocation of the hereditary verbal system and the examination of Prākṛit only confirms the certitudes already acquired. The declension has been, on the contrary, fixed in Sanskrit in an archaic form. But the inscriptional and literary Prākṛits show the evolution whereby the ancient forms disappear and render necessary the creation of new forms (for details of these facts see *infra*).

§ 17. Such is in its totality the history of Indo-Aryan in the period preceding that of Marathi. But here a difficulty crops up : can we join the history of Marathi to that of the Middle Indian thus defined ? Marathi is far from being the only modern Indo-Aryan language; now to render an account of the formation of Marathi does not mean merely noting from the documents the changes in the hereditary linguistic system which have made possible the constitution of this language. It also amounts to showing and if possible, explaining its relationship with the neighbouring related languages. The question is : since when have come into being the characteristics which differentiate it from those other forms of the same ancient language ? In other terms does the separation, which has given rise to the formation of modern languages, go back to the remote past and is the Middle Indian, with its general curve defined above, a fiction without any relationship with reality, or should we take into consideration the totality of modern languages as being based on a common language attested by Middle Indian ? If the two theses have their part of truth, how should they be combined ? A glance at the distribution and at the most salient characteristics of the modern Indo-Aryan languages will enable us to answer this question.

§ 18. Indo-Aryan covers India in a continuous manner

from the North-Western frontier,¹ where it touches Iranian and Tibetan, upto Assam and Burma, where it again encounters the Tibeto-Burman group; on the other hand it goes as far as the Konkan and the middle basin of Godavari, where it extends its conquests in the Dravidian domain.

Outside this territory, Indo-Aryan occupies the meridional half of the island of Ceylon, and that for a long time; in fact, Buddhist tradition confirms the fact that the Pali commentary written by Buddhaghosa during the 5th cent. is a translation of a Sinhalese original. Other pieces of evidence enable us to go higher; besides the first authentic documents of Sinhalese appear only in the 10th century (see Geiger, ch. I). This language is grouped with the dialects of Western India (ibid, ch. III); however some of the traits which establish this relationship, such as the preservation of the initial and geminated *v*, or that of the three types of declension can be considered as archaisms like other traits separating it from the same group, that is the preservation of internal *n* and *l*, of initial and geminated *y*, whereby it evokes Pali and Māgadhī. On the other side the formation of the oblique on the old genitive of Sanskrit, in the singular number as in the plural one, is found only in the Himalayan North-West and in the Romany language. Above all the termination of the masculine plural in *-ahu*, *-o* directly recalls the Māgadhī; and by the simplification of *-ṇṇ-* in *-ṇ-* the Sinhalese also separates itself from the western group which has in this case a dental *n*. We may, however, provisionally consider the Sinhalese dialect, to the extent that it has not evolved altogether independently of other languages, as belonging more to the western than any other group.

On the continent also the Indo-Aryan has crossed the frontiers of India. Central Asia (see supra § 8) has yielded to the explorers several ancient documents, of whom at least one series, analytically examined, reveals to have been really corresponding to a local speech. Even today the Gypsies, from Iran and Armenia upto the western frontiers of Europe speak dialects, which are undisputably related to the Indian family. The date of their emigration is not surely known. The

1. Now the frontier of W. Pakistan with Iran, Afghanistan, etc (Translator).

languages of Europe (where $\acute{s} < \text{Skr. } \text{ṣ}, \text{Ṣ}; S < \text{Skr. } S$; see Grierson, *Piśāca Language*, p. 21-22; Miklosich, IX, p. 39); on principle there is only one sifflant and this is s , except in Bengali and Oriya where it is \acute{s} (see Grierson, *Phon.*, p. 18-19).

§ 16. The history of grammatical forms can be reconstructed less easily. However, already the sacerdotal literature of Sanskrit furnishes through its irregularities and incoherences a number of precious documents (see Wackernagel, p. XIV, XXII ff.). Adding classical Sanskrit to the same, one can follow from close enough the progressive dislocation of the hereditary verbal system and the examination of Prākṛit only confirms the certitudes already acquired. The declension has been, on the contrary, fixed in Sanskrit in an archaic form. But the inscriptional and literary Prākṛits show the evolution whereby the ancient forms disappear and render necessary the creation of new forms (for details of these facts see *infra*).

§ 17. Such is in its totality the history of Indo-Aryan in the period preceding that of Marathi. But here a difficulty crops up : can we join the history of Marathi to that of the Middle Indian thus defined ? Marathi is far from being the only modern Indo-Aryan language; now to render an account of the formation of Marathi does not mean merely noting from the documents the changes in the hereditary linguistic system which have made possible the constitution of this language. It also amounts to showing and if possible, explaining its relationship with the neighbouring related languages. The question is : since when have come into being the characteristics which differentiate it from those other forms of the same ancient language ? In other terms does the separation, which has given rise to the formation of modern languages, go back to the remote past and is the Middle Indian, with its general curve defined above, a fiction without any relationship with reality, or should we take into consideration the totality of modern languages as being based on a common language attested by Middle Indian ? If the two theses have their part of truth, how should they be combined ? A glance at the distribution and at the most salient characteristics of the modern Indo-Aryan languages will enable us to answer this question.

§ 18. Indo-Aryan covers India in a continuous manner

from the North-Western frontier,¹ where it touches Iranian and Tibetan, upto Assam and Burma, where it again encounters the Tibeto-Burman group; on the other hand it goes as far as the Konkan and the middle basin of Godavari, where it extends its conquests in the Dravidian domain.

Outside this territory, Indo-Aryan occupies the meridional half of the island of Ceylon, and that for a long time; in fact, Buddhist tradition confirms the fact that the Pali commentary written by Buddhaghosa during the 5th cent. is a translation of a Sinhalese original. Other pieces of evidence enable us to go higher; besides the first authentic documents of Sinhalese appear only in the 10th century (see Geiger, ch. I). This language is grouped with the dialects of Western India (ibid, ch. III); however some of the traits which establish this relationship, such as the preservation of the initial and geminated *v*, or that of the three types of declension can be considered as archaisms like other traits separating it from the same group, that is the preservation of internal *n* and *l*, of initial and geminated *y*, whereby it evokes Pali and Māgadhī. On the other side the formation of the oblique on the old genitive of Sanskrit, in the singular number as in the plural one, is found only in the Himalayan North-West and in the Romany language. Above all the termination of the masculine plural in *-ahu*, *-o* directly recalls the Māgadhī; and by the simplification of *-ṇṇ-* in *-ṇ-* the Sinhalese also separates itself from the western group which has in this case a dental *n*. We may, however, provisionally consider the Sinhalese dialect, to the extent that it has not evolved altogether independently of other languages, as belonging more to the western than any other group.

On the continent also the Indo-Aryan has crossed the frontiers of India. Central Asia (see supra S 8) has yielded to the explorers several ancient documents, of whom at least one series, analytically examined, reveals to have been really corresponding to a local speech. Even today the Gypsies, from Iran and Armenia upto the western frontiers of Europe speak dialects, which are undisputably related to the Indian family. The date of their emigration is not surely known. The

1. Now the frontier of W. Pakistan with Iran, Afghanistan, etc (Translator).

oldest emigration seems to have taken place in the 5th cent. A. D. (see de Goeje, *Mémoire sur les migrations des Tsiganes à travers l'Asie*); but its origin is surely known : the Romany language is a speech of the North-West. Several traits prove it : the group consonant $\div r$ does not survive, the initial vowel of the Skr. word, *ātma-* has not been lost in this language, in Sindhi and in the dialects of the hills. As in the latter (except in Kashmiri), Romany has lost the old relative *ya-*. The Romany of Europe, like these very dialects, still distinguishes the dental sifflant *s* from *ś* issued out of *ṣ*, and *ś* and has preserved the groups *st* and *ṣt*; truly speaking the Romany of Armenia is, on these points, in conformity with the Prākṛit rule and follows the Indo-Aryan of India (see Finck, 'Die Sprache der Armen. Zigenner', *Mém. de l'Académie impériale de St.-Petersbourg*, VIII, 5, S 57, 72, 73); but the Himalayan dialects and even the Iranian (see Gauthiot, MSL, XVII, p. 157) present several similar variations and show that in the North-Western region the Iso-gloss lines have been able to cross one another in different ways. A fact which isolates Romany from all other Indo-Aryan languages (except the Veron, one of the western most dialects of the Himalayan group, see Grierson, *Piśāca Language*, p. 19), simultaneously localises the same exactly on the Iranian frontier. In the Romany language intervocalic *t* or *d* regularly become *l* (example : *phral*, *phal*—"brother"; see Miklosich, IX, p. 25); in the Armenian dialect the initial *d* also becomes *l* (*lui* "two", *las* "ten", *lel* "to give", see Finck, *ibid*, S 73); now the passage of *t* to *l*, in the initial and in the intervocalic position, is a characteristic trait of the north-western Iranian dialects, irrespective of the group to which they may be attached (see Gauthiot, JA, 1910, I, p. 542; MSL, XVII, p. 158).

Quite a large number of small Himalayan dialects are also attached to the speeches of the North-West. Due to their geographical isolation and the absence of literature, these dialects have become different not only from the entire Indo-Aryan group but have also become considerably different from one another. These are the dialects, which are, of course wrongly called "Modern Piśāca" by Grierson (see his *The Piśāca Language*, p. 7 ff.); Z D M G., LXVI, p. 49-86; cf. Meillet, *Bull. Soc. Ling.*, XIV, pl CCXLIX; J. Bloch, B E F E O, 1907, v. 116; Lacôte, *Essai sur Guṇādhya et la Bṛahatkathā*, p. 46 ff.,

Sten Konow, Z D M G, LXIV, p. 95-118; J. Charpentier, *Kleine Beitr. Zur indoir. Mythologie*, Uppsala, 1911 p. 1 ff.) Grierson divides these speeches in three groups : in the West, those of Kafirstan; in the centre, the Xowār, spoken in the Valley of Chitral; lastly the Eastern group, spoken lower down on the Indus, in Gilgit, at Chilas and in Kohistan, in Swat and in Kashmir. Kashmiri, which is the better known of these dialects, is also by another side, the least instructive because it has accepted numerous Iranian and Sanskrit elements and has been a literary language.

§ 19. Let us now enter India properly speaking. In the 16th century according to Abul Fazl, the languages, which differ sufficiently so that their speakers do not comprehend one another, are those of Delhi, Bengal, Multan, Marwar, Gujarat, Telingana, Maratha country, Carnatic, Sind, the Afghan lands (between Sind, Kabul and Kandhar), Balochistan and Kashmir (*Ain-i-Akbari*, transln. of Jarrett, III, p. 119). Eliminating the non-Indo-European languages and arranging others which interest us we see that Abul Fazl finds in the West a Zone rich in individualised speeches, which are, going from North to South : Kashmiri, Panjabi, Sindhi, Gujarati and Marathi. Marwari is the link between these speeches and the language of Delhi, that is to say, Hindustani. The latter covers the entire Gangetic basin upto Bengal, where is localised the dialect mentioned last. Modern linguistics has only complicated this map; it has not modified the general aspect (for all that follows, see chiefly Grierson, *The Languages of India*, § 149 ff., and the published volumes of the *Linguistic Survey of India*).

Starting from the western Himalayas, while descending the Indus we meet firstly the domain of Lahnda or western Panjabi. In reality this is a group of numerous dialects without literature and with linguistic characteristics which bring them near both Sindhi and the Himalayan speeches. Nevertheless the vocabulary and grammar are subjected to the influence of Afghani in the West and of Panjabi in the East—and through Panjabi that of Hindi.

Sindhi occupies the lower course of the Indus from its confluence with the Panjab; it is spread, besides, on the western coast of the Runn of Cutch. It comprises three principal

dialects ; that of the nomads of the Thar Desert, that of Middle Sindh and that of lower Sindh or Lāru, this last serves as the literary language and this is the one described by grammars as Sindhi.

Following the sea, one comes across Gujarati, then Marathi. The former is spoken around the Runn of Cutch, in the area left free by Sindhi, in Gujarat, at Baroda and Surat and also at Bombay. It has been cultivated from a very early period : a Sanskrit grammar written in Gujarati is dated to the end of 14th century, and from the 15th century poetic works abound. Besides, the region has always been one of the most civilized in India; it is at Girnar that has been found beside an Aśokan inscription, the first inscription in Sanskrit; it is again in this region that flourishing Jainism developed the Prākṛit literature and that one of its masters, Hemacandra, in the 12th century, wrote the grammar and collection of *deśī* words, which is the richest document on Prākṛit.

To the south of Daman and right up to the meridional limits of Indo-Aryan, Marathi prevails, on which more later. In the east, and going up the Gangetic Basin, are to be found a large number of speeches which are firstly linked with the western group, and then increasingly resemble Hindustani. They are found firstly in the hilly region extending between Ajmer and Nasik on the one hand, Baroda and Indore on the other, the Bhil dialects, the veritable Gujarati *patois* spoken by the tribes of the Munda race. Thereafter follow series of dialects which Grierson arbitrarily groups as Rajasthani; the indigenous people know only the names of isolated speeches, or adopt that of Marwari. This name is properly of that dialect which occupies by the North-West the biggest territory as compared to others. It is spoken by the most numerous population, and particularly by a commercial population whose rôle in the entire country is important, finally this is the dialect which has furnished the oldest and the most abundant literature. Marwari and the group which limits it in the east whose type is the speech of Jaipur, are clearly linked with Gujarati; in the south-east, Malawi already resembles more the Bundeli and in the north-east Mewati-Ahirwati is quite near western Hindi. These speeches can, therefore, be considered either as the dialects of Gujarati, or as constituting a Zone of transition between Gujarat

and Hindustan. Only on the southern side, that is to say on the side of Marathi, the linguistic frontier is quite clear.

Thereafter comes the central group, which occupies the Upper and the middle Gangetic Basin, and even a part of the Himalayas, because the valleys seem to have been colonised by the conquerors coming from Gangetic India and from Rajputana. To the west of the vast region, Panjabi passes, even in popular usage, for a language with its individuality. In fact, its morphology shows us certain traits which isolate it from the speeches of Hindustani properly so called and on the contrary bring it near western Panjabi. The same is true of the vocabulary. But the eastern influences have also been very numerous to the extent that linguistics can not provisionally draw much benefit from this language. Yet, the literature of the Sikhs will probably permit a historical study : because it is known that Panjabi is the language of the Sikh (scriptures) and on this count can extend itself into several regions of India and even outside, upto China.

The name of Hindi is applied, in popular usage, to all the languages spoken from the Panjab upto the Mahananda in the Bengal itself, and from the Himalayas upto the Narmada. We have already separated from this big group the speeches of Rajasthan and those of the Himalayas which are related thereto. The remaining ones are divided into three groups: western Hindi occupies the territory between the frontier of the Panjab and Kanpur; eastern Hindi goes from Kanpur upto almost Banaras; then comes Bihari, which is grouped rather with the far eastern group.

The principal dialect of western Hindi is Hindustani (or better Hindostani) which has been discussed above (§ 10). Also recognised are the Bangru, spoken to the west of Delhi and Braja or antarbedi, occupying the region of Mathura, Agra and Kannauj. This dialect, with an archaic aspect, has literature in abundance, its oldest document is the *Prithviraj Rāsau*, or the ballad of the exploits of Prithviraj Chauhan, the last king of Delhi, killed by the Muslims along with Cand Bardai, the poet in 1193. Later on, the same dialect has been used by Surdas (towards 1550) and Vallabhacharya who sang of Krishna and Rāddhā in the language of the very country, where their legend is situated. Lastly comes Bundeli, the language of

Bundelkhand and Gwalior; it is used by the bards who sing of Ālhā and Ūdal, the two defenders of Parmāl, the king of Mahobā and the adversary of Prithviraj.

Awadhi, spoken chiefly between Lucknow, Allahabad and Awadh is the most important dialect of eastern Hindi. Awadhi is the centre of the Rama legend and as a consequence Awadhi is the language of epic poetry celebrating his exploits. It is above all the dialect of Tulsi Das, the greatest modern poet of Hindustan (died in 1624). It is also the dialect in which Muhammad Jayasi sang of the ruin of Chittor under the blows of Alauddin Khilji, during the second half of the 16th century; lastly it is the dialect of the most popular North Indian version of the Mahābhārata.* In Baghelkhand and in Chattisgarh are spoken the dialects belonging to the same group; but less important.

Bihari (called eastern Hindi by Hoernle in conformity with the indigenous classification) is sub-divided into three dialects. Bhojpuri is the westernmost; one of the varieties of Bhojpuri, which is contiguous to Hindi is, by comparison, called *Purbi*, that is to say "eastern". Starting from Patna, the Ganga separates two other domains, in the north, that of Maithili, in the south, that of Magadhi. Of these three dialects, that of Mithila has a literary past; it is notably the dialect in which Vidyāpati Thākur sang of Krishna and Rādhā in the 15th century. His poems have been adapted into Bengali by the Vaishnavas and are at present considered as part of Bengali literature.

There remain three eastern dialects, Bengali, Oriya and Assamese, which are extremely similar, so much so that attempts have been made, undoubtedly wrongly, to regard the two latter ones as the sub-dialects of the former. All the three have an old literature; but the richest, the most beautiful and the most popular of all is, without any doubt, the Bengali literature. The Puranic legends, then the reform of Chaitanya, still later the court-life and the learned culture, both Persian and Sanskrit and lastly the influence of European religion and science have been the sources of this literature. Its influence has, besides, been very strong and the Bengali vocabulary, at least as revealed to the European student by the dictionaries and the majority of books, is full of Sanskrit and Hindi borrowings to such an

* A mis-print for *Rānūyana*—Translator.

extent that for linguistic comparison one can derive little profit therefrom.

§ 20. Such are the modern languages which are related to Marathi. What are their chief characteristics and what is the relationship indicated by these characteristics between these modern languages and Middle Indian ?

It is morphology which chiefly differentiates between these languages. Leaving aside, for certain points, the speeches of the extreme North-West and Simhalese, which diverged in very old times, the forms are everywhere based on identical types, posterior to Prākṛit. The variations of declension in the various dialects depend on the fact whether there are two or three genders, or whether the notion of gender has been lost, or on the fact that an oblique case has been formed on one old case or on another. Thereafter these variations depend on the form of terminations, that it is to say on the formulae concerning the contraction of groups, of final vowels and finally on the word, which used as an oblique postposition constitutes the adjective of appartenance. Now, all these variations go back to a state everywhere similar which, in its turn, is derived from a state common to all the forms of Prākṛit. Similarly, the conjugation, in all the dialects, is based upon the forms common to (all the varieties of) Middle Indian. The only old difference which seems to have persisted concerns the distribution of the forms of the absolutive, one proper to Śaurasenī and Māgadhī in *-ia*, and the other, that of Māhārāṣṭrī, in *-tūṇam*, *-ūṇam*. But it should be noted that on the one hand Simhalese, Sindhi and Gujarati accord with the central and eastern group, and that on the other hand, it is not sure whether the Marathi form *-ūn* exactly continues the termination of Māhārāṣṭrī Prākṛit. Thus the unique dialectal distribution of modern times, which seems to go back to an old variation, is not clear.

It is equally well known that it is not morphology, but phonetics which separates the Prākṛits as they are known to us. What are the main lines of iso-glosses of the modern Indo-Aryan. Here again should be kept aside, firstly, the North Western group, whose characteristic preservation of a hissing sibilant beside a dental sibilant, preservation of *st* and *ṣt*, the passage of *sm* to *ss* (in place of *mh*), the alteration of occlusives

following a nasal have never been noted in classical Prākṛit (*sm* > *ss* only in *bhasma* and the termination *-smin*, see Pischel, § 313; *nt* > *nd* is given as Māgadhī, *ibid*, § 275).

Other modern dialects present, in the treatment of Skr. *r*, *kṣ*, *r* ÷ dental, dental ÷ *v*, a confusion which reproduces that already revealed by old documents, and where only a subtle analysis enables us to observe some prehistoric geography. Let us try some other phenomena: the final vowels, everywhere lost, survive in Kashmiri, in Sinhalese, in Sindhi, etc. The group of short vowel ÷ double consonant persists as such or in Sinhalese, Sindhi, Panjabi, western Hindi, and elsewhere becomes long vowel ÷ simple consonant. In Gujarati, Sindhi and Rajasthani internal *au*, and *ai* get shortened into *o* and *e*; the laws of the contraction of vowels differ according to languages. It is seen that the phonetics of vowels merely shows the variations of recent date. The fate of consonants appears at first more interesting, and the roots of contemporary phenomena seem to be plunged in the past; but only a few cases are decisive. To the initial or geminated *r* in Sinhalese, in Armenian Romany, in Panjabi, Sindhi, Gujarati, Rajasthani and Marathi, corresponds *b* in the Romany of Europe, in Hindi and in the entire eastern group (the North-Western Himalayan simultaneously shows *r* and *b*). The presence of *bb* from *ry*, *w*, etc. in Pali seems to prove that this distribution is old in origin; but the rest of Middle Indian has *r* everywhere and it looks as if the passage of *v* to *b* is modern. Besides the distribution of the same phenomenon in Dravidian seems to indicate that the evolution *v* > *b* could have been independent on various dialects. It is known that the initial *r* preserved in Telugu and in Tamil, has become *b* in Kannada: now the Kannada is situated to the west of Telugu. In the entire western group of the continent and in the Hindustani spoken in the upper Gangetic Doab, intervocalic *n* and *l* have been cerebralised, whereas they survived [unchanged] to the east of this Zone; now in Prākṛit the cerebralization of *l* is found only in Paisācī, that is to say in a non-identified dialect; and the same Paisācī is the only Prākṛit which regularly keeps *n*, cerebralised in the initial position everywhere else (save certain recent restorations in Jaina Prākṛit). The fate of sibilants is perhaps the only phenomenon regarding which a clear, though partially so, idea had been formed at an early date.

This is so because the preservation of two sibilants, which characterises the North-West, is not to be found anywhere in Middle Indian and the only similar case furnished by Dhakkī Prākṛit has a different formula (in the North-West $S > \dot{S}$, \dot{S} and $\acute{S} > \dot{S}$; in Dhakkī S and $\dot{S} > \dot{S}$, $\acute{S} > \dot{S}$; see Pischel, § 228). In a general way, Prākṛit has made uniform from a very early date all the sibilants, in the form of s in the west and centre, as \acute{s} in the east (see for Māgadhī, the inscription of Ramgarh cited by Lüders, *Bruchstücke*, p. 41 and Pischel, § 229). Now it is known that except in the North-West, and leaving out of account certain later variations in Marathi and Gujarati, the entire western and central Indo-Aryan has mixed up the sibilants and has only the dental s ; whereas in the case of the far eastern group (except in the Bengali of the North-West) the only sibilant is \acute{s} .

Inversely the dialectal differences noted in the classical Prākṛits have almost all of them disappeared from modern languages: thus the intervocalic occlusives remaining as occlusives (sonant) in Śaurāśenī and partially in Māgadhī have lost all occlusion (except of course in the *lat-samas* and in the semi-*lat-samas*). The initial and geminated y of Māgadhī has become j in the ancient domain of Māgadhī as everywhere else. The different terminations while being lost, have generally eliminated the morphological differences, etc. It looks as if there had been a common Middle Indian, containing at the most like all common languages, the few surviving dialectal variations. Except for certain phonetic changes which can be easily defined and certain indications, besides rare and obscure, concerning special grammatical forms, we may group all the facts in unique historical series and utilise them for the history of some general Indo-Aryan language, provided that it be located to the east of the Indus.

§ 21. Moreover, it is permissible to think that this uniformisation of the languages of Northern India, as it appears in writing, corresponds to an historically real phenomenon. The social breaking up revealed to us by the Vedic texts and traditions relating to early Buddhism, makes way, early enough, for civilisation, which tends to be unified by the political and religious phenomena. The Mauryas are the first to establish a big empire stretching from the Panjab to the Bengal and as far as Mysore. After them the centre of domination shifts but the

cythians occupy Rajputana and Hindustan; the coins of Kan-
 ska are to be met with as far as Ghazipur, farther than Benaras
 on the Ganga (see V. Smith *Early History of India* p. 226). In
 the 4th century Patna becomes once again, under the Guptas,
 the capital of a big empire spread as far as the Narmada and
 which (under Samudragupta) covers the entire country. Three
 centuries later, Harṣa of Kannauja unites, once again under
 his domination, the same territory. Finally come the Muslims,
 whose first advances provoke the formation of Hindu federations,
 while their domination, spreading all over Northern India,
 ensures the prestige of the "language of Delhi." We should not
 however, exaggerate the importance of the mixing up of voca-
 bulary, resulting from these successive empires in different
 provinces. The centres of influence would shift from one end
 of the country to another. Between the Magadhan of Aśoka
 and the Urdu of Akbar, have existed other administrative lang-
 uages. Of these we know only one, the Sanskrit and in fact
 it has exerted enormous influence. But it is also presumable that
 documents more ephemeral than inscriptions must have
 more intimately reflected the real languages of the conquerors,
 or at least of the wandering agents and scribes of their admini-
 stration. This is not all : after Buddhism, renaissant Brah-
 manism unified the country. It installed Sanskrit everywhere
 as also the caste-system. As Prākṛits in the theatre, similarly
 in real life the dialects of the different castes rise in tiers in
 relation to Sanskrit but at the same time they tend to draw
 near Sanskrit, that is to say to be infiltrated by the same or to
 imitate it. One may add to all this the recitals of the wandering
 bards, coming from different points or singing in different
 dialects, and the voyages, so frequent in India of pilgrims, of
 traders, of soldiers. This will give some idea of the influences
 which, in the Middle Ages, have led to the formation of a
 common language.

§ 22. This common language, whose theoretical necessity
 and historical possibility we have just now recognised, stops at
 the Prākṛits, properly so called. Certain scholars think that they
 can date it still later, using for the same purpose other docu-
 ments notably transmitted by Hemacandra under the name of
apabhraṃśa (see for ex. Grierson, *Phon.*, p. 393). But the Ap-
 abhramśa known to us is, in reality, a dialectal document which

is not related to a territory as vast as Prākṛit and which particularly has nothing in common with Marathī.

In the manuals of Grammar or of Rhetorics the word *apabhraṃśa* denoted an incorrect form from the point of view of the Sanskrit grammar : *Śāstreṣu saṃskṛtād anyat*, says Daṇḍin (*Kāvyaḍarśa*, I, 36; cf. Pischel § 4); and it is thus that it was used before Daṇḍin by Patañjali (in the passage cited by Bhandarkar, *JAS, Bombay*, XVI, p. 331 and Pischel, § 8) and after him by Vāmana (in the rule, *pūrva-nipāte 'pabhraṃśo rak- syaḥ* "a compound where the order of terms is not correct, should, however, be admitted as such", V, 2, 21). In drama and in poetry in general — *kāvyeṣu* says Daṇḍin at that very place — the Apabhraṃśa is a local language admitted for literary usage; but this is allowed only with necessary selections : according to Vāgbhaṭa (cited by Pischel, § 4) *yat śuddham tat taddeṣeṣu bhāṣitam*; that is to say in short a purified *patois*. This is why not only the forms of Apabhraṃśa show an aspect very recent as compared to the Prakrits, but one often has the impression that they will be better explained more by contemporary rather than old forms. One often asks oneself if they are not a stylised transcription of modern languages rather than an out-come of Prākṛit (for ex. in the terminations of the gen-sing-*aha*, gen. pl.-*aham*, loc.-*ahim*, 3 d pl.-*ahim*).

It results from this second definition of the Apabhraṃśa, that in principle there can be various types of Apabhraṃśa corresponding to various Prākṛits. This is, in fact, generally admitted; and it is possible that several among these varieties might have been cultivated : because the literature in Apabhraṃśa is quite old. According to a Tibetan tradition the Buddhist Saṃmitīya school used it (Wassilief, *Buddhismus*, p. 267) and in fact several Buddhist stanzas, late in date, are available (see Bendall, *Muséon*, 1903, p. 376; 1904, p. 245 ff.). Probably Kālidāsa has also used it (see Pischel, § 29). In any case, at the beginning of the 6th century, the king Guhasena of Valabhī praises himself for his talent of being a writer in three languages, Sanskrit, Prākṛit and Apabhraṃśa. But for these different varieties of Apabhraṃśa, we have no document which can be put to use. The only ones of note are related precisely, to that region of India where reigned Guhasena. In fact the names *nāgara* and *vrācaḍa*, given by the Prākṛit grammarians

take us to Gujarat and to the lower basin of the Indus (see Piščel, S 23; Grierson, *L S I. Rai.*, p. 327). On the other hand Bhandarkar links the Apabhramśa, known to us, with Gujarati and with the archaic forms of Hindi (*JAS Bombay*, XVI, p. 39); and in truth vaster or narrower, the domain of the phenomena corresponding to the characteristics of Apabhramśa always leaves Marathi outside. The preservation of *r* after a consonant, the passage of *s* into *h* is met with only in Gujarati, Sindhi and in the North-West. The unvoicing of *-am* final in *-um* (Piščel S 351, 352) explains the termination of the nom. sing. neuter-*um* of Gujarati, but not that of the corresponding *-em* of Marathi (cf. S 36). The possessive pronouns Apa. *mahāra*, *tuhāra*, *amhāra* or *hamāra*, *tohāra* are used almost everywhere, even in Romany, but are missing in Simhalese, in western Himalayas, in Sindhi and in Marathi. In the verb, the terminations of the second pers. sing. *-ahi* (Pkt. *-asi*), pl. *-ahu* (Pkt. *-aha*) correspond to those of entire Northern India, except Oriya and Marathi. The absolutive goes back everywhere to Apa. *-i* (Śaura-*ia*, Skr. *ja*) except in Marathi. Similarly the so very obscure termination of the third pers. pl. *-ahim* (see J. Bloch, *JA*, 1912, I, p. 334) covers Gujarat and the entire Hindustan, leaving out once again Oriya and Marathi.

S 23. As a consequence of what has been seen above, we can study Marathi and utilise under certain conditions all the documents of Middle Indian, with the exception of the Apabhramśa which is, at least as known to us, a more recent dialect and has entered into literature after the separation of Marathi and other dialects.

It should be added that one has the greater right to link together Marathi and Middle Indian because the form of the Middle Indian Marathi is the one that has served as the basis for literature during several centuries. In fact the grammarians warn us about the same : from the day of the constitution in Maharashtra of a Prākṛit used for lyrical poetry, the old pre-eminence of Śaurasenī admitted by Bharata tends to disappear. According to Daṇḍin (6th cent.) Māhārāṣṭrī is the best Prakrit; and in fact it is this dialect which the grammarians take as the basis for their description. To them Prākṛit means the Māhārāṣṭrī Prākṛit (see Piščel, S 2). The continuity between Prākṛit and Marathi is noted in a valuable way in

the *deśī* collection of Hemacandra. This grammarian was a resident of Gujarat and, therefore a very large number of words noted by him, are to be found in the vocabulary of Gujarati and Marathi.

§ 24. It still remains to define Marathi itself and to rapidly indicate the documents utilised for its study.

Marathi occupies largely the sea-coast and the upper basin of the eastern rivers forming a triangle whose base would be the coast stretching from Daman to Karwar and whose top would be situated in the centre of the region between Nagpur, Jabalpur and Raipur, or at the feet of the hills separating the upper basins of the Waiganga and the Narmada. On the southern side it touches the Dravidian domain—Kannada, Telugu Gond—, on the northern one it meets on the coast, Gujarat, then going up towards the Satpura mountains, the Bhili, Malawi, that is to say Rajasthani, Bundeli, that is to say western Hindi, Chattisgarhi, a dialect of Eastern Hindi and finally Oriya dialects.

This land, which has always been in communication with Northern India has, however, also preserved a certain independence. In the time of the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, the Andhras are outside the Aryan domain. And in fact we find in Marathi clear traces of a local Dravidian substratum. Independently of the category of cerebrals and of the absence of spirants, which are the common links for the entire country in antiquity, and of the constitution of an oblique case, to which are adjoined similar postpositions for two numbers, and finally of the fact that the genitive of the noun is a veritable adjective—common traits for the entire modern Indo-Aryan (see *LSI, Munda-Dra.*, p. 280, 291), are to be noted in Marathi two phonetic particularities which set it apart from the rest of the Indo-Aryan group and which are found in the contiguous Dravidian languages. The first is the loss of the hissing character of the semi-occlusive palatals before posterior vowels, which draws Marathi near Telugu; the second is the change of initial *e-* and *a-* as diphthongs; which are pronounced as *oye-* and *wo-* (in the case of *e-*, orthography frequently admits *ye-*; the verb *ye-* “to go” is always so written; cf. Molesworth, preface, p. XIV). This is a common trait of all the Dravidian languages. In truth the change of *e* and *o* into diphthongs is to be found even inside the word, in certain dialects

of the Konkan (see *LSI, Mar.*, p. 65, 157); the two phenomena seem to be independent of each other.

Situated on the frontier of the Aryan world, the Deccan does not tarry long to get included therein. Aśoka enumerates the Andhras among his Buddhist vassals; and a hundred years later, the king of Kalinga, Khāravela, refers to the military powers of Śātakarṇi, his neighbour to the west. Besides, Pliny mentions in a good rank the Andarae, as whose power he mentions thirty fortified towns, numerous villages, an army comprising of a hundred thousand foot-soldiers, two thousand horses and a thousand elephants. The Śātakarṇi dynasty ruled for several centuries at Paiṭhan. The pious endowments multiplied by this dynasty are a sign of its power and its wealth. Shaken for a moment by the Kṣatrapas, it comes into its own again with Gotamiputa, who rules over the Konkan, the Deccan and Malwa. It is under this dynasty that the local Prākṛit becomes the literary language. To one of its kings, Hāla, is ascribed the famous anthology of seven hundred stanzas in Māhārāṣṭrī, the *Sattasaī*. With the same king is linked the legend of Guṇādhya, the creator of Paisāci Prākṛit (see *Lacôte*, op. cit., p. 27 ff.). Naturally, where Prākṛit is cultivated Sanskrit also flourishes. Śarva-varman, the presumed author of the *Kātantra*, is a minister of a Śātakarṇi; and it is a king of the same dynasty, to whom is addressed the *Suḥṛllekhā* of Nāgārjuna, the famous scholar of Mahāyāna. After the ruin of Śātakarṇi, the history of the Deccan remains obscure for more than three centuries. At the end of this period the Cālūkyas installed at Badami dominate the country as far as the sea. One of them, *Pulikesi* II, stops at the Narmada (towards 620) the arms of Harṣa, the emperor of Northern India, which had been victorious everywhere else. Hsuan-Tsang, who visited the country during this period noted the power of the kingdom of Mahārāṣṭra (Mo-ho-la-tch'a) and the war-like zeal of its inhabitants. But shortly thereafter Pulikesi himself became the victim of the conquerors of the South and after him there followed a number of dynasties—the last Cālūkyas of Badami, the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Nasik and of Malkhed, the Cālūkyas of Kalyan and the Yādavas of Devagiri—perpetually at war, where the frontiers get narrowed and extended in turn : but all, in short, maintain in the North the limit fixed by Pulikesi.

frontier had, therefore, some chance of experiencing, less than others, the infiltrations from the languages of Hindustan. It has been noted later on that the resistance of the Marathas to the influence of Delhi had been strong enough to make the contribution of Hindi and chiefly of Persian comparatively weak in their language (see Ranade, *Rise of the Maratha Power*, p. 27 ff.). On the other hand inside the Deccan itself, the instability of the dynasties and the continuous shift of the centres of influence must have contributed, early enough, to the formation of a composite common language. As a consequence, despite the administrative unification realised later by Shivaji and his successors and which had imposed the dialect of Poona particularly, it is explained that the Marathi vocabulary and phonetics betray the mixture, renovated during all the periods and do not offer the relatively coherent aspect of a language based on a predominant dialect.

It need not be observed that in Marathi as elsewhere, the influence of Sanskrit, strong in all the periods, has only increased during the course of time. Bhandarkar observes that the chief reason for the obscurity of the old poets is due to the substitution of Sanskrit loan-words for words having had a natural evolution, thus *gambhir*, "deep", *nāth* "master", *prasād* "favour" have replaced *gahiru*, *nāh*, *pasāy* (JAS Bombay, XVI, p. 259). The pronunciation itself has been adapted to Sanskrit phonetics and the Marathas are capable of correctly articulating the phonemes which Marathi, properly called, has lost, such as *r*, *kṣ* and other groups of consonants (except *jñ* become *dñ*). Naturally the Sanskrit element will be passed over in silence in this work designed not to be the description of a language, but to be the history of its formation.

§ 25. The Marathi dialect which is used as a common language is that of *deś*, that is to say of the region situated between the Ghats and the frontier of Berar. It has been the political centre of Maharashtra during all the periods and most of the Marathi poets have come from this region. Citing only those whose texts have been used, we have first, Dñānadev, born at Alandi, near Poona. He is the author of *Jñāneśvarī*, a versified commentary on the Bhagavadgītā. This poem, written in 1290, is the first literary text in Marathi, whose date is sure. Namdev, probably as old as Dñānadev, wrote in a less

archaic language. He lived at Pandharpur, near the shrine of Viṭhobā, who inspired his hymns. Similarly Eknath, who revised the text of *Jñāneśvari* in 1584, was a Brahmin of Paithan. Tukaram, 1608-1649, the greatest and the most popular of all, hailed from Dehu, near Poona.

The dialect of *Deś* is, therefore, spoken by the cultivated classes all over the Maratha territory and represents Marathi in the rest of India, for example at Bijapur, in Kannada territory and even at Tanjore, in an entirely Tamil domain, or again in the courts of princes of Baroda and Indore. Beside this dialect there are a number of *patois* whose individuality is marked by the names received by them in indigenous usage. It is not necessary of enumerating them and giving their detailed descriptions here. This has been done, as is known, with abundant information in the volume of the *Linguistic Survey of India* devoted to Marathi. Most of the information given here is drawn therefrom.

Moreover, all these speeches are close neighbours of each other and the only ones that are clearly distinct from the common language are those of Konkani, or at least of a part of Konkani. Grierson distinguishes to the west of the Ghats two groups of speeches, in the north and in the centre, the Marathi of Konkani. Its dominant forms are the Parbhi or the dialect of Prabhu spoken from Daman to Bombay and the Saṅgameśwari or the language of Saṅgameśwar (near Ratnagiri), spoken from Bombay to Rajapur. The second group comprises Konkani proper : its most common varieties are the speeches of Goa, of Malwan and that of the Chitpawan Brahmins of Ratnagiri. Due to its geographical characteristics and because of its population (the Prabhus, the Kolis and the Thakurs are found in Gujarat), Konkani is linked with the region of Surat and Gujarat. The same is true for the language also. The common traits are more striking and numerous in the south. Let us point out here the nominative sing. masc. in *-o* (common Marathi *-ā*), the plural neuter in *-ām* (common Marathi *-e*), the pronoun of the First person sing. *hām* (common Marathi *mī*) and the infinitive in *um* (com. Mar. *-nem*). The "Konkani Marathi" ignores these shades, but it has, however, in common with Konkani and Gujarati a large share of vocabulary and exceptional construction for the past tense of the verb. It seems

region between Gujarat and the Deccan. The influence of the speech of *Deś*, particularly strong in the northern and central region, covers this old relationship between Konkani and Gujarati.

§ 26. The direct heir of Prākṛit, remaining relatively free from foreign influences, represented by an abundant literature and partially near enough the spoken language, Marathi moreover presents, for study, the practical advantage of being well known. The dictionary of Molesworth, in reality the work of a group of local scholars, is the best available dictionary of any modern Indo-Aryan language. Its vocabulary is very rich, and moreover contains, besides an etymological part though incomplete and naturally inadequate, precious indications concerning the dialectal or social origin of the cited words, or concerning their particular sense in the [various] dialects. Adding the grammars of Joshi and Nawalkar to the same, which are at least as good as any of the grammars written in any native language and the abundant documentation of the Linguistic Survey, we possess a totality of sufficient and easily verifiable data for European reader. The descriptive part of this work has thereby been rendered light to that extent.

In these conditions, it appears that without waiting for the dialectological or philological studies made by local scholarship and whose results will bring more certainty in many questions, an European reader could usefully benefit from the progress realised by Indology since the times when Beames did the inaugural work for the comparative grammar of modern Indo-Aryan and when Bhandarkar in his *Wilson Lectures* tried to make the first effort for englobing the entire history of Indo-Aryan. Speaking only of the language, enough is known and it will be seen later on each page, how the documentation has become richer and how research has been made easy by the appearance of Pischel's *Prakrit grammar* and by the several works from the pen of or due to the inspiration of Grierson. General Linguistics has also progressed during this period and the new points of view enable us to see a bit more clearly the history of the Indo-Aryan languages or at least to pose the problems regarding the same in a more precise manner.

Lower down will be seen the list of major works or documents used in this work, but this is the place to point out that

I have not limited myself to a study of the books alone. R. G. Bhandarkar has added to his encouragement, the loan of the MSS of his last *Wilson Lectures*, unhappily still unpublished. If I have not generally cited the same, it is because the major argument has already appeared in the grammar by Joshi, who has also been able to consult the same. Besides Bhandarkar, V. B. Patwardhan, V. K. Rajvade, P. R. Bhandarkar and T. K. Laddu, other Maratha scholars have also helped me in various ways. By thanking them here by a brief mention, I do not forget that I have been able to benefit from their learning thanks to the two successive missions of the *Ecole Française d'Extrême Orient*.

In Europe also I am under obligation to more than one. But I do not wish to name other than my teachers, Sylvain Lév and A. Meillet. This work is based on their teaching and its appearance is due to their encouragement and their advice.

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We have, lastly, utilised the old prose-texts, almost all epigraphical. We have thought it useful to collect all these at the end of the work.

PHONETICS

Generalities

§ 28. The Indo-Aryan languages current to the east of Indus can be distinguished from one another chiefly by their grammatical forms. Their phonetic system is, on the contrary, considerably identical, at least as long as one limits oneself to observing the essential characteristics which faithfully reproduce those of Middle Indian. However, on examining the phonetics of any one of these languages separately, we find it has contradictions and irregularities without number. This is due to the fact that in all of them the vocabulary has been subject to multiple infiltrations. During all the periods, Gangetic India and the Deccan have had a common civilization and its regions have been united by constant relationships. But this unity came from the uniformity of the social system and not because of the durable pre-eminence of a centre of expansion. No region of India has imposed its language on the entire country, no province has imposed its dialect on the entire Maharashtra. Since then there was nothing to stop a dialect from the tendency of borrowing; this tendency could work all the more easily because each of the castes could independently enrich its vocabulary with elements, which it would, in its turn, contribute to the common language.

We thus find that within each dialect there is a large quantity of words or series of words which have had a history dependent of the dialects where they have been found in use. This history, which can be established with some difficulty even in the case of well-known languages as those of Europe, is altogether impossible, at least provisionally, in India. We could be content to observe and if possible, to classify the regularities caused by these borrowings in each of these speeches without explaining them.

In Marathi, the proportion of these mixtures seems to be less than elsewhere, at least in so far as it concerns the modern period. But it will be sufficient to recall what is said below

regarding numeration to see how even a series of generally ancient and homogenous vocabularies presents difficulties and contradictions from the point of view of phonetics. We should therefore, be ready to find in Marathi, on the one hand simple and general rules, which are common to this language and to the majority of the Indo-Aryan languages. On the other hand there is a large number of generally inexplicable peculiarities which gives a confused and complicated aspect to the phonetic of Marathi.

VOWELS

Elements of Marathi Vocalism

§ 29. We have seen, in § 3, that Middle Indian possessed the vowels *a*, *i*, *u*, short and long and *e*, *o*, normally long. The timbre of these vowels has remained unchanged in Marathi. Examples are: *āg* (*agni-*), *tin* (*trīṇi*), *pūt* (*putra-*) *yenem* (*eti*), *el* (*taila-*), *jot* (*yoktra-*), *cor* (*caura-*). The old diphthongs having been eliminated in Middle Indian, all the Marathi diphthongs are recent in origin and are due either to the contact of two vowels formerly separate as in *pri-* (*prati-*), *cauthā* (*cauritha-*), or are due to savant borrowings as in tatsama *gaurav* or *gair* (A. *gair*).

Treatment of the Vowel R

§ 30. In Middle Indian *a*, *i*, *u* correspond not only to the corresponding Sanskrit vowels, but are also the development of *r*. Three treatments are found in Middle Indian, without the principle of distribution being left to be clearly determined and without the treatment being unique in each of the words (see Pischel, § 49-53). In Marathi also are found the three treatments and numerous doublets. The examination of words which had a *r* in Sanskrit will furnish a good example of the contradictions presented by Marathi phonetics and the difficulties inherent in explaining the same. —In the list given below can be distinguished the examples attested in Prakrit, more recent examples and the Marathi doublets which will be pointed out therein.

1. Treatment *a* :—found in Prakrit : *asual* beside *rīs* (*ṛkṣa*; cf. *acchabhalla-*), *kānhā* with reference to tatsama *kisen* (*kṛṣṇa-*), *tan* (*trṇa-*), *tanh* (*trṣṇā*), *dādhā* (*dṛḍha-*), *dāvṇem* (if it is from a root *dṛp-*), *pāth* (*prṣṭha-*), *mau* (*mṛdu-*), *maḍem*, *melā* (*mṛta-*), *māṭhṇem* beside *miṭṇem* (*mṛṣṭa-*), *māṭī* (*mṛttikā*), *sāmḥhal* (*śṛṅghalā*). Both *dākhirṇem* and *dekhṇem* should be left aside : the former goes back, undoubtedly, not to *dṛś-* but to *drākṣ-* and the second results from the analogy of the Pkt *pekh-*, Skr. *prekṣ-*

(see Pischel, § 554 and note 10),—The words *kac* (*kṛtyā*) and *paḍkay* (*-kṛti*) go back to *deśi* origins.

The following are found only from a recent date : *kātyā* (*kṛttikā-*, could have been influenced by *kārtika-*), *ghāṭṇem* beside *ghusaṭṇem* (*ghṛṣṭa*), *tāṭh* (*tṛṣṭa-*) and probably *bāṭṇem* (*bṛh-*). The word *sadhā* is opposed to Skr *śithila-*, Pkt *siḍhla-* (see Wackernagel, § 16).

2. Treatment *i* :—found in Prakrit : *rīṇ* (*rṇa-*), *rīs* beside *aswal* (*rṣa-*), *iṭi* (*rṣṭi-*), *kivaṇ* (*kṛpaṇa*), *kisāṇ* (*kṛṣāṇa-*), *ghī* (*ghṛta-*), *ghenem* (*grh-*, possibly *grahi-*), *tīj*, cf. *aḍic* (*tṛtiya-*), *disnem* (*drśya-*), *dīṭh* (*drṣṭi-*), *bhimgruṭi* (*bhrṅga-*), *śimṅ* (*śṛṅga-*), *śiṭ* (*sṛṣṭi-*, the *a* of *nisaṭṇem*, cf. Skr *niḥsṛṣṭi-* is undoubtedly due to its position inside the word, see § 43), *hiyyā* (*hṛdaya-*).

Recent :—*taisā* (*tādrśa-*), *mitṇem* with reference to *māṭṇem* (*mṛṣṭa-*), probably also *piṭṇem* (*pṛṣṭa*). The root *khiṇḍ-* is probably a doublet of the Skr. and M. root *khamḍ-*. This can also be possibly a contamination of this latter with *khid-*. The word *vimcū* (*vrccikā*, Pkt. *vimchua-*) has betrayed its nature of a loan because of its *c* which can not come into Marathi from Pkt. *ch*.

3. Treatment *u* :—are found in Pkt.; *ujū* (*rju-*), (re. a special treatment in the initial position, which possibly explains the reduplication of *j* in Pkt *ujja-*, see § 106), *opṇem* (cf. Skr. *arp-*), *gumṭhṇem* (cf. Skr. *granth-* and M. *gāmṭhṇem*), *ghusaṭṇem* with reference to *ghāṭ* (*ghṛṣ-*), *pāūs* (*prāvrśa-*), *pusṇem* (*prcch-*).

Modern examples are doubtful : *komṇem* resembles several *Deśi* words where *r* appears, but the exact form of the prototype can not be reconstructed; *nijhūr* is related to *nijharṇem* (Pkt. *nijjharai*, Skr. root *kṣar-*), and *Deśi* has two words *nijjhūra-* and *nijjhara-*, but the preservation of the consonant *r* makes the word a case of suspected contamination, either with other forms of the same root, or even with other words; finally *pohā* (*pṛthuka-*) can be explained both by Pkt. * *pahna-* and *puhna-*.

§ 31. Which is the principle of differentiation among these various treatments ? Firstly it seems that one could appeal to purely phonetic influences. In all the old examples of *r > a* except in *mṛdu-*, the vowel of the syllable following *r* is *a*. In the majority of those where *r* is represented by *u*, the

following vowel is *u*, or *r* is in contact with a labial consonant (since then the Pkt. *mau-* can be conceived as the result of dissimilation). Finally in several cases where *r* has become *i*, can be observed the presence of an *i* in the neighbouring syllable, or the contact of a sibilant. Similar or analogous principles take into account the Pkt. treatments noted by Pischel, § 49-51 and also certain Pkt. forms which have penetrated into Sanskrit. Thus are explained the oppositions of *púnyaḥ* : *ninyāḥ*, of *kaṅkaṇaḥ* : *kiṅkiṇi* (see Meillet, *Album Kern*, p. 121).

But neither in Sanskrit, nor in Prakrit and not even in Marathi, does phonetics suffice to explain all the cases. It seems that we have also to consider the dialectal mixings and ascribe a partly geographical base to the distribution of certain treatments.

If we go upto the Veda, it will be observed that the most frequent treatment in the Prakritisms which have penetrated therein is *a* : thus *avaṭa-*, *kaṭuka-*, *vikaṭa-*; *aṇu-*, *kaṇa-*, *gaṇa-*, *phaṇ-*, *kaṣati*, *paṣṭha-*, *bhaṣa-*, *iraj-* (see Wackernagel, § 9, 146, 172, 208). *u* and *i* (*púnya-*; *ninyā-*, *śithirā-*, *krimi-* beside *kṛmi-*, see Wackernagel, § 16, 19) are rare and are always explained by special phonetic reasons. But the moment we arrive in the *Sūtra* period, the confusion between the different treatments is complete. Similar is the case for Pali, which like Sanskrit, is a mixed literary language.

On the contrary, on examining the various recensions of the inscriptions of Aśoka, despite the mixture which obscures them, a curious distribution is to be found. The version of Girnar ignores the treatment *i* (in *tārisa-* etc. there is probably no *r*, see Wackernagel, Preface, p. XXI, which, however, is contradicted by Brugmann, *Grundriss*, II, 1, p. 496, note). *u* is found only twice and in regard to *paripuchā*, *vula* are to be found, despite the labial *vaḍhi*, *maga*, *magavya*. Moreover a small group of words shows a significant variation : to *kala*, *daḍha*, *maga*, *magavya*, *vaḍhi* of Girnar correspond, at Shahbazgarhi *kiṭ(r)a* beside *kata*, *diḍha*, *mrugo* beside *magavya*, *vuḍhi* beside *vaḍhi* and *vaḍhanam*, at Kalsi *kitamñata* with regard to *kata*, *diḍha*, *mige*, *migavya*, *vuḍhānam* beside *vuḍhi* (Senart, *Inscr. de Piyadasi*), II, 330, 348, 369, 370; cf. the observations of T. Michelson, *Am. J. Phil.*, XXX, 428, XXXI, 56, 58;

JAOS, XXXI, 231, 249). This distribution seems to render legitimate the hypothesis that *a* is the dominant treatment in the South-West. The treatment *i* on the contrary seems to belong to the dialects of the north and the east, cf. at Bhabra, *adhigicya* (Skt. *adhikṛtya*) whose eastern character is manifest (see S. Lévi, JA, 1912, II, p. 512.).

The examination of literary languages leads to the same hypothesis. The Middle Indian speeches of the north did not have the fortune of becoming the literary languages. But if the Prakrits of the fragments of Buddhist dramas edited by Lüders know solely the treatment *i*, is it not because they belong to the central and eastern regions. During the classical epoch, if the words, for which several treatments are represented, are examined, it is found that Māhārāṣṭrī has most normally *a*, *i* being in Śaurasenī or Māgadhī (one should leave out the Jaina Prakrits, which are mixed). Thus *kida-*, *ghida-*, are the Śaura. and Māga. forms; cf Mg. *piṣṭa*, Śaur. *tiṇa*, *miu-*, *miccu-*, *puṭṭha-*, *vusaka-*, *diḍha-* beside *daḍha-* (Pischel, S 49, 52, 53).

If we now return to Marathi, it is found firstly that the forms, where Skt. *ṛ* is represented by *i* or *u*, are found in the cognate languages of the continent, except, naturally, when the words themselves are missing in these languages. Moreover the form containing *a* : *dādhā*, *mau*, *maḍem*, *melā*, *saḍhaḷ*, (*ghi*, *taisā*, which are exceptions, are the universal words in India). And when there is hesitation in modern languages, Marathi prefers the forms in *a* : *taṇ*, *tānh*, *pāṭh mātī*, *sām̐khal*. Now, for example, Hindi has for these words *tin*, *tis* (*tr̥ṣā*), *pīṭh*, *miṭṭī* (beside *maṭṭī*), *sikaḍ* (beside *sām̐kal*, cf. Bgl. *Śikhal*). On the other hand Gujarati and Simhalese are the only languages having *a* in the corresponding position of Skr. *tr̥ṇa*. Simhalese alone with Marathi continues the Pkt. *accha-* simultaneously with *riccha* (*ṛkṣa-*). Of the M. group *māṭhṇem* : *mitṇem*, Simhalese only knows the former. On certain points Gujarati and Simhalese go farther than Marathi : they are the only ones having an *a* for the *ṛ* of Skr. *hṛdaya-*, M. *hiyyā* (a word of literary language, undoubtedly borrowed from some other dialect). Simhalese has only an *a* in the words corresponding to M. *gheṇem*, *Śim̐g*, *Śiṭ*.

We are, therefore, led to suppose that the variations of treatment of *ṛ* in Marathi are explained, not only by phonetic

influences, but also by the mixing due to borrowing from the dialects of Central India, undoubtedly going back to an extremely early period and renewed since then. Leaving aside these borrowings, Marathi belongs in so far as the treatment of *r* is concerned, to a south-western dialectal group, to which also belong Gujarati and Sinhalese.

CHANGES DEPENDING ON THE PLACE OF VOWELS IN THE WORD

Preliminaries : Accent

§ 32. Although Marathi vocalism has been constituted with the same elements as that of Middle Indian, the Marathi vowels in certain cases do not always agree with the corresponding Prakrit vowels. The latter have, in effect, been subjected to a variable evolution depending on their place in the word.

1. The final syllables of polysyllabic words have all dropped out. Therefore, save certain archaic forms, all final Marathi vowels have resulted from the contraction of the old final vowel with the old penultimate vowel.

2. The penultimate vowels have survived; they have preserved their timbre and, when short, have become long. The old penultimate syllable has become, in Marathi, the final syllable and the rhythmic summit of the word : thence the use of rhyme in Marathi poetry.

3. The elements preceding the penultimate have lost their quantity and even if, they had been in an interior syllable, they have lost their own timbre.

The analogy shown by these alterations with those undergone by Latin words in Roman languages has often been noted, and it has been generally inferred that they were also due to the action of the accent of penultimate intensity, combined with an initial counter-accent, as given in the Darmesteter formula (see for ex. Beames, I, p. 17 ff., cf. Brandreth, 'The Gaurian compared with the Romance languages,' JRAS, 1879, p. 287 ff., 1880, p. 334 ff.). As a consequence the phonetic history of modern Indo-Aryan is prefaced by an account of accent and its history (see Grierson, *Phon.*, p. 395 ff.; Geiger § 4 ff.). This method would be necessary, if the existence and the laws of the accent had been established for each period. But the history of the accent and as a consequence the effect of its action are more difficult to determine than it is.

lack of positive data. Neither the literature nor the grammatical texts furnish us with any clear indication. It can, however, be presumed that if the accent of intensity had been noticeable in the classical period, the teaching relating to the Vedic tone would have had its equivalent in the study of the *bhāṣā*, at the cost of certain corrections or even of misunderstandings. This would have been almost certainly the case if the accent of intensity had taken the place of the old tone, as suggested by Pischel (see §46). Jacobi has justly dealt with this view; in his opinion the accent would have been placed on the first long vowel beginning from the end of the word. Moreover, a secondary accent would have struck the initial. This is not the place to discuss this theory in detail, which besides admits serious exceptions (see Jacobi I.F., XXXI, p. 219); but on reading the article of Jacobi (ZDMG, XLVII, p. 574 ff.), it will be seen that the weakness of the finals, all that is known of the Indo-European rhythm and the ordinary laws of Prakrit contraction suffices to explain the majority of cited examples, especially if note is taken of the presence of numerous tatsamas in Prakrit. One should, however, note the curious rules of the *phitsūtras* of Śāntanava cited by Jacobi (KZ, XXXV, p. 586) and which are said to yield traces of a tone placed according to a rhythmic rule beside a traditional one. Is this second tone in reality an accent of intensity? In all, the presence of an accent is not proved for the ancient period. It should even be recalled that the theories on this subject start from the observations of scholars of German origin (Haug, Bühler) on the modern pronunciation of Sanskrit—observations likely to have been falsified by a prejudice natural to these scholars, and which are, besides, contradicted by not only my personal experience, but also by phonographic recordings (see Felber, "die indische musik der Ved. u der klass. zeit," *Sitzsher, kais. Akad. Wiss. Wien, phil.-hist. kl*, CLXX, VII, 1912, p. 77 ff.).

§ 34. A description of the modern accent is, also, difficult and not certain. Beames admits his incapability of advancing a satisfactory theory. He alleges that the subject, obscure in all the cases, is particularly so in the languages that have passed a long period of their existence without any literature (I, p. 17,21). Evidently this reason is false but an author with such a clear and penetrating mind would have undoubtedly determined

the laws of accent in the Indo-Aryan languages, if observation had been even a little easier. One fact is certain, it is that where others point out the accent, they present it as very rarely marked and as getting mixed up with quantity. This, for example, is the case in Bihar (see Grierson, *Maith. Gram.*, § 28). In Hindi, Greaves says that accent does not exist (*Hindi Gram.*), § 26). With less firmness, Kellogg says practically the same thing ("...although unquestionably existing (accent) is much less marked than in English and is quite subordinate in importance to quantity..." § 35). Almost everywhere else, the grammarians agree in not mentioning the accent. In Bengali Anderson notes the existence of a phrase which, as for example in French, renders the accent of the word insignificant (see JRAS, 1912, p. 1074-5). In Marathi, Joshi admits its existence and "generally" puts it on the penultimate, or on the final if it is long (§ 176). Navalkar expresses himself as follows (§ 39), "In Marathi, each word is pronounced by an equal tone, the initial syllable alone being, during the effort of pronunciation, lightly raised above others. But accent, in the sense of *increased intensity* as in English, is unknown to Marathi, except in the three cases given below. "The cases cited by him are those of a vowel followed by two consonants (*ghaṭṭ*, *pakkā*; *Śabda*, *bakka*, etc.), of a short one followed by an anusvāra (*baṇḍ*, etc.) and of a vowel followed by a visarga (*duḥkha*, etc.). It can be easily seen that all these are consonantal groups, and result from borrowed words, either from Sanskrit or from other modern languages. Finally, and this is a particularly characteristic fact, the grammars written in indigenous languages (Goḍbole, Ciplūṅkar) totally omit the question of accent. Besides, recently collected evidence shows that the indigenous people have neither any idea of the accent nor a word for designating the same.

§ 35. Moreover, by accepting the current descriptions of Sanskrit and modern accent, one could not surely establish a link between the two periods. The abbreviation and the discolouration of interior vowels have been produced at different times and they do not have the character of necessity and consistence which would be expected if they had been solely due to intensity. The lengthening of the penultimate vowels become finals can also be explained in another way. Cases have

been found where the dropping of the final vowels alone determines the lengthening of the preceding vowel (see Streitberg, IF, III, p. 310-11). Moreover, the Marathi lengthening is recent in origin. This difficulty is found not only in Marathi. In the course of constructing a theory of accent for other languages, scholars have encountered a number of contradictions. Geiger (§ 4) is forced to suppose two different periods in the history of intensity in Sinhalese and two different strata in the languages. In his general explanation of Indo-Aryan phonetics (*Phon.*, p. 398-99), Grierson has had to admit the attractions of the accent of one syllable on the other and the absorptions of the principal accent by the counter-accent. What else can then be said except that the history of accent can not be construed in a continuous manner.

§ 36. It will also be useful to recall that all the facts of dissimilation pointed out below depend on laws which, according to the researches of Grammont, do not pre-suppose the accent of intensity.

Therefore it is useful to take into consideration the regular variations of quantity and even the timbre of vowels as depending on a purely quantitative rhythm. This will be done in what follows.

A. Final Vowels

§ 37. Following the loss of the final consonants in Sanskrit, Middle Indian had only known words ending in vowels. The characteristic weakness of the final element of the word, then, affected these vowels. It seems that the first trace of this phenomenon can already be found in the inscriptions of Aśoka : in the eastern versions of the Pillar-edicts, the final *ā* is written short (see T. Michelson, IF, XXXIII, p. 228-39; cf. Meillet, JA, 1908, II, p. 312). But undoubtedly because the abbreviated final long vowel had, however, remained longer than the non-final short vowels, all the literary Prakrits have preserved the traditional spelling upto a late date. In classical Prakrit, sometimes final *-ā* is found abbreviated : but this happens under morphologically determined conditions. Thus *jaha* = Skr. *yathā*, *va* = Skr. *vā*, etc. can be explained according to the interpretation of T. Michelson, as doublets of Indo-European origin. The terminations of the third sing.

of the aorist in *-lthā* : *ltha* are in any case obscure (Pischel, § 547, c.f § 520). As regards the absolutives in *-ua* (*kadua*, *gadua*, etc., Pischel, § 581) of the eastern dialects, which seem to recall the spelling of the eastern edicts of Aśoka, one may at least see therein a continuation of *tvā* with *ya*. There remain two facts of abbreviation which are sure and are common to all the classical Prakrits. 1. All nasalised long vowels become short in the final position (Pischel, § 83). 2. *-e* and *-o* also become short and are written as *-i* and *-u* from the time of the fragments found by Dutreuil de Rhins and in Prakrit texts in verse (Pischel, § 85). Probably the abbreviation and the closing of the final *-o* have, to some extent, contributed to the disappearance, general in Prakrit, of the middle conjugation to the benefit of the active conjugation (see Pischel, § 452).

In almost all the modern Indo-Aryan speeches, the final vowels have dropped out. The only exceptions are Bihari (see Grierson, *Maith. Gram.*, § 8-10), Kashmiri, Sindhi (see Grierson, *Phon*, § 400) and Simhalese (see Geiger, § 28, 2c, § 30). In Marathi final vowels survive only in the middle part of the Konkan, where all of them are short. This survival is undoubtedly due to the influence of Dravidian habits (see LSI, *Mar.*, p. 167, 188, 189). This exception apart, there are no final vowels in Marathi which are not archaisms or are the product of contractions, or finally the result of similar innovations.

§ 38. The dropping of *-a*, short or long, pure or nasal, is anterior to the constitution of Marathi and its traces can be detected only in poetic scansion. On the contrary, *-i* and *-u* have continued longer. The manuscript tradition of ancient poets is not fixed; but it constantly gives the termination of the dative singular and of the second pers. sing. in *-sī* (mod. *-s*), the termination of the third pers. pl. in *tī* (mod. *-t*), the nom. sing. masc. normal in *-u* and even in *-o* after a vowel, after *v*, *y* and *h*. Thus we read in the *Abhi-
laṣitārtha-cintāmaṇi* the forms *rāvo nārāyaṇu*. Same is the case in the old inscriptions : at Pandharpur, *phāgani-pur*, *deva-
rāyāsi*, *vivaru* (l. 3), *paṇḍitū* (l. 28). Are also to be found in the texts of the 16th century (*Granthamālā*, March, 1902 p. 31-3), *paṭailu* and *pāṭelu*, *sāvantu*, *sāmantah*). During the later period at least these spellings are very probably archaic,

It will not be possible to explain without this the incoherence of the tradition. If one finds final *-i* written indifferently short or long in *Hemādī*, short in *māli*, *joisi* (Pandharpur, l. 4, 17), it is undoubtedly because during this period final *i* is already common. Therefrom are derived the spellings *jarī*, *tarī* (mod. *jar*, *tar*, Skr. *yarhi*, *tarhi*), *-asī*, *-atī* (mod. *-as*, *at*, Skr. *-asi*, *-anti*) etc. of the old literary texts, in forms where it concerns the short *i* in Sanskrit.

Simultaneously along with quantity, the timbre of *-i* and *-u* has changed. Both the phonemes have got mixed up with *-a*. Its proof is to be had in the pronunciation of the enclitic *-c*, which is a dental affricate, whereas the form of this enclitic in old Marathi and in Konkani is *-ci*. Now, it is known that the palatals preserve the old pronunciation before *i* (see infra). A similar example is probably furnished by *-s*, which is added to the nouns of relationships (*ājā-s*, *ājī-s*, etc.) and to the names of divinities (*lām̐v* : *lām̐s* = *Deśī lāmā*). This *s* undoubtedly represents the Skr. *-Śrī*. Now the pronunciation of this phoneme is *s* and not *ś*, which proves that *-ī* got mixed up with *a* before disappearing.

The treatment of certain diphthongs in the final position will be examined from § 60 onwards. Here are given examples of the loss of simple vowels :

§ 39. Pkt. *-a* and *-am̐* have been dropped in: *āj* (*adya*), *āṭh* (*aṣṭa*), *pām̐c* (*pañca*); nom., acc., neut. *nām̐v* (*nāma*), *jal* (*jalām̐*), *pān* (*parṇām̐*); the termination of the inst. sing. in *-em̐* (*-ena*).

Pkt. *-ā* and *-ām̐* have been lost in nom., *-acc.*, sing. fem. as *āt* (*Deśī attā*), *ās* (*āśā*, *āśām̐*), *kaḷ* (*kalā*, *kalām̐*) *vel* (*velā*), *velām̐*), *vāṭ* (*vartman*), Pkt. fem. *vaṭṭā*, *vaṭṭām̐*), in the nom. *-acc.*, pl. masc. Skr. *-āḥ*, *-ān*, in the termination of the oblique pl. masc., neut. *-ām̐* developed out of the Skr. *-āṇām̐* and fem. *-īm̐*, developed out of Skr. *-īnām̐*. The adverb *haṭh* is obscure; it can not be determined whether it represents the Pkt. *heṭṭhā* or a case (acc. neut. or loc.) of the Pkt. adj. *heṭṭha* (Pischel, § 107). In Marathi, final *-ā* or *-ām̐* is the result of a contraction : this is the case in the oblique pl. masc. neut. cited above or in the termination of the second pl., where it goes back to Pkt. *-aha*, Skr. *-atha*. Similarly the nom. masc. sing. in *-ā* goes back to the Pkt. *-ao*. As regards *sahā* "six", *dahā* "ten", their final vowel has been added afterwards.

It should be remarked in passing that final *-ām* has been lost in Marathi without having changed its timbre as a preliminary. In the Middle Indian dialects, which are at the origin of certain other languages, the nasality had rendered this vowel into a surd. From there comes the opposition between the termination of the nom. -acc. neut. sing., which in Gujarati is *-um* and the corresponding form of Marathi *-em* (*-akam*). Similarly the word for "hundred", Skr. *śatām*, has become in the languages of the centre and of west, other than Marathi, S. *sau*, G. *śo*, H. Pj. *sau* beside *sai*, whereas we have on the other hand M. *Śem*, H. Pj. *sai*, O. *Śae*, B. *Śaye*, Simh. *Siya*. This is how we can undoubtedly explain the termination of the oblique pl. in Hindi *-om* (*-ānām*) corresponding to the *-ām* of Marathi, Rajasthani, Panjabi, Sindhi (and possibly Gujarati). It is not impossible that the enigmatic termination of the first pers. sing. *-ūm* of Hindi (*-āmi*) had the same origin. Apabhramśa is included among the dialects which have thus unvoiced the final *-am*. It is known that *-am* becomes therein *-u* and that *-akam* becomes *-aum* (Pischel, § 351-52). Similarly the termination of the first pers. sing. there is *-aum*. Therefore irrespective of the value of the evidence furnished by the same (cf. § 22), Apabhramśa parts company with Marathi on this important point and is put in the group of the Central dialects. Probably the preservation of the original timbre of the final *-am* in the Middle Indian dialect preceding Marathi has something to do in the preservation of the neuter gender in the nominal declension. In fact, *-am* remained distinct from *-o*, in termination of masculines (*devo*, etc.) On the contrary in those languages where Pkt. *-am* became *-u*, this termination got mixed up with *u* developing out of the Pkt. *-o*.

Pkt. *i* and *iṃ* have been dropped in the nom.-acc. of the nouns in *-i* : *āg* (*agniḥ*, *agnim*), *ām* (*arciḥ*, *arcim*), etc, in the termination of the second pers. sing. present *-s* (*-si*), in that of the third pl. of the same tense *-t* (*-nti*), in the prefix *pad-* (*prati-*, Pkt. *paḍi-*) and in the conjunction *paṇ*, anciently *paṇi*.

Pkt. *-ī* and *-iṃ* have been lost in the nom. -acc. sing. and pl. of the fem. nouns of Skr : *-ī*, *-iṃ*, *-in*, as shown in the chapter on declension. *ārāt* (* *ārātri*), *kel* (*kadalī*), *dāvaṃ* (*dāmanī*), etc.; adj. fem. in *-iṇ*, Skr. *-inī* : *dudhiṇ* etc.—The

Marathi nouns in *-ī* go back to Pkt. *-io*, *iā*, *-iam*, for which see the same chapter. The verbal forms—*āthī*, *nāthī* (*asti*, *nāsti*), the pronouns *ahmī*, *tumhī* “us, you” are the forms fixed during their evolution; *jarī*, *tarī* for *jar*, *tar* (*jarhi*, *tarhi*) belong to the poetic language.

Pkt. *u* and *-um* have been dropped in the nom. -acc. sing. of the nouns in *-u* : *taṃt* (*tantu-*), *kāṃg* (*kaṅgu-*), *khāj* (*kharju-*), *jāmbh* (*jāmbū-*), *pāṃg* (*paṅhu-*), *phāg* (*pholgu-*), *bumd* (*biṇdu-*), *vīj* (*vidyul-*, Pkt. *vijju-*), *hiṃg* (*hiṅgu-*); cf. the derivative *Śegaṭ* (*śigru-*).

Examples are lacking for the final *-ū*. It is a morpheme already rare in Sanskrit (Whitney, *Skr. Gram.*, § 1179); *-ū* and *-ūṃ* of Marathi go back to Pkt. *-uo*, *-uā*, *-uam*. They frequently answer for the Skr. *-u*, because the Sanskrit stems have been most often enlarged; this is why there are forms like *pāṃgū*, *vijū* beside *pāṃg*, *vīj*, etc.

Skr. *-e* and *-o* got at first reduced to *-i* and *-u* and then were lost; *-e* is attested indirectly in the pronouns *ahmī*, *tumhī*; of it nothing remains in the adverbial forms *ās*, *āspās* which are the old locatives (*aśre*, *pārśve*). Similarly *-o* has been lost in the adverb *āgas* (*agraśaḥ*) and in the nom. sing. masc. It survives only in the pronouns (*jo*, *to*), in the participles used as indicative present (*uṭh-to*, etc, see infra), in *rāo* (*rājan-*) and the nouns whose last consonant is *h* : *kaḷho* (*kalaha-*), *māho* (*māgha-*), *lāho* (*lābha*) *loho* (*loha-*). Moreover Navalkar (§ 104) prefers *ḍoh*, *moh* to *ḍoho*, *moho* and finally in proper nouns like *kanho-bā* (*kṛṣṇa-*), *viṭho-bā* (*viṣṇu-*). The reduced form of the same case will also be found in *kāū* (*kāka-*), *pihū* (*priya-*), in the hypocristics like *Rāmū*, etc. (see Joshi, § 206a) and in a derivative of the type *mehu-ḍā* (*megha-*).

B. As Penultimate Syllables

§ 40. As a general rule, the timbre of the penultimate vowel has been preserved without any change since Prakrit and if it had been short, it had been lengthened.

For *-i* and *-u*, the fact is noted in the script. Example : the termination of feminine in *-īṇ* (Skr. *-inī*) as *paltīṇ*, *rajputīṇ*, etc., *kaṇīs* (*kanis*; oblique sing. *kaṇsā*), *halīs* (*halisā*), tats. *kaṭhīṇ* and *kadhīṇ*, *kuṭī*, the termination of the second and third sing.

of the future in -śīl, -īl (see *infra*), *gugūl* (*guggulu*), *niṭhūr* (*niṣṭhura-*), *māṇus* (in compositio *māṇas-* : Skr. *mānuṣ(y)a-*), *lākūd* beside *lakḍā* (Skr. *lakuṭa-*), *lasūṇ* beside *lasaṇ* (*laśuna-*), *hiṃgūl* (*hiṅgula-*), tats. *ākūl* (*ākula-*).

For *a* the notation is more hesitating. In a general way, the etymological quantity is preserved. We have, thus, on one side : *kavāḍ* (*kapāṭa*), *kiṣāṇ* (*kṛṣāṇa-*) and on the other *kaval* (*kavala-*), *kāpaḍ* (*karṣaṭa-*), *pākḥar* (Deśī *pakkharā*), *pātaḷ* (Deśī *pattala-*); but *a* is found most often in the case where this vowel precedes an ancient geminated consonant : *ālas* (*ālasya-*), *karavat* (*karapatra-*), *savat* (*sapatni-*), as regards *umās* (Deśī *ummacchia-*). On the other hand we have *kirāṇ* (*kirāṇa-*) in a tatsama. The treatment of *pahār* (*prahara-*), *vahāṇ* (*upānah-*) on the one hand and of *rahāṭ* (*araghaṭṭa-*) on the other is special and is explained by the presence of the aspiration between two *as* (see *infra*). The incertitudes of symbols should create no illusions as regards the quantity of the vowel : in reality the vowel noted as *ā* in Devanagari is always long in the final syllable (see Joshi, § 170).

§ 41. The penultimate syllable of Prakrit has become the final in Marathi. In fact either it had been separated from the final vowel by a geminated consonant and in this case the final vowel of Prakrit has fallen, or the fall of an old inter-vocalic consonant has put the penultimate and the final vowels in contact and in this case these two vowels have become short. We may, therefore, formulate the rule concerning the lengthening of the Prakrit vowel as follows: *in Marathi the last vowel of the word is always long.*

As a result of this law all the vowels of the mono-syllabic words are long. Examples : 1. Penultimate : *kac* (*kṛtya-*) also written *kāc*; *kaḷ* (*kalā*), *jaḷ* (*jala-*), pronounced *koec*, *koel*, etc.; *āt* (Deśī *attā*), *ār* (*ajagara-* cf. *arā*), *āg* (*agni-*), *khāj* (*kharju-*), *iṭ* (*iṣṭā*), *gidh* (*gṛdhra-*), *kīr* (*kīla*), *ūs* (*ikṣu-*), *kās* (*kakṣa-*), *pūl* (Pers. *pul*); 2. Finals : *thā* (Deśī *thāha-*), *bīm* (*bīja-*), *gahūṃ* (*godhūma-*), etc. — This rule does not apply to accessory words, as *cir* “fast !” (*ciram*), *paṇ* “but” (*punaḥ* Pkt. *pana*), or to pronouns like *to* “he.”

The lengthening is of recent date. The old texts do not note it with regularity and a word like *udīḍ* is still in Deśī *udīḍo*.

§ 42. Exceptions. 1.—The vowels followed by a nasal

and occlusive are long or short, according as they are nasalised or not nasalised and as the nasal has lost or kept its articulation (see § 68). 2. In a certain number of words, the penultimate vowel of the polysyllabic words has been weakened, in accordance with the rule concerning the interior vowels. We have thus *kilac* beside *kilic* (Deśi *kiliñca-*), *nāraḷ* beside *nārel* (*nārikela-*), *nisān* and *niśin* (*niḥśreṇi-*), *pares*, *pāras*, and *paris* (*parikṣā*), *paral*, *parāḷ* and *pareḷ* (Deśi *pariatī*); *phāṇas* and *phāṇus* (Arab., Pers. *fānūs*), *lasan* and *lasūṇ* (*laśuna-*), *sābaṇ* and *sābūṇ* (Arab. *sābūn*). The form with *ī* or *ū* is missing for *āṇvas* (*amisa-*), *avaḷ* (Deśi *avila-*), *kavaṭh* (*kapittha-*), *puḷaṇ* (*pulina-*), *vaṇaj* (*vāṇijyā-*), *saḍhal* (*Śithila-*), *Śiras* (*śirīṣa-*), *haraṇ* (*hariṇa-*); *kukar-* (*kukkura-*). Similarly is found the shortened *ā*, at least in appearance, in *iṅgaḷ* (*aṅgāra-*, Pkt. *iṅgāla-*), *paḍkhar* (Deśi *padhikhāro*), *paḷas* (*palāśa-*), *paiṭhaṇ* (*Pratiṣṭhāṇa-*), *māvlaṇ* (*mātulāṇi*), *mhasaṇ* (*Śmaśāna-*) and probably in *āḷas* (*ālasya-*).

All these variants are difficult to explain. No doubt that some words must be put aside, as *pāras* where could be seen a contamination of *parikṣā* and of *sparśa-*; *kukar*, suspected to be borrowed, the usual word for "dog" being *kuṭrā*, *kuṭrem*; the short of *kuṇṇar* masc. beside *kuṇṇār* fem., (*kumāra-*, *kumārī*) is found since Prakrit. The *a* of *hāḷad* (*haridrā*) is also given by Prakrit grammarians (see, however, Pischel, § 115). But the totality of facts is interpreted with difficulty. Should one see therein the trace of the borrowings of Marathi from the neighbouring dialects? In fact it is known that Gujarati often reduces *i* and *u* to *a* in all positions (see Grierson, *Phon.*, § 20, 23) and *avaḷ*, *kukar*, *phaṇas*, *lasan*, *haraṇ*, *haḷas* are actually to be found in this language. In the dictionaries of Hindustani are to be found doublets similar to those of Marathi. If the hypothesis enunciated above were exact, it will be necessary to consider that in the case of Hindustani one of the series would come from a dialect of Rajsthan. But this explanation does not take into account the shortening of *a* : except *kuṇṇar*, all the forms cited above belong to Marathi.

It is no less difficult to determine the date of these changes. Prakrit has already got *hāḷadda-*, *kumara-*, *sirisa-*. The Sanskrit of the later period possesses *kurala-* beside *kurula-* : cf. Marathi *kural* and *kurūḷ*. In Deśi *ṇisaṇi* is found by the side of *avila-*,

kilimcī, but the *Jñāneśvari* also writes *āṃvis*, which in the modern language is *āṃvas*, and it is quite possible that *phāṇas* may be a very modern loan.

C. Before the Penultimate Syllable :—

§ 43. In the entire part of the word preceding the penultimate syllable of Prakrit, that is to say the final syllable of Marathi, the quantity is uncertain and tends to be short. This law is common to Marathi and to the Panjabi-Hindi-Bihari group, and probably to other languages also (see Grierson, *Phon.*, § 34, 2, p. 414; *Maithili Gram.* § 32 ff; Hoernle, § 25, 146; Beames, I, § 40). In Marathi, it applies more rigorously to *i* and *u* and more to *e* and *o* than to *a*. For this last phoneme, the shortening appears to be less frequent, and it seems that contradictory actions are produced. But the question is obscured by the fact that the indigenous notation of quantity can also denote the timbre (cf. § 15). If it is a question of noting open short *ā*, the writing will fatally hesitate between the signs representing *a* and *ā*, which are both of them false, the first in regard to timbre and the second in regard to quantity. However, it is not impossible that the biggest regularity of writing concerning *i* and *u* expresses a real phenomenon. It is known in fact that, all else being equal the closed vowels tend to be pronounced as short as they are more closed (see Meillet, MSL, XV, p. 265-67).

In the initial syllable, only the quantity is effected. As the non-initial syllable, the brevity is pushed to the point where *i*, *u* and even *e*, *o* lose their own timbre and get mixed with *a*. This is why the *e* of *viṃcñī*, for example, is a dental affricate, although the old form was *viṃciñī*. In fact, it will be seen below that the old palatals have lost their hushing character only before *a*, *u* and *o* and have preserved it before *i* and generally before *e*.

1. As the Initial Syllable :

§ 44. As the initial syllable, *i* and *u* are always short. Thus beside *gilṇem* (*gil-*), *civaḍṇem* (*cipiṭa-*), *tivaṇ* (*triparṇa-*); *tusār* (*tuṣāra-*), *tuḷas* (*tulasī*), *tulṇem* (*tūl-*), where these vowels are

short because of their origin, one also finds, corresponding to old *i* and *ū* :

jīṇem (*jīv-*), *jīṇem* (*jīrya-*) *piṭlā* (*pīṭala-*), *piṣṇem* (*pīms-*, Pkt. *pīs-*), *pīṇem* (*pīd-*), *kudṇem* (*kūrd-*), *dhutārā* (*dhūrta-*), *purā* (*pūrīta-*), *suār* (*sūpakāra-*), *suī* beside *sū* (*sūcī*), where *i* and *u* had been long by nature. They had been so because of position in the old forms of *khijṇem* (*khidyā-*), *citā*, *citārī* (*citra-*), *nikāmī* (*niḥkarma-*), *nisaṇ* (*niḥśreṇī*), *bhitar* (*abhyantara-*), *riṭhā* (*ariṣṭaka-*), *ritā*, cf. *rikāmā* (*rikta-*); *kudāla* (*kuddāla-*), *cukṭī* (Deśī *cukka-*), *cukṇem* (Deśī *cukk-*), *duhal* (*duḥkāla-*), *putlā* (*putra-*), *punav* (*pumṇāga-*), *pusṇem* (*proṇch-*), *bujhṇem* (*budhya-*), *bhukṇem* (*bhukk-*), *rusṇem* (*ruṣya-*).

This law has been generally noted. Firstly a propos of the dissyllables terminated by a long vowel as *isād*, derived from *is* (*iā*), *kiḍā* (*kīṭaka-*), *gidhād* (*grdhra-*), *citā* (*citra-*), *ritā* (*rikta-*); *khujā* (*kubja-*), *cukā* (*cukra-*), *cudā* (*cūdā*), *cunā* (*cūrṇa-*), *jui* (*yūtikā*), *junā* (*jīrṇa*), *juvā*, (*dyūta*), *purā* (*pūrīta-*), *puḷā* (*pūla-*), *puvā* (*pūpa-*), *mudī* (*mudrikā*), *ruī* (Deśī *rūvī*), *sukā* (*śuṣka-*), *sugī* (Pkt. *sugga-*), *śunā* (*śūnya-*); cf. Grierson, *Phon.*, § 13. Secondly, as regards the compounds like *dhūpāṇgrā* (*dhūp + aṇgārā*), *phulel* (*phul + tel*), see Grierson, *ibid*, § 34. In this case orthography often dissimulates the abbreviation, but we should not be misled by the same. On the word *kūlkarnī*, Molesworth, has this to say, "This form of spelling is desirable, for system is desirable; but the People favour it not"; and he refers back to *kulkarnī*, which is the form in vogue.

As has been seen, the abbreviation is not limited to these two cases and occurs in all types of words. Thereby Marathi is the opposite—at least if we trust the writing—to languages bordering it in the east. In the North, Gujarati does not distinguish between the quantity of *i* and *u* in writing (see Beames, I, 151) and often transforms *i* and even *u* into *a* (see LSI, *Rajasth.*, p. 329). Marathi is, therefore, possibly not isolated and is a part of, from the view-point of initial vowels, of a western group.

As a consequence of the observation made above, a word like *pīḍṇem* is borrowed or re-made on *pīd-*. Similarly a word like *jīṭā* "bow-string" (*jā*) is betrayed by its form like a tatsama.

§ 45. As regards *e* and *o*, orthography does not generally enable us to observe the same phenomenon. But the

Kannada script, which notes short *ě* and *ô*, enables us to recognise in the central dialects a gradation *ek* : *ekā*, *lok* : *lôkā* similar to that of *kīḍ* : *kīḍā*, etc. (see LSI, Mar., p. 168, 194). The closing consecutive upon abbreviation has been noted more than once in the script : thus *dikil* "will see", from *dekh*, *hutā* "was" from *ho* (ibid., p. 122). The same abbreviation is indirectly revealed in the equivalences *a* and *o* in *colkar*, *catkar* for *catkor* (*cauth* + *kor*), *gamūtra* for the tatsama *gomūtra*, etc., cf. also the form *kupīṇ* for Skr. *kaupīna*-, *gurūṃ* (*gorūpa*-), and *gahūṃ* (*godhūma*-).

If we judge by the form *akrā* (*ekādaśa*, Pkt. *ekkaraha*) whose initial vowel has, besides, an enigmatic timbre, this phenomenon must go back far in to the past.

One should not, however, consider all initial *es* or *os* as short on the same count as the short *i*, for example. Radical *e* or *o* notably tend to remain long. Beside *ēkā-lā*, dative of *ek*, we have *ēklā* "alone", derived from the same word. Similar is the case with the verbs *ṭheṇṇem*, etc. On the other hand, we pronounce *mī tyālā bheṭlom hōtōṃ*. "I have called on him", but under the influence of the rhetorical accent, the *e* of *tethwar* "upto that" (*tatropari*) will be pronounced clearly long. The question is all the more complicated by the frequent exchange of *e* and *i*, of *o* and *u*, which goes back to Prakrit and which will be discussed later.

§ 46. As in the case of *e* and *o*, the quantity of *a* as the initial syllable is not constantly determined. When the vowel is preceded by a consonant, its etymological quantity is generally preserved. Examples :

a > *a* : *kaḍem* (*kaṭaka*-), *kaḍtar* (D. *kaḍantara*-), *kaḍap* (D. *kaḍappa*-), *kaḍhṇem* (*kvath*-), *kaḍā* (*kaṭarda*-), *kavaḷ* (*kavala*-) (*kavala*-), *kaṣṇem* (*kaṣ*-), *kaḷṇem* (*kaḷ*-), *kalamb* (*kadamba*-), *kaḷṭā* (*kalāpa*-), *kaḷas* (*kalaśa*-), *kaḷi* (*kalikā*), *kharad* (*khara*-), *kharnem* (*kṣar*-), *khavam* (*kṣapaṇika*-), *khavā* (D. *khavaa*-), *khaḷṇem* (*skhal*-), *gaṇṇem* (*gaṇaya*-), *gavaṣṇem* (*gaveṣa*-), *gaḷā* (*gala*-), *ghaḍṇem* (*ghaṭ*-), *ghaḍā* (*ghaṭa*-), *caḍhṇem* (Pkt. *caḍ*-), *caṇā* (*caṇaka*-), *caṇem* (*cyar*-), *jaḍṇem* (root *jaṭ*-), *jaḷū* (*jalaukā*), *jhaḍṇem* (Pkt. *jhaḍ*-), *jhamṇem* (*yabh*-), *tarnā* (*taruṇa*-), *tarnem* (*tar*-), *tarams* (*tarakṣa*-), *taroḍ* (D. *taravaṭṭa*-), *tavā* (*taṭ*-, D. *tavaa*-), *taḷṇem* (D. *tal*-), *taḷāv* (*taḍāga*-), *tharū* (*tsaru*-), *thavā* (*stabaka*-), *dahim* (*dadhi*-), *dharṇem* (*dhar*-), *naī* (*nadī*),

navā , navrā (nava-, navavara-), navas (nam-), padṇem (pad-),
 padhṇem (paṭh-), paṇat (pranapṭṛ-), pahilā (cf. prathama-),
 paḷṇem (palāy-), paḷas (palāśa-), paḷhem (D. ṭalahī), phalā
 (phalaka-), baisṇem (upaviś-), barū (D. barua-), balūṇ (bhagini),
 mau (mṛdu), madhṇem (mṛṣ-, Pkt. maḍh-), maḍhū (madhu-),
 marṇem (mar-), maśī (maśi), mhasaṇ (śmaśāna-), mahāg
 mahārgha-), mahāḷ (mahālaya-), maḷṇem (mala-), mhais (mahiṣi),
 raḍṇem (raṭ-), rasāl (rasāla-), rahaṇvar (ralha-), rahas (rahasya-),
 rahāt (araghaṭṭa-), lavaṇṅ (lavaṅga-), lasūṇ (laśuna-), lahar
 (laharī), lahu (laghu-), vaṇvā (D. vaṇava-), varai (varāha-),
 varamḍā (D. veraṇḍa-) varāt (varayātrā), vaṇṇem (vas-), vahū
 (vadhū-), vaḷṇem (val-), valem (valaya-), sai (sakhī), sadṇem
 (saṭ-), sarṇem (sar-), sarvā (D. sarivāa-), saru (tsaru-) savamṅ
 (samargha-), savad (D. savada-), savat (sapatni-), samothal
 (sama-), savā (sapāda-), saram (samaya-), sasā (śaśa-), haḍak-
 ṇem (root haṭh-, haḍdi-), haṇṇem (han-), haraṇ (hariṇa-), har-
 ṇem (har-), haryāl (haritāla-), hasṇem (has-), haḷad (haridrā),
 haḷis (haḷiśā), halū (Pkt. halu-).

ā > ā : kāṇā (kāṇa-), kārṇem (kāraṇa-), kāḷā (kāla-),
 khāṇem (khād-), gāū (gāv-), gāḍhā (gāḍha-), jāi (jāti-), jāū (yātr-),
 jaṇṇem (jānāāti), jāṇem (yā-), jāṇvai (jāmātr), jāḷem (jālaka-),
 tāṇem (tāpaya-), tāḷū (tālu-), thāvarṇem (sthā), thāḷā (sthāla-),
 dāṇaṇ (dāmanī), nhāvi (nāpita-), nāṇem (nāṇaka-), nāṇeḷ (nārikela-),
 nāṣṇem (nāśaya-), pāū (padana-), pāūs (pravṛṣa-), pāṇi (pāṇiya-),
 ṭāradh (D. pāradhā-), pārvā (pārāvāta-), pāravḍā (prākāra-),
 pārā (pārāta-), pāiṇem (prāp-), pāḷṇem (pālana-), phāṇūs (Ar.
 fānūs), bāilā (D. bāullī), bāher (bāhira-), māḍi (D. maḍia-),
 māṇas (māṇuṣa-), māho (māgha-), māḷā (D. mālā-), rāi (rājikā),
 rāūt (rājaputra-), rāuḷ (rājakula-), rāhi (rādhā), vāḍhā (vāḷa-),
 vāṇi (vāṇija-), vārṇem (vyāhar-), vārā (vāta-), vārik (D.
 vāria-), vārū (vāru-), vāvar (vyāpara-), vāḷā (vāḷa-), vāḷū
 (vālukā), sāū (sādhu-), sāy (D. sāha-), sāyar (sāgara-), sārī
 (sārikā), sāḍe (sārdha-), sāvantu (sāmanta-), sāmvar (D.,
 sāmari), sāvaḷ (D. sāhulī-), sāvlī (chāyā), sāmva (śyāmāka-),
 sāmvlā (śyāmala-), śalā (śyāla-).

§ 47. Similarly the lengthening of *a* as a compensation
 for the simplification of a geminated consonant is generally
 maintained. ākkā (akṣata-), āthi (astī), ādhā (ardha-), āpaṇ
 (ātmā-), kāṇkaḍi (karkaṭikā) kājaḷ (kajjala-), kātar (kartari-),
 kāṇcḍā (karṇāṭka-), kāḷad (karṇaḷa-), kāpūr (karpūra-), kāpūs

(cf. *karpāsa-*), *kāṃsav* (*kacchapa-*), *khājum* (*khādyā-*), *khāpar* (*kharpara-*), *gājñem* (*garj-*), *gādhav* (*gardabha-*), *gātādī* (D. *gattādī*), *cākhñem* (*cakṣ-*), *Śāññem* (cf. Pkt. *caḍḍai*), *cāṭū* (D. *caṭṭu*), *jāmpñem* (*jalp-*), *jhālar* (*jhallari*), *thādā* (Pkt. *thadḍha-*) *dājñem* (*dahya-*), *dāvā* (D. *ḍavva-*), *tatāññem* (*lapta-*), *tāpñem* (*tapya-*), *tāṣñem* (*takṣa-*), *nāgā* (*naga*), *nācñem* (*nṛtya-*), *nāṭhā* (*naṣṭa-*), *nātū* (*naptr-*), *pāmklī* (*pakṣmala-*), *pākhar* (*upaskara-*), *pākhrūm* (*pakṣi-*), *pāṭharñem* (*prasthāpya-*), *pādā* (cf. D. *paḍḍī*), *pāṭal* (D. *pattala-*), *pāḍñem* (*pard-*), *pālā* (*pallava-*), *bābar* (*barbara-*), *bhājñem* (*bhraj-*), *bhādarñem* (*bhādra-*), *bhādvā* (*bhādrapada-*), *mākhaṇ* (*mrakṣaṇa-*), *māgnñem* (*mārg-*), *māmjar* (*mārjāra-*) *māmjñem* (*marj-*), *mātī* (*mṛttikā*), *māthā* (*mastaka-*), *māmdñem* (*mard-*), *māññem* (*manya-*), *māśī* (*makṣikā*), *rākhñem* (*rakṣ-*), *rāñī* (*rājñī*), *rātā* (*raktā-*), *rābñem* (cf. *rambh-*, *larb-*), *lāgnñem* (*lagna-*), *lāḍñem* (*lard-*), *lādhñem* (*labdha-*), *vākhāṇ* (*vyākhyāna-*), *vāguḷ* (D. *vaggolai*), *vājñem* (*vādyā-*), *vāññem* *vāṭṭā* (*vart-*), *vādhñem* (*vardh-*), *vādhāyā* (*vardhaka-*), *vāññem* (*varṇ-*), *vādal* (*vardalikā*), *vādhī* (*vardhra-*), *vāsrūm* (*vatsa-*), *sākhar* (Pkt. *sakkarā*, Gk. *sakkhari*) *kājñem* (*sajj-*), *sāmdñem* (*chard-*), *sātvaṇ* (*sapta-*), *sātū* (*saktu-*), *sādaññem* (*śāḍvala-*), *sāsū* (*śvaśrū-*), *hāññem* (Pkt. *haṭṭ-*), *hālñem* (D. *hall-*).

But we also find numerous examples of the abbreviation of *ā* and some cases of the lengthening of *a* :

§ 48. In a general way, when a play of morphological gradation emphasises the rhythmic importance of the end of the word, the *a* of the beginning tends to be short, like other vowels. To Skr. *carpaṭa* corresponds Marathi *cāpaṭ* which has the same sense of “below, level.” But the expansion provokes the abbreviation of the initial syllable in *capḍā*. Similarly *tāṭī* has as its derivative *taṭyā*. As regards *cāññem* “to go”, we have the imp. second pl. *calā*. Similarly *vatīm* is the locative of a word* *vāt*, lost, derived from the Skr. *vaktra-*. Thus is explained the opposition of *paṭhār*, *pathārī* on the one hand and *pāthar* (*prastāra*) on the other. From there comes the abbreviation of the initial syllable in the derivative and compound words; which give rise to the following oppositions :

khāṭ (*khaṭvā*) : *khaṭamṅ* (*khaṭvāṅga-*), *gādhav* : *gadhdā* (*gardabha-*), *cāk* (*cakra-*); *cakvī* (*cakravāka-*), *nāṭ*, *nāṭhā* : *nathārā* (*naṣṭa-*), *nāk* : *naktā-* (Pkt. *nakka-*), *phāññem* :

phaṭakṇem (*sphat-*), *māvḷā* (*mātalaka-*): *māvḷaṇ* (*mātulāni*); *lākh* : *lakārī* (*lākṣā*), *vākhāṇ* : *vakhāṇṇem* (*vyākhyāna-*), *vāṇī* (*vāṇija-*); *vaṇaj*, *vaṇjār* (*vāṇijya-*); infin. *vāḍhṇem* : part *vaḍhinṇalā* (*vardh-*) Similarly the reduplicatives *haḷhāl*, *halahvāl* beside *hāl-ahvāl*, the only one conforming to its original in Arabic. Similar also are the causatives : *maṭhāviṇem*, *maṇāviṇem* with reference to *māṭhṇem* (*mṛṣṭa-*), *māṇṇem* (*manya-*).—The rule, moreover, is not absolute; cf. for ex. *māṭkulā* beside *maṭgā* (D. *maṭṭa-*).

But all the cases of abbreviation are not equally clear. One can at best attribute to the same tendency the enlarged or derived form of certain words whose simple (form) is missing in Marathi: thus *lavḍā* with reference to Pkt. *lāū* (Skr. *alābu-*), *kabrā* which for ex. in Hindi is grouped with *kābar* (*karbura-*); cf. *bhaṭakṇem* (*bhraṣṭa-*), *kacrā* (*kaccara-*). But how to explain the short *a* of Pkt. *pall*, Skr. *pary-* in *palāṭan*, *palamṅ*, *palāṇ*, in comparison with *pālaṭ*, *pālthā* formed from the same (the doublet *pālāṇ* is less correct than *palāṇ*), or in comparison with *pālā*, Skr. *pallava-*? How to explain at the same time *maṭhā* (*mastu-*) and *māthā* (*mastaka-*), of *vaṭhāṇ* (*upasthāna-*) and of *pāṭhaviṇem* (*prasthāpaya-*), of *ratī* (*raktikā*) and of *rātā* (*raktaka-*), of *bhalā* “good” (*bhadra-*, *bhalla-*) and *bhālā* “pike” (*bhalla-*)? A good part of the words with short *a* are found in other languages : does the recourse to the hypothesis of borrowing suffice for explaining these anomalies?

Quite a large number of monosyllables have short *a* before an old geminated consonant. A word like *nakh* can be considered as a tatsama, and the Pkt. *ṇakkha-* is only the notation of this fact. But this explanation is not valid for *khaj* (*kharju-*), *nath* (D. *ṇatthā*), *laṭṭh*; *laṭ* (Pkt. *laṭṭhi*), *sak* (*ṣaṭka-*) and *haṭ* beside *hāṭ* (*haṭṭa-*).

In the verbs it seems that an other action may have taken place; namely the sentiment of opposition between the stems of active-causative and of passive-neuter. We had the model *mārṇem* “to kill, to beat” : *marnem* “to die”; *pāḍṇem* “to cause to fall” : *paḍṇem* “to fall”; *gāḍṇem* “to bury” : *gaḍṇem* “to be buried”. Hence, contrary to phonetics, comes the opposition of *kātṇem* “to cut” and its passive *kaṭṇem* (*kart-*); of *ghāṭṇem*

one would expect all verbs with a short *a* to express the state : such as *macṇem* “to inflate oneself” (Pkt. *massai*), *khapṇem* (*kṣapya-*), “to sell oneself, to finish oneself”, or even *sakṇem* (*śakya*) “to be able to.”

But *khacṇem* “to set in a bezel” is an active verb : will it be called a tatsama ? In a word like *vaṭṇem* “to crush the cotton”, which has no known etymology, this explanation is not possible.

The question is, therefore, totally impossible. To judge from a number of double examples—*tāpṇem* (*tapya-*), *hākṇem* (Pkt. *hakkai*) more usual than *tapṇem*, *hakṇem*; *thākṇem* in poetry beside *thakṇem* which has both the neuter and active sense (Pkt. *thakkai*); *khasṇem* and *khāsṇem* “to cough” (*kāsa-*)—it would seem proper to take into consideration the dialectal mixtures. Moreover, it should never be forgotten that the phonemes noted by *ā* and *ā̄* in the alphabet have a difference of timbre. Therefore the differences in writing can, in a large number of cases, correspond to the variations of timbre and not of quantity.

§ 49. Inversely, *a* of the initial syllable is lengthened. This case is more rare. It is present :

1. in the compounds with prefixes : thus *pāḍṣī* (D. *paḍicchiā*) with reference to *paḍṣād* (*pratiśabda-*), *paḍṣ* (*prativāsa-*) etc., *pārakhṇem*, *pāras* (*parikṣ*), *pārusṇem*, *pārosā* (*paryuṣ-*), with reference to *paraṇṇem* (*pariṇayana-*), *parvat* (*parivarta-*), *parasṇem* (*paryeṣ-*), *paris* (*parikṣā*). This is due to a morphological action, a trace whereof is found from Prakrit onwards and as far as Sanskrit (see Pischel, § 77-78).

2. in the verbs, where undoubtedly the extension of the stem of the causative has been able to play a rôle : but there is no difference of meaning between *khapṇem* and *khāpṇem* “to dig”, between *harṇem* and *hārṇem* “to carry”; *cārṇem* denotes “to make graze” but also “to graze” as *carṇem*; hence the hesitation between the compounds *saṃcarṇem*, *viśārṇem* (*viśram-*), etc; cf. the cases of the internal *ā̄* cited in § 52. In certain cases the stems of the passive have been able to exert their influence : thus *dāṅṇem* (*dah-*); *lāhṇem* makes a pair with *lādhṇem*, *lābhṇem* (*labh-*).

3. in the words where the interpretation is difficult or impossible. Is *kārandā*, the doublet of *karandṇem* (*karamandikā*)

a case comparable to the Pkt. *kāḷasutta* (Skr. *kalā-*) or of P *gāhāvai-* (*grhapati-*)? But in Middle-Indian the explanation of the phenomenon is not easy; see Pischel, § 78, Jaco ZDMG, XLVII, p. 580 ff. Elsewhere a borrowing can be suspected; *pāvṇā* is a frankly dialectal word, but it can be correct : cf. Skr. *plāvayitr-* with reference to *plavika-*; *kāḷ* (*kamaṭha-*) is found in Gujarati; but the lengthening of the initial *a* is not the rule in this language. Elsewhere the analogy of some other word has exerted its influence; thus *sāsrā* (*śvaśura-*) has taken the long vowel from *sāsū* (*śvaśrū-*). Beside *kāḷ* (*kapāṭa*) are found *lākaḍ*, *lākūḍ* (*lakuta-*). The list of examples easily grows longer but is of no use for interpretation.

When *a* is in the initial position, the hesitation is, so to speak, the rule. The lengthening is licit in *āvas* (*amāvāsyā-*), *ālsī* (*aṭasi-*); the privative *a* is even noted as long in *āroṇ* (*arog-*). But these are also the examples of shortening which predominate : *arsā* (semi-tatsama *ādarśa-*), *alaṃbem* (*ā-lamb-*) *anem*, poet. *āvatṇem* (*āmantraṇa-*), *avḷā* (*āmalaka-*), etc. Similarly, before consonant, which had earlier been geminated, *āḍ* with reference to *ādḥā* (*ardha-*), *akhitij* (*akṣaya-*) *āḍ* (*akṣata-*), *āglā* (*agra-*), *agyā* (*agrega-*), *āgaḷ* (*argala-*) *āphal* (*āspḥal-*), etc.

In these doublets, Molesworth always prefers the form with short *a* (see Preface, p. XIV), but without saying if this is due to theoretical reasons or due to the observation of actual usage. As regards *aḍ(h)-* (*ardha-*), however, he gives an interesting indication : after having established a nuance of meaning between *aḍ-* and *ād-*, he agrees that the usage is against his definitions : in reality *aḍ-* is the form of the I *ād-* of Konkani. Is that the key to all the hesitations of the sign of *a* in the initial syllable? Moreover, does this refer to a difference of timbre or of quantity or concurrently to both? These are the questions to which direct experience alone can be able to provide an answer. It is, however, true that if one relies on the sign, then the cases of abbreviation of *ā* in the initial syllable are more numerous than the lengthening of *a*—a fact which accords with the constant shortening of *i* and *u* and the general tendency of the abbreviation of the first part of the word.

2. As the non-initial Syllable :—

§ 50. Inside the word, *i* and *u*, short and long, lose their own articulation and get mixed up with *a* (cf. Beames, I, § 37, 39). Examples :—

i :—*āgṭī* (*agni-*), *umalṇem* (Pkt. *ummilla-*), *kimkaṇī* (*kimkiṇī*) seems to be borrowed from Sanskrit or from a language in the neighbourhood of Marathi), probably *cirakṇem* (D. *cirikkā*), *paḍos* (for * *paḍavas-*, Skr. *prativas-*), *paraṇṇem* (*pariṇṇya-*) and other compounds of *pari* and * *paḍi-* *pākhrūṃ* (*pakṣi-rūpa-*), *vikharṇem* (*viṣkir-*), *viṃcṇī* (Pkt. *vimcinī*; see § 40), *sarvā* (D. *sarivāa-*); one should undoubtedly join *avakṇem*, probably derived from *avikṇem* for *avavikṇem* by syllabic superposition. It is difficult to say if *aḷtā* is or is not independent of *aḷitā* (*ālakta-*, *ālipta-*). The words, where internal *i* subsists, are therefore borrowed : *mahinā* is Persian, *bahirā* (*badhira-*) is undoubtedly Hindi, *vahilā* (Pkt. *vahilla-*) belongs to the poetic language.

ī at first became short; when internal *i* subsists, it is preferably short : thus *gahirā* (*gabhīra-*), which is besides a dialectal word; *alikaḍe* “on that side” is more usual than *alikaḍe* (*-kaṭa-*). The short vowel has been generally reduced; hence the opposition of *joskī*, *jospaṇā* and of *jośī*, see M. *joisī* (*Jyotiṣ*); of *kaṇsā*, a form of the oblique sing. and of the nom. *kaṇīs* (*kaniśa*). This opposition is also found in all the nouns with penultimate *-ī* (see Joshi, § 173).

u : *aṃgṭhā* (*aṃguṣṭha-*) with reference to *aṃgūṭhā* the normal form in other Indo-Aryan languages (Grierson, *Phon.*, p. 27) but in Marathi reserved for the poetic language, *aṃgḷī* beside *aṃgulī* (*aṃgulī-*), *uphalṇem* (*utphulla-*), probably *ulaṇṇem* (Pkt. *ulluṭ-*), *kabrā* (*karbura-*), *tarṇā* (*taruṇa*) *sāsrā*, *sāsrem* with reference to *sāsū* (*śvaśrū-*, *śvaśura-*); in *khajurī* *u* is undoubtedly maintained by the influence of *khajūr* (*kharjūra-*), but one also finds *māṇas-* in a compound as against the simple *māṇūs* (*mānuṣa-* or *mānuṣya-*), *lakḍā* with reference to *lākūḍ* (*lakuṭa-*), *hiṅḷūk* with reference to *hiṅgūḷ* (*hiṅgula-*). The same opposition is found in the declension of names with a penultimate *u* (see Joshi, § 173). The word *nirutā* (*nirukta-*) belongs to the poetic language; in *purusṇem*, *u* subsists because it is in reality initial, the word being a compound (*pary-uṣ-*). As regards *bāhulā*, it is a word without real existence, the

current form being *bāvlā* (D. *bāullī*).

ū got mixed with *ā* in *udhalṇem* (*uddhūlaya-*), it has disappeared in *upṇem* (*ut-pū-*), *aḷkudī*, a compound of *alū* (*alu* and in the tatsama *unmalṇem* (*unmūlana-*).

§ 51. *e* and *o* tend to become short by closing themselves and by being, as a consequence, subjected to the same alterations as *i* and *u*. Examples :—

e : *uḍṇem* (*uḍḍayana-*), *gavasṇem* (*gaveṣa-*), *parasṇem* besides the poetic forms *parisṇem* and *pariesṇem* (*paryeṣ-*), *paraṇṇem* (*pariṇayana-*), *pālaṭ*, *palāṭaṇ* with reference to the poetic *palṇem* (*paryaṭ-*), *māṇṇem* (*māpaya-*), *vāṇṇem*, poetic *vāniṇem* (*vaṇaya-*), *vikṇem* (*vikraya-*) with reference to *keṇem* (*kraya-*). We should probably also add *gaṇḍrī* (D. *gaṇḍirī*, Guj. *gaṇḍerī*). The words *akhjā* as *akhitij* (*akṣaya-*) belong to the religious language. In the causatives in *-v-* (*-paya-*), *i* survives factitively : we have, for example, *karaviṇem* and *karavṇem*; the first syllable of *nedṇem* (for *na deṇem*) “not to give” shows that this word should not be listed here; it has been re-made on the model of *nenṇem* “to ignore” (*na jānāti*).

o : *aḷaṇī*, a compound of *loṇ* (*lavāṇa-*), *ucaṃdalṇem* compound of *aṃdoḷṇem* (*aṃdole-*), *kartī* tatsama (*karoṭi-*); *kaḍmoḍa* survives beside *kaḍmaḍ*, *pārosā* beside *pārsā* (*paryuṣita-paḍosī* has been subjected to the influence of *paḍos* (*prativāsa-aṃgocha* (*aṅguccha-*) is borrowed, as proved by the presence of *ch*. On *mehuḍā* (*megha-*) see § 39. Here should be recalled the cases where *-ava-* has been reduced to *a*, certainly passing through *o*, and *u*, as is attested by the equivalents for such as *pāravasā* : *pārosā*, cf. *paruṣṇem* : *pārsā* (*paryuṣ*). Besides the family names like *rājvaḍe*, *kaḷvaḍe* are found *khopar*, *pimparḍe*, *boparḍe*, *bhambharḍe*, *ramḍe*. All these are compounds with *rāḍā* (*vāṭa-*) which denotes a locality : cf. *rāḍem*, *vilvavāḍem* attested in the 8th century. Similar are found, *kāramḍā*, *kāramḍem* beside *karavamḍ*, *karavam* (*karamadikā*); *paraḷṇem* beside *paravaḷṇem*; *karat* is the popular form corresponding to the popular form *karvaṭ*; *uṭṇem* (if etymology by the Skr. *udvart-* is exact) is the only form attested.—There are, however, certain cases wherein the loss of *i* and *u* and indeed the re-establishment, of *-va-* has been aided by the sentiment of the gradation of the simple and of the causative.

§ 52.—Similarly *ā* tends to become short within a word

āv(a)sā, *aṃs(a) dī* (Pkt. *āsaṭikā*), *ubhal(a)ṇem* (D. *ubbhāḷaṇa-*), *ujav(a)ṇem* (*udyāḷana-*), *ombal(a)ṇem* (D. *ombālai*), *omv(a)sā* (*upavāsa-*), *kaḍhai* (*kaṭāha-*), *kaḷ(a)vā* (*kalāpa-*), *gav(a) ḷī* (*gopāla-*), *jāniv(a)sā* (*janyavāsa-*), *nivaṇem* with reference to *vāṭṇem* (*vart-*), *nis(a)ṇā* (*niśāna-*), *pal(a)ṇem* (*palāyana-*), *pār(a)vā* (*pārāvata-*), *bhiṃg(a)ruṭī* (D. *bhiṃgārī*). Similarly before a double consonant, we have : *āvagṇem* (*āvalg-*), *ār(a)tī* (*ārātrika-*), *upajṇem* (*utpadya-*), etc. and following a contraction as in *das(a)rā* (*daśaharā*).

The long has, however, been preserved :

1. in certain cases where *ā* is the result of a contraction : *taṇārā* (*trṇāgāra-*), *divāḷī* (*dīpāvalī*), *marāṭhā* (Pkt. *marahaṭṭha*);

2. in the cases where two *as* follow each other with an *h* in between we have, in such cases indifferently *-ahā-*, *-āha-* and even, less correctly *-āhā-* (see Molesworth, *Preface*, *Orthography*, § 8, p. XIV) : beside *āhṇā*, *dāhṇem*, *pāhṇem*, *bāhṇem*, *rāhṇem*, *vāhṇem* and *sāhṇem* are found *āhāṇā* and *āhāṇā*, *dahāṇem* and *dāhāṇem*, etc. Beside *sāy*, we have *sahā* (D. *Sāha-*). In none of these words, except *ahāṇā*, the second *ā* is not etymologically long. The long quantity is, therefore, recent and is due to the presence of *h*. This is confirmed on the one hand by words like *kolhāl* (Skr. *kolāhala-*), *vahāṇ* and *vāhāṇ* (*upānah-*, Pkt. *vāhaṇa-*), where the long vowel of Marathi, which is invariable, corresponds to an old short vowel and on the other by the case of the disjunction of the group *hn* : *tahāṇ* (*trṣṇā*), *nahāṇ* (*snāna-*), *lahāṇ* (Pkt. *laṇha-*), cf. *sahāṇ* for *sāṇ* (Skr. *śāṇa-*).

3. in certain morphemes : the participle of obligation in *-āvā-* (*-avya-*) : *dyāvā*, *karāvā*, etc., the suffixes of enlarged adjectives : *-ārā* (*-akāra-*), ex. : *kārṇarā*, *marmārā* serving as fut. part.; *naṭhārā*, *dhutārā*; *āḷu-*, etc, as in *jhompaḷū* ("one who sleeps"; from *jhumṇem* to sleep), *pisālum* (D. *pisalla-*), etc. and the stem of the causative in *āvirṇem* or *-av(i)ṇem* (*manāvirṇem*), etc).

4. in certain compound verbs or nouns where *ā* belongs to the first syllable of the principal term : with reference to *ujavṇem*, *ubhalṇem*, etc. we find two quantities, for ex. in *visāvṇem* (*viśrama*), *upahāṇṇem* (*utphaṇ-*) and only the long one in

nihālṇem (*nibhal-*). Similarly *vaḷṇem*, *uvalṇem* but *omvālṇem* (*val-*). It seems that the verbal substantives preferably preserve the long vowel : *pasārā* is the participle of the causative of *pasarnem* (*prasar-*) and felt as such. But we also have the substantive *nivāṇem* with regard to the verb *nivṇem* (*nirvāṇa-*). The same holds true for *ukhāṇā* (*upakhyāna-*), *utāṇā* (*uttāna-*) and *ubhārā* (*udbhāra-*). The form *pathārī* seems to be borrowed : *pāthar* is the normal form (*pra tara-*);

5. in the semi-tatsama words, as in *ujagar* (*ujjāgara-*), *kaḍīsaṇ* (*kaṭāsana-*) and in other obscure words like *kaṇḍārṇem* (Pkt. *keṇḍārci*).

It is difficult to specify the date of these changes. In Prakrit and in later Sanskrit are found a certain number of cases of the abbreviation of internal vowels (see Jacobi, ZDMG, XLXII, p. 574-581). The loss of the characteristic timbre of *i*, *u*, *e* and *o* seems, on the contrary and at first view to be altogether modern, if we have to judge by the comparison of forms like *joisī* and *joṣī* or *āṃguṭhā* and *āṃgṭhā*. However, the inscription of Pandharpur gives the name of the town *Phāganipur* (*Phālgunī-*) an example of the decoloration of *ū*; *ī* subsists (as short) because it is final. Chiefly the *Periplus of the Erythrean Sea* gives, from the first century, the form *dikhanos* with regard to the name of the country *Dakhinabadis* (*dakṣiṇāpatha-*) : is this not a first index of the loss of the timbre of the internal *i*? If the antiquity of this tendency were admitted, one could render an explanation of the co-existence in Sanskrit of the doublets like *kaphoṇi* and *kaphaṇi* "elbow", and above all of the Prakrit forms, *haladdā* (*haridrā-*), *nīsaṇī* (*nihśreṇī*) attested much earlier than M. *haḷad* and *nisaṇ*. Regardless of the rareness of these examples (most of them cited by Pischel for *i* in § 115 and for *u* in § 123 are doubtful. Pischel had, moreover, recognised this for a number of these words), possibly they are, however, the only remnants of the phonetic notation of a reality in the Prakrit, generally tending to be archaic.

III. Prakrit Vowels in Contact :—

§ 53. Following the dropping of the intervocalic consonants of Sanskrit, several vowels have normally come into contact inside a word. In Prakrit, the hiatus is avoided only

exceptionally : at a relatively late time and according only to the Jaina tradition, *y* is inserted between any two vowels (Pischel, § 187); *v* is also found in certain cases where it replaces *g*, *y* and may be *t*, *d* of Sanskrit (Pischel, § 231, 246, 254 and note 1; cf. also the forms cited by Sachau, *Alberuni*, p. 46, following Weber). As against Prakrit, the modern languages tend to eliminate the hiatus as much as possible (see Grierson, *Phon.*, § 37, Hoernle, § 68-98).

Marathi, like other cognate languages, treats the vowels in contact, in three ways : it preserves their individuality by the insertion of *y* or *v*; it changes them into diphthongs and lastly it makes them short.

I. Insertion of *y* and *v* :—

§ 54. In other languages, *y* and *v* seem to be indiscriminately used; in Marathi the insertion of *y* and *v* is rare.

There are certain cases in the old language, where *y* replaces a Sanskrit dental, and notably in the participles : the oldest monument of Marathi gives a specific example thereof : *Śrī-cāvuṇḍārājem karaviyalem* “made on the order of Cāvuṇḍa”; later on in the *Abhilaṣitārtha-cintāmaṇi* are found the forms *āṇiyale*, *vāṇiyale*, but the *Jñāneśvarī* is already writing *Śikavilem*, *karavilem* (XI, 28, etc.).

In the modern period only sporadic traces of this usage survive and possibly they are dialectal. Are pointed out *tuyem* beside *tuvem* “by you” (LSI, *Mar.*, p. 173); *sāyar* (*Sāgara--*), found in the *Abhilaṣitārtha-cintāmaṇi*, has completely disappeared; even there where it had been in the midst of a compound (*saṃsāra-sāyara-tāraṇa*) and gives the impression of a quasi-tat-sama; *soyara* (*sahodara-*) has been preserved in its purely Prakrit form, certainly because it is a term of relationship; *oyarā* is an obscure word; its sense of “daily nourishment” leads us to suppose for the same a prototype like * *avahāra* : but the sense of “kitchen” or of “the internal part of the house” enables us to see therein a doublet, undoubtedly dialectal, of *ovarā* (*apa-varaka-*). Similarly, as against *parāvā* (*parāgata-*) is found *parāyā*, thence onwards suspected to be borrowed.

§ 55. It is the insertion of *v* which is normal in Marathi. It is produced irrespective of the origin of the hiatus. Thus *v*

replaces one by one :

Skr. *k* in *nāgvā*, beside *nāgā* (*nagnaka-*), *suwā* beside *suā* (*śuka-*);

Skr. *g* in *taḷāv* (*taḍāga-*), *niḷī* (*nigada-*), *parāvā* (*parāgata-*), *punav* (*pumṇāga-*);

Skr. *j* in *taṇem* (*teja-*), *rāv* and *rao* (*rāja-*);

Skr. *t* in *kaṁgavā* (*kaṅkata-*), *keṽḍā* (*ketaka-*), *ghāv* beside *ghāy* (*ghāta-*), *caṇem* (*cetana-*; *caṇem* is found the *Jñāneśvarī*), *jov* (*dyota-*, Pkt. *jōi*), *juvā* (*dyūta-*), *vāv* (if it refers to *rāta* and not to *vāyu:-*);

Skr. *d* in *osavā* (*avacchada-*), *pāv* (*pāda-*), *śev* (*cheda-*); possibly the same phenomenon also explains the form *bor* (*badara-*) found in Deśī, in Gujarati and in Dravidian languages, whereas Sindhi and the central and eastern languages have *ber*;

Skr. *y* in *māv* (*māyā*), *sāṁv* (*snāyu-*), *sāvlī* (*chāyā*), in *māv-ṇem* if this word goes back to Skr. *mayate* and *vāv*, if it represents the Skr. *vāyu-*;

lastly different aspirates in Sanskrit represented by *h* in Pkt., in *asval* (*acchabhalla-*), *ugavṇem* (*udgrahana-* and * *udagra-thana*), *mevūṇ* (*maithuna-*), *rov* (*roha-*; possibly influenced by the Marathi root *rov-*, Skr. *rop-*), *sāval* (D. *sāhulī*, derived from Skr. *śākhā* ?). In the tatsama *saṁdhevīm* (*saṁdeha-*) and in *mhomv* (*moha-*), the rôle of *v* is all the more clear as the aspiration has been preserved and displaced. Its Skr. prototype is unknown, but the insertion of *v* is sure in *govamḍ* (D. *goaṇṭa-*), *Śivrā* (D. *sīhara-*).

Should be distinguished therefrom those cases where *v* represents an old *u* or *o*, as in *sāv* which is equal to *sāū* (*sādhū-*). One will be possibly tempted to put in this last category masc. substantives such as *pāv* (*pāda-*), *śev* (*cheda-*) and to consider the last *v* of these words as corresponding to the old *-o* of the nominative. But the feminine form *māv* (*māyā*) decides the issue. Doubt can, however, persist regarding words like *rāv*, *ghāv*, written as *rāvo*, etc. in old texts, cf. § 57.

II. Diphthongs :—

§ 56. The Marathi alphabet has two diphthongs, *ai* and *au*, which are used to denote the grouping of *a+i* or *e* on

one side and *u* or *o* on the other :

ai < *a + i*; archaic termination of fut., third sing. -*ailu*, etc. ; *pai* (Skr. *prati*-; *paikhṇem*, *paij*, *paithaṇ*, *paiṇ*, *pailā*), *paiṭhā* (*praviṣṭa*-), *baisṇem* (*upaviś*-), *mhaiś* (*mahiṣī*).—*kaivāḍ* (*kaitava*-), *dain* (*dainya*-), *vair* (*vaira*-), *sair* (*svaira*-) are the old semi-tat-samas, found in later Prakrit (see Pischel, § 61);

ai < *a + e* : *kaik* (*eka-eka*-), *pais* (*praveśa*-).

au < *a + u* : *cau*- (*catuḥ*-) in *cank cauth*, *caudā*, *causār*, *mau* (*mṛdu*), *vauml* (*vakula*-).

au < *a + o* : *pauḷ* (*pratoli*-).

Are also found, though rarely, *au* < *oa*: *auḥ*- beside *ohaṭ*- (D. *ohaṭṭa*-) ; *jauḷ* beside *jov* (*dyota*-).

§ 57. When one of the vowels *a*, *i*, *u* is long, the hiatus generally persists; ex. *ghāivaṭā* (*ghāṭa*-); *mauśi* (*matṛ*-), *rāuḷ* (*rājakula*-), *naī* (*nadī*), *varai* (*varāha*-); *gāī* (Pali *gāvī*), *rāī* (*rājikā*), *gāū* (*gātu*-, *gau*-), *jāū* (*yātu*-), *rāūt* (*rājaputra*-).

Moreover, these groups are not stable. Beside *vai* (*vṛti*-) is found on one side *vahī* and *vai*; *pāūṇ* has a doublet *paun* (*pādoṇa*-); *aitvār* a semi-tatsama, represents the Skr. *āditya*-; in *paiṃ* (*prāyeṇa*), in *taisā*, *kaisā*, etc. (*tādrśa*-, etc.) originally the *a* had been long.

By the side of pure and simple diphthongisation are found (chiefly in the final position) the signs *āy*, *āv* or *ay*, *av* : *kāy* si more usual than *kāī* “what?”, *bāy* is the popular form of *bāī* “woman”, similarly we have *gāy*, *ghāy* (cf. *ghāivaṭā*; *ekāghāim*), *sāy* (cf. *sāī*, *sahā*); *say* beside *saī* (*sakhī*, *smṛti*-), dial. *paḍkay* (*pratikṛti*-), *naohe* (= *na-hoe*, Skr. *na bhavati*), *cāvdas* the vulgar form of *caudas* (*caturdaśa*), *bāvḷā* beside *bāhuḷā* (D. *bāullī*), *māvḷā* (*mātula*-), *māvśi* (beside *māuśi*, Pkt. *māussiā*), *lavḍā* (*alābu*-), *sāv* for *sāū* (*sādhū*-). This is due to the ease with which *i*, *u* and *y*, *v* can be interchanged constantly in writing : thus *v* denotes *u* in *mevṇā* for *mehuṇā* (*maithuna*-); inversely we have *naurā* beside *navarā* (*nava*-), *dauḍ* beside *davaḍṇem* (*drav*-); similarly the tatsamas *udaik* and *aitā* represent Skr. *udaya*- (cf. M. *udyām*) and *āyatta*-. Cf. also the doublets difficult to interpret; *rāv*: *rāo*, *pāo* : *pay*, the tatsamas *nyāv*, *upāv*, see M. *nyāvo*, etc. (*nyāya*, *upāya*).

III. Contraction

(a) The first vowel is *a*.

a + i, e, u, o.

§ 58. Thus, as we have seen, the recent diphthongs *ai* and *au* tend to be reduced.

ai is one of those which has subsisted longest ; however, *heṭ* (* *adhiṣṭāt* for *adhastāt*) goes back to Prakrit; beside *paiṭhan* (*pratiṣṭhāna*-) we have *peṭh* (*pratiṣṭhā*), which is old enough to have passed into the Dravidian languages under the Prakrit form * *peṭṭhā* (cf. Tam. *peṭṭei*); if *bail* has subsisted, *khair* (*khadira*-) has *kher* as its doublet, which brings Marathi near Gujarat; we have *savem* (*samavāya*) as against *paim* (*prāyena*). It is chiefly at the end of the word that the reduction has taken place : see M. *dalvai* > mod. *dalvi* (*dalapati*-); cf. *śenvi* (*senāpati*-); the termination of the 3rd person sing. *ai*-(-*atī*) has become (except probably in the exclamation *sai*) -*e* in the present from the oldest period, and in the future during the modern period. The same is the case with the termination of the 1st pers. sing. present -*eṃ*, future -*en* (earlier -*ain*), that of the oblique sing. of feminine nouns of Pkt. *āe* > * *ai* > M. -*e*, of the nom. -acc. pl. of neuter nouns of Skr. -*āni* > Pkt. -*āim* > M. -*eṃ*, the imp. sing. in poetry -*eṃ* = Pkt. *āhi*. The reduction here is, undoubtedly, due to the diphthong being at the end of the word.

A curious transformation of *ai* consists in making it turn up, in certain cases, as -*a*-; beside *laisā*, *kaisā*, etc. and of *baisṇem*, are concurrently employed and even quite usually, the forms *tasā*, etc., and *basṇem*. It is not possible to suppose in the case of pronominal adjectives a similar action, tending to unify the stems, because such action is, so to say non-existent in Marathi; cf. *jo* "who", *to* "that", *hā* "this"; *koṇ* "who?", *kāy* "what?". On the other hand, one could, at first sight, imagine for *ba(i)sṇem* "to seat oneself" a contamination of the root *vas* "to reside, to be established" : but in this case it will be necessary to admit the influence of a Hindi form with *b* in the initial position. Now this form in the sense of "to seat oneself" does not exist; Hindi has formed its verb on the past participle : *beṭhanā* (cf. *upaviśati* : *upaviṣṭa*-).—The reason for the reduction of the diphthong must have had its origin in phonetics and be due to the presence of *s*. Curiously before *s*, even now an example of inverse action is found: to Pkt. *asii* "80" corresponds M. *aiśim*, Guj. *aisī*; other languages

have *asī*. Marathi also has *emśī* and in compound-*yaśīm*, which probably gives the etymological form, if *y* could be considered as a phoneme of insertion. It is difficult to explain all these facts in the same manner. But their *rapprochement* enables us to suspect a mixture of dialects, of whom some would admit a depalatalising action of *s*. The case of *maind* (*manda-*) is altogether obscure.

§ 59. The reduction of *au* is still more general. It is reduced to *o* in *co-* (*covīs* beside *cavvīs*, *cehīmkaḍem*, *cotkor*; Skr. *catuḥ-*), *poḷ* (beside *pauḷ*; Skr. *pratoli-*), *bhorūp* (*bahu-*), *moh-* (*madhu-*), *u* in *māgutā*, cf. *māgautem*; in the ablative-absolutive *-ūn(i)*, earlier *-auni*; *deuḷ* (*devakula-*) goes back to Prakrit. Moreover circumstances there had been more favourable : a sort of haplology could have been produced here :

**deva-(v)-ula-* > *de(v)ula-* (cf. *rāuḷ*, Skr. *rājakula-*). Inside the word, an old *au* has completely dropped out in *gāvḍā* (*grāma-kūṭā-*), undoubtedly passing through *o*, then *u*.

§ 60. In the final position, *-au* is reduced in two ways, according as it represents the Pkt. *-au* or Pkt. *-ao*. In the first case it becomes *-o*, then in certain cases *-ū* : this is the case with the third pers. sing. imp. in *-o*, Skr. *-atu* (cf. *jāṇo*, *jāṇū* “as if”, fixed imperative; poetic form : *jāṇau* which is trisyllabic). In the second case on the contrary, it is reduced to *-ā*, whether the original *a* had been long or short :

Skr. *-ako* : the nom. sing. masc. with lengthening *āmbā* (*āmra-*), *avḷā* (*āmalaka-*), *caṇā* (*caṇaka-*), etc.

Skr. *-ato* : *ākhā* (*akṣata-*);

Skr. *-ado* : *paḍvā* (*pratipada-*), *bhadvā* (*bhādrapada-*);

Skr. *-ajo* : *kuḍā* (*kuṭaja-*);

Skr. *-ayo* : tatsama *āsrā* (*āśraya-*), *saṃcā* (*saṃcaya-*), *omcā* (*uccaya-*);

Skr. *-avo* : *pānhā* (*prasnava-*), *pālā* (*pallava-*);

Skr. *-āko* : *cakvā* (*cakravāka-*);

Skr. *-āco* : *pisā* (*piśāca-*);

Skr. *-āto* : *cultā* (*culla-tāta-*);

Skr. *-ādo* : *pārā* (*pārāda-*), *savā* (*sapāda-*);

Skr. *-āyo* : *pāṃ* (*prāyaḥ*);

Pkt. *-āo* : nom. fem. pl. *-ā* : *iḷā*, *ghāḍiā*, etc.; see infra.

The intermediary between *-āo* and *-ā* has surely been *-au*. This is evident from a comparison of the terminations of the

nom. sing. masc. in the different languages : Hindi poetry has kept the nom. in *-au*, and the group Sindhi-Gujarati-Rajasthan-Nepali constitutes the same case in *-o*.

The only means of taking note of this double evolution in Marathi seems to lie in supposing that the passage of Pkt. *-as* to *au* is later to that of Pkt. *-au* to *-o*. This hypothesis is, moreover, not verifiable, the two evolutions being anterior to the oldest documents and there being nothing similar even in Marathi.

When nasalised, the Pkt. group *-āo* has evolved as *-au* : first pers. pl. verbal in *-om*, *ūm* (Skr., Pkt. *-āmo*).

a + a.

§ 61. —When one of the vowels is long, the resultant of the contraction is *ā*.

I. The first *a* is long.

Skr. *-āja* : *rāūt* (*rājaputra-*), *rāuḷ* (*rājakula-*);

Skr. *-āta* : *māṃg* (*mātaṅga-*), *vāv* (*vāta-*);

Skr. *-āda* : tatsama *ārsa* (*ādarśa-*), *sāṇ* (*chādana-*), *saṇ* (*sapāda-*), probably *pavādā* (*prāvāda-*);

Skr. *āya* : *vāṇ* (*vāyana-*); tatsama *kāst* (*kāyastha-*), *-nāk* (*nāyaka-*), old. sing. masc. *-ā* (*-āya*);

Skr. *āva* : *divālī* (*dīpāvalī*);

Skr. *-ākā-* : *pāravdā* (*prākāra-*);

Skr. *āgā* : *ār* (in *gābhār*, *taṇārā*, *dhavḷār*, *bhāṃdār*, etc., Skr. *āgāra-*);

Pkt. *-āya* : *vār* (D. *vāyāra-*); cf. already in Deśi *bhāujjā*; M. *bhāvjai* is re-made (*bhrātṛ-jāyā*);

Pkt. *-āha-* : *thā* (*thāha-*);

Pkt. *-āa*, the termination of the instrumental fem. (Pischel, § 375) : *heḷā* (*helayā*). It is, since then, difficult to admit that *piṣeṃ* is derived directly from **piśācam*, it is the neuter of *piśā*, cf. for the sense, Pkt. *pisallo*: M. *piśāleṃ*.

II. The second *a* is long.

-akā has changed, quite early, to *-ā*; *vanjār* (*vāṇijyakāra-*; cf. *vaṇijāraka* in a Nasik inscription), similarly *andhār*, *kumbhār*, *cāmhār*, *citārī*, *dhutārā*, *suār* etc.; the participles in *-ār* (cf.

§ 52, 3rd section); *bhādarṇem* (*bhadrakāraṇam*);

Similarly :

-*ayā* in *varāt* (*varayātrā*);

-*avā* in *tatsama upās* (*upavāsa-*);

probably-*atā-* in *cār* (* *catāro* for *cattāro* after *caturo-*).

One should not include here the word *pāik*, which does not go back to Skr. *padātika-*; it is borrowed from Persian and rather early (Pkt. *pāikka-*).

The nom. pl. of masc. nouns with lengthening ends in -*e*. This is due to the fact that -*ā* final has become short. It is connected, therefore, not with *a(k)ā*, Skr. *akāḥ*, but with -*a(k)a*.

On this point Marathi is in agreement with the languages of the centre (Hindi and Panjabi) and seems to be opposed to Gujarati (-*ā -o*) and to Sindhi (-*ā*), but it is, at best, possible that another terminal ending may be the origin of these forms (cf. Sinhalese -*āhu*, -*o*; see Geiger, § 34, III and infra, the chapter on declension).

§ 62. The two vowels are short.

When separated by *y* in Sanskrit, the contraction has been effective since the times of the Middle-Indian; for ex. the term ending of third pers. sing. pres. in Pali is -*eti*, in Pkt. -*ei* (Skr. -*ayati*); in this way are explained in Marathi the forms *neṇem* (*neyana-*), *bhem* (*bhaya-*) etc. Moreover, we have seen in § 14 that certain unaspirated occlusives had become intervocalic having passed by *y*. This phoneme has reacted on the Prakrit group -*aya-* as in -*aya-* coming from Sanskrit. That is why the Marathi -*e-* represents :

Skr. -*aka-* in the nom. -acc. neut. sing. in -*em* (-*akam*) and the nom. masc. pl. in -*e* (-*akāḥ*);

Skr. -*aga-* in *śeḷdūṃ*, *śeḷi* (*chagala-*), in the name of the town *Ter* (*Tagara-*), and in *ner* (*nagara-*) the second term of the compound forming town-names;

Skr. -*aja-* in *neṇem* (*na-jan*, of *jñā*);

Skr. -*ata-* in *gelā* (*gata-*), *sāmpem* (*sāmpratam*), *sem* cf. *ś(y)ambhar* (*śatam*);

Skr. -*ada-* in *keḷ* (*kadali*) and probably *per* (*pradara-*).

As a result of these examples we can not decide if *kelā*, Skr. *kṛta-*, goes back to Pkt. * *ka(y)a-* or to * *kia*; on the contrary, for *melā* (*mṛta-*) *a* is more or less sure, *i* having been

found nowhere (see § 30).

During the recent period, *aa* has combined in the semi-tatsama *asand* (*aśvagandha-*) and in the reduplicated forms : *gaḍāḍṇem* (cf. *gaḍagaḍṇem*, *kaḍāḍ* (from *kaḍakaḍa-*); *h* between two *a* has been dropped, which comes to the same thing in *gāṇ* (*gahana-*), *āṇā* (*ābhāṇaka-*), *marāṭhā* (Pkt. *marahaṭṭha-*, Skr. *mahārāṣṭra-*), in the tatsama *agrār* (*agrahāra*) and finally in the term. ending of the second pl. indic. *-ā(m)* < *-atha*; the *a* resulting from this contraction is, in its turn, shortened in *dasrā* (*daśaharā*), cf. § 52.

(b) The first vowel is *i* or *e*.

§ 63. Before *ā*, the phonemes *i* and *e* are generally preserved as *y* : *pyār* (*priya-kāra-*), *pyās* (*pipāsā*), *vyāhī* (*vivāha-*), *haryāl* (*haritāla-*), *agryā* (*agreya-*) and the participles of obligation such *dyāvā* (root *de-*), *calaviṇyā*, etc. (we find *cālāveā* in the Pandharpur inscr. of 1195 Śaka; in 1289 Śaka it is *calaviā* and in 1494 Śaka *sāgamvyā*). But *maṇer* is found beside *manyār* (*maṇi-kāra*) and the Persian word *myān* has as its doublet *meṇ*, *menā*.

When *i* or *e* are followed by short *a*, contraction, most often, is the result.

e + a < *e* : *kedhavaḷ* (for *kevadha-*), *kevdā* (*ketaka-*), *teṇem* (*teja-*), *der* (*devara-*), *veṇ* (*vedanā*), *śev* (*cheda-*).

i + a gives either *e* or *i* inside the word and *ī* at the end of the word except where *a* is nasal.

e : *neḷ* (*nikāṭa-*) *śemḍā* (*śikhaṇḍa-*), *śerā* (*śikhara-*), (*y*)er (*itara-*), *ahev* (*avidhava-*), *nesṇem* (Gujarati distinguishes *nes* < *nivas-* from *nās* < *nivās-*). — Similarly *pareḷ* (D. *parialī*) for ex. *māher*, (*mātr-ghara-*) etc., and in the final syllable the neuters : *jānavem* (*yajñopavītaṃ*), *koḍem* (D. *koḍiyam*), etc, and some fem.: the pronouns *te*, *he* (mod. *tī*, *hī*) etc, *vhaṇse* (Pkt. *-ssiā*).

i : *tidem* (*trika-*), *viṇem* (*vijan-*), *vīth* (*vitasti*, *śilā* (*śītala-*), *dī* (*divaḥ*), *dīs* (*divasa-*), *parīṭ* (D. *pariaṭṭa-*), *dīdh* (Pkt. *divaḍḍaa-*), the causative participle in *-ileṃ* (*-ita-* ÷ *-l-*), see M. *-iyaleṃ* (*kāraṇyaleṃ* in the Cāmuṇḍa inscr.). Similarly *piṇem* (*piba-*), *jiṇem* (*jīva-*) which go back to Prakrit.—At the end of the word *ī* is the normal characteristic of the fem. sing., Skr. *-ikā*, therefore Pkt. *-iā* > *ia* : *āgsī* (*agniśikhā*), *kaḷī* similarly the

neuters *ghī*, *dahīm*, *pāñī*, *jāhnavī* beside *jānhavem* (*yajñopavita-*).
 $i+i>i$: *tīj*, *aḍic* (*ṛṭiya-*, *ardhatṛṭiya-*).

When *e* and *i* meet, no matter in what order, *e* carries the day inside the word and *i* at the end.

Inside the word : *nārel* (*nārikela-*), *veḍhlā* (D. *veiddha-*). However, we have *parisṇem* for *pariesṇem* (*paryeṣ-*); but this can also be the first degree of the weakening leading towards the form *parasṇem*.

In the final position : terminal endings : of the oblique fem. sing. of Pkt. *-ie*, M. *-ī* (*bhīmī*), of the third pers. sing. caus. of Pkt. *-ei*, M. *ī* (*kari*); the poetic imp. of the same Pkt. conjugation *-ehi*, M. *-ī(m)*; similarly, with nasalisation, the 1st sing. of Skr. *-ayāmi*, M. *-īm* (*karīm*) and the nom. acc. pl. neuter with lengthening in Skr. *-akāni*, Pkt. *-a(y)āim*, M. *īm*.

Before *u*, *i* disappears in *duṇā* (noted as *duuṇa* in Pkt. Skr. *dviguṇa-*), in the infinitive as *-ūṃ* > Skr. *-itum* (see LSI Mar, p. 9), in *pārusṇem* (*paryuṣ-*). On the contrary at the end of the word, *-i* predominates over *-u* resulting from *-o*. Hence the nom. masc. sing. in *-ī* as *nhāvi* (*nāpita-*), *vāñī* (*vañija-*) etc. This confirms what has been said above regarding the relatively late passage of *-ao* to *-au*.

(c) The first vowel is *u* or *o*.

§ 64. When there is contraction, the timbre *u* or *o* always predominates.

$u+a>o$: *ohmāy* (*vadhū-*), *pophal* (*pūga-*), *mohaḷ*, *samoḷ* (*-mukha-*);

$u+a>u$: *jūḷ* (*yugala-*; cf. *juṃval*), *dhunem* (*dhunoti*; M. *dhuvaṇem* is poetic), *lulā* (*lūna*), *jūṃ* (*yugaṃ*), *tūṃ* (Pkt. *tumaṃ*), *gahūṃ* (*godhūma-*) and all the fem. in *-ū*, Skr. *-ukā* and the neut. in *-ūṃ*, Skr. *-ukaṃ*; cf. also *uṇem* if it refers to *udvart-*. The hiatus of *suā* (*sūpakāra*) is only apparent; it supposes an intercalated *v*, representing Skr. *p*, exactly as in *kuvā* (*kūpa-*), *puvā* (*pūpa-*), etc.

$u+o>u$: *nirū* (*niruja-*), *pū* (*pūya-*) and the other nom. sing. in *-ū-*, Pkt. *-ūo*. In reality it refers to :

$u+u$ which has given *u* from the Prakrit period in *ukhaḷ* (*udūkhala-*), *uṃbar* (*udumbara-*); we also find *o* denoting the long of *u* in the semi-tatsamas *garodar* (*guru-udara-*), *koykamal* (*kumuda-*).

$u+i$ When the hiatus does not subsist as in *juī* (*vūtikā*), *dhuī* (*dhūmikā*), *bhuī* (*bhūmi-*), *ruī* (D. *rūvī*), the resultant is *u*. We have *sū* beside *suī* (*sūcī*), whereas other languages do not have *sūī* as in Prakrit. Similarly, for *kurum̐d* (*kuruvinda-*) and chiefly for *dhūv* (*duhitṛ*), a form which accords with that of Sinhalese and which is already noted in Deśī (*dhūā*), whereas other languages of the continent have *dhī* or variants of the same form.

$o+a > o$: *thoḍā* (*stoka-*), *poḷ* (Pkt. *puala-*). In *jaḷū* (*jalaukā*), assimilation has possibly taken place among nouns in *-ū*, Skr. *-ukā* (In Marathi there is only one feminine in *-o* : *bāy-ko* "woman", besides not explained). A reduction of the same type must have been the cause of the doublet *janūṃ* (**jaṇṇovam* ? for *jaṇṇovaviam*) of *jānhavem*. The group *ova-* has been reduced to *u-* from Deśī in Skr. *opaśa-*, D. *usaa-*, M. *useṃ*, but generally the hiatus persists : *juvārī* < D. *jovarī*.

$o+i$ is reduced to *o* inside the word; thence *ḍokem*, *ḍokī* with reference to *ḍoī*, *josī*, earlier *joisī*; *oi* is only the vulgar pronunciation of *ovī* (D. *ovia-*); but in *koil* (*kokila-*; cf. the doublet *koyal*), the hiatus persists.

Contraction of Three Vowels.

§ 65. It is rare that these vowels could have been abbreviated in Marathi. Generally the vowels have been so grouped as to become a diphthong. Such is the termination of the oblique sing. of the nouns masc. -neuter with lengthening, Skr. *-akāya* > M. *eā*, *-yā*, or that of the nom. -acc. fem. pl. of the nouns in *-ī* : Pkt. *-iāo* > M. *eā*, *-yā*. The contraction of three *as* in *ār* (*ajagara-*), *ā-lā* (*āgata-*) is not at all certain. In appearance are found *i-a-o* < *ā* in *pasārā* (*prasārīta-*) *pārosā* (*paryuṣīta-*), *purā* (*pūrīta-*), *vipārā* (*vīparīta-*). But it is equally possible to see in the last case the consequence of a morphological action bringing these participles back to the normal type of adjectives (*-itaka-* > *-aka-*). The regular form is preserved in the proper noun *pāṇḍyā* (*paṇḍita-ka-*), *pāṇḍe* being only its dialectal doublet. The final diphthongs with the first element *i* get

contracted into *ī* in the terminations of the nom. pl. fem. (Pkt. *-iae* > *ī*) and of the neut. pl. (*-iāim* > *īm*). The intermediary is undoubtedly *ie*, as in the accessory word *śīm* (if it represents the Skr. word *sahitena*).

The Nasalisation of Vowels.

§ 66. In principle the long vowels, resulting from the contraction of two vowels, the latter of whom had been nasal, are nasal in the final position. Ex. : *śem* (*śatam*), *śīm* (*sahitam* or *sahitena*), the diminutives in *-rūm* as *vas-rūm* (*vatsa-rūpam*), etc., the nom. sing. neuter in *-em*, *-īm*, *-ūm* (Pkt. *-aam*, *-iam*, *-uam*). Among these last ones, the nasality of the final vowel is not noted in writing when it is preceded by a nasal consonant. Thus we write *pāñi* (*pāṇiyam*), *loṇi* (*navanītam*). This exception is only apparent, see Joshi, § 167. As regards *ghī* (Skr. *ghṛtam*), it is probably a borrowed word, as is particularly shown by the *i* treatment of the vowel *r*.

In the termination of the genitive plural *-ānām*, become in Marathi the termination of the oblique pl. *-ām*, *n* coming in contact with the final nasal vowel has lost, early enough, its own articulation. Its sign has preserved its memory in classical Prakrit under the form *-āṇa* (see Pischel, § 370) which, if it had been real, would render impossible the explanation of M. *-ām*. Moreover, later on Apabhraṃśa notes the modern phenomenon under the form *-āham* or *-aham*, where it is useless to seek explaining the aspiration (besides this sign is ascribed by Hemacandra to Māgadhī, contrary to the manuscript tradition, see Pischel, § 370). In the instr. sing., the final vowel had been nasalised in Prakrit and the termination, which is *-ena* in Sanskrit, had become *-eṇem* (Pischel, § 182). Here again the intervocalic *n* has lost its articulation and the resultant in Marathi, as in Apabhraṃśa, is *-em*. The terminations of the neuter pl. also present the same nasalisation of the final vowel, followed by the loss of the intervocalic *n* : Skr. *-āni* is noted in Prakrit *-āim*, *-āmim* or even *-āi* (see Pischel, § 182, 367). To these forms correspond the Marathi terminations *-em* (Skr. *-āni*), *-īm* (Skr. *-ikāni*).

§ 67. We will see later on that the old intervocalic *m* has become a spirant and has ended up as a nasal *v*. The

nasality of this essentially unstable phoneme is, in principle, carried back to the preceding vowel; moreover, it has altogether disappeared, at least in its sign in a large number of words. But in certain terminations, the nasality had subsisted, whereas the labial articulation, on the other hand, had been lost. Thence the fact that the first person of the verbs in the singular terminates in *-em* (Pkt. *-āmi*, *-ami*), *-īm* (from *-ayāmi*, Pkt. *-emi*), in the plural in *-om* (*ūm* -Pkt. *-āmo*, *-amo*) concerning the pronoun *tūm* (*tvam*, Pkt. *tumam*, see § 208).

§ 68. Inside the word, the group : short vowel ÷ nasal ÷ occlusive, is susceptible of several treatments (cf. Navalkar, § 38.).

When the occlusive is a surd, the result is indifferently one of the two stated below :—

1. short vowel ÷ nasal ÷ occlusive surd.
2. long nasal vowel ÷ occlusive surd.

Thus we have on one side *nimb* (Skr. *nimba-*), *paryant-* (ts.) and on the other *āt* (*auta-*), *cāpā* (*campaka-*), *cōc* (*cañcu-*), *vāṭā* (root *vaṇṭ-*). In principle the two treatments are licit and hence the doublets *tant*—*tāt* (*tantu-*), *khunṭ*—*khāṭ*, etc. The regularity of this gradation is responsible for the fact that the only sign of *anusvāra* suffices to note the two cases : in the case where the vowel is short, it represents the nasal of the same order as is the following consonant. If the vowel is long, the *anusvāra* has the same value as the *anunāsika*. When the occlusive is a sonant the result is :

3. nasal vowel ÷ nasal ÷ occlusive sonant.

The quantitative relationship is not the same as in the first case : the vowel is a bit longer than the normal short vowel, and the occlusion of the nasal is shorter than that of an intervocalic nasal (letter of P.R. Bhandarkar). Examples : *bhāṇḍ* (*bhāṇḍa-*), *jheṇḍā* (*dhvaja-*), *māṇḍaṇem*, *tōṇḍ* (*tuṇḍa-*), *khāṇḍ* (*khaṇḍa-*), *cāṇḍ* (*candra-*), *vāṇḍh* (*vandhyā*), *āmb* (*āmra-*), *khāmb* (Pkt. *khaṃbh-*), *būṇḍ* (*bindu-*), *pāṇḍ* (*paṇḍu-*), etc.

In this case, which is intermediary between the former two, is still to be observed the trace of the tendency to eliminate the occlusion of the nasal in favour of the preceding vowel. This tendency is found in all the cognate languages, with the exception of the North-Western group. In Sindhi and Panjabi (examples in Beames, I, p. 296-9) and also in Sinhalese

Geiger, § 17), the vowel remains pure and short even in the case of the assimilation of the consonants. In fact these languages do not allow the lengthening of the vowels before a reduced consonantal group. Everywhere else, the two former treatments co-exist and in the case of the sonant, a third one is juxtaposed, in which the vowel is denasalised but is lengthened, while the consonantal group is reduced by being made, not an occlusive, but a nasal (see Grierson, *Phon.*, p. 34; *Maith. Gram.*, § 27; Hoernle, § 23). The treatment of Marathi is, therefore, parallel to that of other continental languages, without however being completely identical.

§ 69. The long vowels preceding a reduced old consonantal group tend to be noticeably nasalised, as in Prakrit, when the first of the old consonants had been an *r*, and when the group contained a sifflant or an aspirated palatal (see Pischel, § 74). Thus beside *āg* (*agni-*), *āthi* (*asti-*), *āp* (*ātmā-*), *āsare* (*apsaras-*), and above all *māg* (*mārga-*), *sāp* (*sarpa-*), etc., we come across, on the one hand, *ām̐c* (*arci-*), *kam̐vamtal* (Pkt. *kavattia-*), *kām̐kadī* and *kāk̐dī* (*karkatikā*), *kom̐par* and *kopar* (*kūrpāra-*), *jhām̐jri* (*jharjharī*), *bhām̐bhal* (*bharbh-*), *mām̐jar* and *mājar* (*mārjāra-*), *mām̐jñem̐* (*mārjaya-*), *vām̐k* (*vakra-*), *savam̐g* (*samargha-*) with reference to *mahāg* (*mahārgha-*), *sām̐dñem̐* and *sādñem̐* (*chard-*). On the other hand we have *ām̐kh* and *āms̐* beside *ās* (*akṣa-*), *ām̐tharñem̐* and *ātharñem̐* (*āstar-*), *om̐th* beside *oṭh* which is more correct (*oṣṭha*), *kavam̐th* and *kavaṭh* (**kapiṣṭha-*, cf. Skr. *kapittha-*), *kām̐kh* and *khām̐k* beside *kākh* and *khāk* (*kakṣa-*), *kām̐sav* beside *kāsav* (*kaśyapa*, *kacchapa-*), *taram̐s* beside *taras* which is more usual (*tarakṣa-*), *rīm̐s* and *rīs* (*ṛkṣa-*), *pām̐klī* (*pakṣma-*); *um̐sīt* (*utsikta-*), *vām̐srūm̐* and *vāsrūm̐* (*vatsa-*), *kām̐cyā* and *kācyā* (*kaccha-*), *vim̐cū* (*vṛccikā-*): These two last words are, besides, probably borrowed; *āms̐ū* and *āsū* (*aśru-*), *pām̐solī* (*pārśva-*). We also find before other articulations: *phām̐kī* (*phakkikā*), *hām̐kñem̐* (*hakk-*); *sām̐cā* beside *sāc* (*satya-*), *um̐c* and *om̐cā* beside *ocā* which is less frequent (*ucca-*), *jhūm̐jhñem̐* beside *jhujhñem̐* (*yudhya-*); *kum̐ṭaṇ* beside *kuṭaṇ* and *kuṭṭīn* (*kuṭṭanī*), *bhīm̐t* and *bhint* (*bhitti-*), *pim̐pal* (*pippala-*) etc.

How should we explain this contradiction? The examination of the cognate languages brings no clarity. There also we find the nasal of *ām̐c*, *āms̐ū*, *jhām̐jri*, *bhām̐bal*, *mām̐jar*, *vām̐k*, *hām̐kñem̐*; but the nasal of *sā(ṇ)ñem̐* is found only in Gujarati

and that of *kāṃkh* only in Hindi. Hindi, Panjabi and Gujarati have, like Marathi, *māṃj* = Skr. *marj-*, but Sindhi, Bengali and Oriya have merely *māj*. Except Marathi, everywhere else the forms for *kāṃkḍī*, *kāṃcyā*, *koṃpar*, *sāṃcā*, *vāṃs-* (but here it may be due to abbreviations as in 'Hindi *bacchā*) are without the nasal. The form *pīṃpal* is also the only one and Oriya has the nasal only where the word is borrowed from Marathi (see Beames, II, p. 24, note 2).—On the other hand with regard to Marathi and Gujarati *māg* (*mārga-* and root *mārgaya-*), all the other languages from the N-W to the east (except Oriya and Assamese) have *māṅg-* or *maṅg-*. With regard to Marathi *māj(h)*, Guj. *maj-* (*madhya-*), Sindhi and Kashmiri have the nasal, and Hindi and Panjabi have both the forms, but the treatments of the Sanskrit word *mudga-* are distributed otherwise : *mūg*, Panj. *mugg*, old Beng. *mug*, H. and Bih. *mūṃg*, Sindhi *mūṇu*.

§ 70. Every long vowel tends to develop a nasal resonance. This fact is undoubtedly at the root of the preceding phenomenon, and is probably more frequent than is revealed in writing. It is shown as being optional before *y*, *r*, *l*, *v*, *!* (see Molesworth, *Preface*, § 6). But one cannot explain otherwise *ā(m)sḍī* (Pali *āsaṭikā*), *aṃcavṇem* (tatsama * *ācamana*), *kā(m)c* (tatsama *kāca-*), *keṃs* and *keṃsar*, popular and archaic for *kes*, *kesar* (*keśa-*); *boṃḍ* (goes back to Deśī, Dravidian *buḍbod-*), *he(m)sṇem*, *hi(m)sṇem* (root *heṣ-hreṣ-*). The final vowels offer more than one example of this spontaneous nasalisation. Thus we have *nāhim* "no" with reference to *āhe* "he is"; the termination of the second pl. *-ām* (Skr. *-atha*); the adverbs *tar(h)im* (*tarhi*) and its opposite *nātarim*, *ekadām*, *evhām*, *ethem*, etc. One can suspect that the same fact is at the origin of certain obscure terminations (instr. *tvām* "by you"; the locative terminations in *-ām*, *-im*, cf. infra) and it has been seen in § 66 that this is certain for the terminations of the instrumental sing. and oblique plural. We should, undoubtedly, separate, on the one hand, the case of *jimkaṇem*, *limpaṇem* (root *ji-*, *lip-*) where morphological influences have been able to come into play and that of *paṃvlem*, *paṃvāḍā* (*pravāla*, * *pravāda-*), where the anusvāra has to note, chiefly, the unvoicing of *a*, which yields forms like *povlem*, *povāḍā*. In *uleṃdhālem* (D. *ull-ehaḍo*), the internal *e* can be nasalised under the influence of

some sort of reduplication : cf. the form *ulaḍhāl*. Lastly are to be noted certain obscure cases where the vowel is short : thus the first syllable of *ka(m)vaṃṭāl* cited above and the curious tatsama *vinanti* beside *vinati*.

Here also Marathi has parallels with other languages. If *kāc* and *kes* are the only forms noted in Hindi, one also finds there the form *aṃcavan* (Tulsī Dās) and the spontaneous nasalisation is found sporadically elsewhere; thus H. *bāmh*, S. *bāṃhan* (Skr. *bāhu-*), M. *bāhī*; Guj. *bheṃs* (Skr. *mahiṣī*), M. *mhaīs*.

§ 71. Inversely, Marathi presents numerous traces of denasalisation. In a number of words, where the nasal is etymological, the nasality is optional. Thus *mā(m)s* (*mās* is the popular form; Skr. *māṃsa-*), *vā(m)sa* (*vaṃśa-*), *ha(m)sṇeṃ* (*haṃs-*), *cā(m)pā* (*campaka-*), *sā(m)peṃ* (*sāṃpratam*), *sā(m)khal* (*śṅkhalā*); *āvatṇeṃ* is the current form corresponding to the poetic *āvaṃtaṇeṃ* (*āmantraṇa-*), *guphā* is the popular form of *gumphā*; *kothrib* that of *kothambīr* (*kustumbarī*); to Skr. *māñca* correspond the two forms *maṃcī* and *mācā*; to *saṃlagana-* corresponds *salag*; the words given below have lost their nasality since the period of the Deśī : *kīlac* or *kīlīc* (D. *kiliñci-*), *khājaṇ* (*khaṃjana-*), *micakṇeṃ* (*miṃc-*), *umad-* (*ummaṇḍa-*), *orapṇeṃ* (root *ramp-*). There is no trace of the nasal in *kohleṃ* (*kuṣmāṇḍa-*), *bhijṇeṃ* (*abhyañjana-*), *vijṇā* (*vyañjana-*), in *bhuī* (*bhūmi*) and other words with an old intervocalic *m*, nor in *pusṇeṃ* (Skr. *proñch-* : Deśī has both the forms).

The denasalisation is more or less constant for a short vowel preceding *nt*: to *avatṇeṃ* (*āmantra-*) cited supra, should be joined *kaḍtar* (Pkt. *kaḍantara-*), *bhitar* (*abhyantara-*), *śeṃṇoti* (*śīmantikā*) and above all the terminations of the third pl. present in *-ati*, *-at* (*-anti*) and of the pres. part. in *-at* (Pkt. *-anta-*). In the former the nasal has disappeared since the earliest texts, but its traces are still found in the latter. The inscription of Pātan, beside *vikateyā* the oblique sing. of *vikat*, the pres. part. of *vikṇeṃ* (*vikrī-*) offers the form *hoṃtā*, the nom. sing. of the pres. part. of *hoṇeṃ* (mod. *hotā*). Similarly the editions of the *Ĵñaneśvari* often preserve the nasality in the pres. participle of the verb "to be" *sāṃt-* (for ex. IV, 117, 154). But during the modern epoch nasalisation has generally disappeared and forms like *cintaṇeṃ*, *nicint*, *manthaṇeṃ* (cf. *mathṇeṃ*, *mathṇī*) are rare and in all probability are tatsamas.

In all these respects Marathi behaves like other Indo-Aryan dialects. The majority of examples is found to be identical in the cognate languages. The nasal preceding *t* is missing particularly in all the speeches from Gujarat to Bengal, it subsists only in Oriya and Assamese on the one hand and on the other in those western languages where *nt* becomes *nd* (cf. J. Bloch, JA, 1912, I, p. 333).

But the nasality of the intervocalic *m* in the words of the type *bhūmi* is preserved in the group formed by Gujarati, Sindhi, Panjabi and Hindi and these very languages still make a distinction between the roots *prāñch-* and *pr̥cch-*, whereas Marathi has *pus-* in both the cases.

S 72. In the existing state of our knowledge, it is impossible to explain all the details of these contradictory facts. Most probably the reason lies in their dependence on the general character of the articulation in Marathi and in the cognate idioms. All these languages are pronounced with the soft-palate hardly raised. Thence one can say that all the vowels are more or less nasal and that their nasality is noted somewhat accidentally, but still more constantly in the cases where, the vowel being long, the nasal resonance has more chances of being noted. The variations in the notation are, therefore, largely a matter of spelling.

Besides, the nasalisation can be more or less strong and consequently can appear more or less worthy of being noted, depending upon the dialects. In Marathi, it is notorious that it is particularly developed in Konkan (see LSI, *mar.*, p. 78, 167, 189). It is weaker and can, as a consequence, seem to be absent in the northern and eastern speeches (ibid, p. 22, 24). But these differences do not present a clear-cut characteristic : at Thana have been noted, beside *rānāt* (for *rānām̐t*) "in the forest", not only *tāntlā* "among them", where the nasal is etymological, but also *mānjā* for *mājā* (Pkt. *majjha-*) and *kanthā*, tats., for *kathā* (ibid, p. 65). Even in the *deś*, nasality remains notable in the terminations and it is known that the presence of a nasal vowel changes into *nl* following the first pers. sing. of the future (*-n* for *-m̐-l*) and in the dative plural (*-āṇnā*) for *-ām lā*), cf. the demonstrative *tyānlā* "to them".

The tendency to nasalise the vowels must have started from a very early epoch. Pāṇini notes that in Sanskrit *a*, *i* and

u, short and long, take at the pause a nasal resonance; the same fact is met with in Pali (see Pāṇini, VIII, 4, 57; Wackernagel, § 259). On the other hand, for the scribes who have inscribed the rock edicts of Aśoka, the nasal and the long vowels are always equivalent terms (see Senart, *Inscr. de Piyadasi*, I, 16; this remark does not apply to the pillar-edicts, see T. Michelson, IF, XXIII, 257). Lastly in the Buddhist Sanskrit texts, certain variants seem to be due to the same phenomenon. We come across *jantu* in the leaves of Pelliot (*Dharmapada*, II, 20) and also *jantu* in the corresponding Pali text (*Samyutta-nikāya*, I, 117) with reference to *jātu* in the *Divyāvadāna* (p. 224); *Samācaret* of *Divyāvadāna* (p. 224) is similarly opposed to *samaṃ caret* (*Samyutta-nikāya* I, 117).

Marathi Vowels :

§ 73. It remains to prepare the chart of Marathi vocalism by taking it back to its origins. The rules enunciated below generally suffice for the explanation and some difficulties of detail will be examined when required.

a

§ 74. As the initial syllable, *a* represents Pkt. *a* arisen out of Skr. *a* or *ṛ*, see § 33, 46 ff. It results from a contraction, see § 61, 62, 65. It can also be the substitute of *u*, either by dissimulation (*gamūt*, *garū*, *garodar*, *gahūṃ*, *ravaṃṭh* for *rovaṃṭh*, possibly *sarū*, Arabic *surū*), or due to obscure influences (*maṣṭ* is probably borrowed from Gujarati; *sar* looks like a contamination of Skr. *surā* and *sāra*-).

In the final position *-ā* results from a contraction, see § 39, 60 ff, 65, 70. Inside the word, *a* can represent any vowel, § 40, 42, 52 ff. It can form the diphthongs *ai*, *au* with *i*, *u* representing *i*, *e*, *u*, *o*, § 56 ff. Exceptionally it represents *e* in *akrā* (*ekādaśa*).

i

§ 75. *i* = Pkt. Skr. *i* or *ṛ*, see § 30, 39, 40 ff. 50, 55 ff. *i* = Pkt. *e* in the initial position, for ex. in *itukā*, in the

internal syllable, § 51, 63 and in the final syllable in *aḥnī*, *umhī*, § 39. In certain cases, it goes back to Pkt *ai* (§ 58) and to all the diphthongs whose first element is *i* or *e* (see § 63, 65).

It represents Skr. *ya* after a consonant in certain words which are, without doubt, all of them, semi-tatsamas : *bhijñem* (*abhyañjana-*), *bhītar* (*abhyantara-*), go back to Prakrit. *vijñā* (*vyañjana-*), *jānivasā* (*janya-vāsa-* are found to be made on the same model; in this latter word one can also admit the influence of a sort of syllabic super-position, real or felt of *nivāsa-*). In *udīm* (*udyama-*) and *nīm* (*niyama-*) beside *nem*, the *m* proves that we have to deal with veritable tatsamas : it is the same influence which has re-established *vīvsāv* beside *vāvsāv* (*vyavasāya-*). It is also found *i* in a certain number of cases where *a* was expected : *iṃgal* (*aṅgāra-*), *pīkā* (beside *pāk*, Skr. *pakva-*) go back to the oldest Prakrit. The *i* of *hirvā*, *hirḍā* (beside *haryāl*, *haḷad*) is found since the Veda (*harita-*, *hiri-*, *hiranya-*, see Wackernagel §21 c). It is remarkable that Marathi is the only one to have kept these forms.—Equally old, but common to Marathi and other languages is the *i* of *mirā* (*merica-*), *niḍ(h)al* (*lalāṭa-*, Pkt. *niḍāla-*), *ukiḍavā* (cf. *ukuḍavā*, *ukaḍ*), *ukirḍa* (*ukarḍā*). The two last examples are evidently the doublets due to the multiplicity of the treatment of *r*. This is, undoubtedly, the way in which can be explained also *khiṇḍ*, *khiḍkī* (with reference to *khaṇḍñem*, *khaṇḍā*, *khāḍā*, etc.). Beside *paṃjar* (*pañjara-*) is found *piṃjrā* as also *mañjirī* (*mañjarī*), *khirñem*, along with *kharñem*, *jharnem* (*kṣar-*). Should all these examples be explained as the more or less old loans ? This hypothesis, though in accordance with the general tendencies of Marathi, lacks proofs. Moreover one must also take into consideration the dialectal influences or recent evolutions. Molesworth has noted that *cirhāṭ*, *girhā* for *carhāṭ*, *graha* are popular forms and besides it is possible that a large number of examples escape observation, given the disappearance of the internal *i*, cf. § 50.

i is often written *y*, see § 57, 63.

u

§ 76. *u*—Pkt *u*, Skr. *u* and *r*, etc., § 30, 44, 50, 57.

u is the result of diverse contractions. It represents *au*,

§ 60, *iu* § 63 and those groups whose first vowel had been *u* or *o*, see § 64. Moreover, *u* frequently represents Pkt. *o*-, Skr. *ava*-, *apa*-, see § 51, 64, 67. In the initial position this phenomenon, besides very old, probably presupposed a confusion with the pre-verb *ud*- : cf. the observation of Wackernagel, § 141, regarding *ujjhāyati*, Skr. *ujjihī*.

Just as *i* represents *ya* after a consonant in certain semi-tat-samas, similarly Prakrit admits *u* for *va*, as in the gerundive in *-ūṇa*, if it be really the successor of the Vedic-*tvāna* (see Pischel, § 584) and in *turiam*, unless it is not a contamination of *tvaritam* and *tūrtam*, etc. In Marathi, the traces of their gradation are extremely rare : in *kuṭhem*, we are not sure if it is *kva* + a word of the Sanskrit family *sthā* (cf. § 110) ? As long as the etymology of *koṃ* "who" (cf. *kāy* "what") is not sure, nothing definite can be said on this point. The words *sūr* (*svara*-), *dhūn* (*dhvani*-) are probably borrowed. The dental of *dhūn* renders this word specially suspect; the Prakrit had the cerebral (Pischel, § 561). As regards *tūṃ*, it represents Pkt. *tumam* and not Skr. *tvam* and *suṇem* = Skr. *śunaka*-.

-*u* is the vowel of support near a labial consonant; ex. : *sugūṃ*, *hukūṃ*, words borrowed from Skr. *sugama*- and Arabic *hukm*.

u alternates with *a*, notably in the imitative or expressive words, in the neighbourhood of *r* or of a cerebral consonant. Thus *taḍ*- : *tuḍ*-, *phaṭakṇem* : *phuṭṇem*, *ghaḍghaḍṇem* : *ghurghur* or *gurgur*-; cf. *ghoṭṇem* and *guhṭghuṭ* with reference to H. *ghaṭaknā* "to swallow". This relates, evidently to the different treatments of *ṛ*, the indifference regarding the vowel being greater because in this type of words, it is the consonants which predominate. —The root *kṣar*- : *jhar*- which gave the doublets in *i*, also furnishes us with forms in *u* : *vikhurnem*, *nijhūr* beside *vikharṇem*, *nijharṇem*. Prakrit does not know of forms except in *a* and *i*, but Deśī has *ṇijjhūra*- beside *ṇijjhara*-. Moreover the forms in *u* seem to be exclusive to Marathi. The Sanskrit *kisalaya*-, Pkt. *kisala*- is represented by *kisūḷ* in Marathi, without doubt under the influence of the cerebral *ḷ* (see § 79). Finally are also met with *kulolī*, *kululī* beside *kalolī* "the rut of horses"; cf. the doublet in Hindi *kalol-kilol*. Is there here some trace of the influence of *kulā* "butt-ock" ?

u is found for *i* in *bund* "drop", Skr. *bindu*-. It seems that

ere has been a metathesis of *i* and *u*, if we were to judge by the opposition of *undar* "rat", the form in Marathi, Gujarati and Sinhalese and *indūr*, the form in eastern languages. In Sanskrit we already find beside *puñjila-* and *piñjūla-* "tuft" (see Wackernagel, p. XXXIII, 277). It is remarkable that *ind* and *bindem* are alive in Marathi, with a slightly specialised sense: "drop of the sperm, sperm",—*cuṇṇem* goes back to Prakrit and differs from *cinṇem*; the *u* of *susar* (*śiśumāra-*) is also found in Prakrit and is due to assimilation.

u is often written *i*, See § 55 and 57.

e

§ 77. *e*—Pkt. *e* coming from

Skr. *e* : *ek* (*eka-*), *eṇem* (*eti*), *keṭḍā* (*ketaka-*), *kes* (*keśa-*), *kheṭā* (*kṣep-*), *cevaṇem* (*cetana-*), *dev* (*deva-*), *des* (*deśa-*), *deh* (*deha-*), *deuḷ* (*devakula-*), *pej* (*peyya-*), *pekhṇem* (*prekṣ-*), *pesṇem* (*preṣ-*), *mehuḍā* (*megha-*), *set* (*śreṣṭha-*), *seṇvī* (*sena-*), *veṣvā* (*veśyā*), *vet* (*vetra-*), *śet* (*kṣetra-*), *śeṭ* (*cheda-*), etc., and the instrumental in *-em* (Skr. *-ena*).

Skr. *ai* : *gerū* (*gairika*), *tel* (*taila-*), *mehuṇā* (*maithuna-*).

Skr. *aya* : *keṇem* (*kreyana-*), *vaḷem* (*valaya-*), *je* (*jaya-*); *deṇem*, whence *leṇem* (Pischel, § 474), see § 62.

Skr. *i* : *peṇḍ* (*piṇḍa-*), *bel* (*bilva-*), *veṭh* (*viṣṭi*); cf. infra. *e* results from contractions, see § 62, 63.

Exceptionally, *e* represents *a* under the influence of the neighbouring *i* : *šej* (*śayyā*) goes back to Prakrit, *mer* (*maryā-*) and *vel* (*vallī*) as in Deśī. This is frequent in Konkani (LSI, Mar., p. 171). It is in fact in Konkani that we get *verim* "upto": M. *var(i)*. In any case in *uṇer*, *ḍher*, possibly *eṇḍ* and the extraordinary form *aiṣim* "80" (see § 58), the alteration is surely modern.

Some obscure examples of *e* for *a* are : *šeṇvrī* with regard to *śāṃvar* (*śālmali*) goes back to Prakrit, *ḍhemkūṇ* (*daṃ-* ?) as in Deśī; *āghedā* beside *āghāḍā* is probably borrowed from Gujarati and *khemkaḍ* (*karkaṭa-*) probably from Hindi. The word *hiseb* is a Persian form of Ar. *ḥisāb*, *kherij* is undoubtedly a pronunciation borrowed from Urdu (where it is written *kharij* for *khārij*). But one could not explain *uleṇḍhālem* beside

ulādhāl, *paletaṇ* beside *palātaṇ* (etymological form, confirmed by Deśī), neither *be-* with regard to *bā-* “two” (*dvā-*), nor *cave-* with regard to *cāv-* “four” (*catuḥ*) in the compound nouns of numerals.

thevṇem is not the direct successor of Pkt. *thāai*, *thāi* (*sthā-*) it develops from a Pkt. * *thei* extracted from *uṭṭhei*, etc.

o

§ 78. Pkt. *o* = *o*, Skr. *o* : *oṃṭh* (*oṣṭha-*), *koṇ* (*koṇa-*), *koṭhā* (*koṣṭha-*), *kor* (*kora-*, *kola-*), *kolhāl* (*kolāhala-*), *koṃva* (*komala-*), *kos* (*krośa-*), *goṭhā* (*goṣṭha-*), *goṇ* (*goṇī*) *got* (*gotra-*), *jogā* (*yogya-*), *jot* (*yoktra-*), *joṣī* (*jyotiṣ-*) *ḍolā* (*dola-*), *loṃ* (*loma-*), *lohār* (*lohakāra-*), *sos* (*śośa*) *solā* (*śoḍaśa-*), etc. The final *o* of the nominative after *h* : *kalho* (*kalaha-*), *ghoho* (D. *goha-*), *māho* (*māgha-*), *moho* (*moha-*), *loho* (*lobha-*); cf. § 39. Skr. *-au* : *koslā* (*kauśa-*), *kolī* (*kaula-*), *goḍ* (*gauḍa-*) *gorā* (*gaura-*), *cor* (*caura-*), *tol* (*taulya-*), *molīm* (*maukṭika*), *mol* (*maulya-*).

Skr. *apa* in *ovarī*, *osarṇem*, *osar*, *osrī*.

Skr. *ava* : *hoṇem* (*bhava-*), *loṇ* (*lavaṇa-*), *loṇī* (*navanīta-*)

In the initial position : *oṇavṇem*, *oṃvālṇem*, *oṃvaḷā*, *oraṇṇem*.

Skr. *uva* : *soṇem* (*suvarṇa-*).

Pkt. *uva*, Skr. *upa* : *oṃvas* (*upavāsa-*), *oḷakhṇem* (*avalakṣ-*), etc. *N.B.*—Given the frequent exchanges between *o-* and *u-*, we cannot, in principle, determine in a compound word beginning with *o-*, if that prefix represents Skr. *apa-*, *ava-* or *upa-*, nor often *ut-*, see § 81.

ava- tends to be reduced to *o* not only in Prakrit, but since then, and during all the periods: that is how are explained *loṇī* (*navanīta-*), *paḍosā* (*prativāsa-*), *koṇ* (if *kavaṇa-* “who?” is not merely an etymological type carried into literature), *darodā* (D. *ḍaḍavaḍa-*). During the recent period numerous doublets have been found : *keḍhol* beside *keḍhaval*, *ekosā* the popular form of the tatsama *ekavasā*; similarly *amos*, *amūs* with regard to *avas* (Skr. *amāvāsyā*). *angochā* (*aṅgavastra-*) is probably a loan. The intermediary is evidently *au* : cf. *daud* (*drava-*).

In the initial position, *va-* and *o-* get mixed up: For example *vaṭṇem* (*vat-*, *vart-*), *vatīm* (*vaktra-*), *vaḷṇem* (*valana-*) are the

only forms found, but we have *oḍhṇem* beside *vaḍhṇem* (*vardh-*), *var* beside *va(u) var* (*vadhuvāra-*), *ohmāy* beside *vahmāy* (*vadhu-nātr-*), *oḍhaṇ*, *ohaṇ*, *ohaḷ* beside *vāhaṇ*, *vāhṇem*, *vāhḷī* (root *vah-*). It is true that in *ohaṇ* for example, which is a dialectal word, one can suppose the influence of a word like Skr. *ogha-*; cf. also *ojhṇem*. As a consequence we do not often know if we have to do with a direct reduction of *ava* to *o*, or should we suppose the apocope of the initial *a*, apocope whose traces, besides, are found in Sanskrit texts (Wackernagel, II, § 29 b *a, d*; Whitney, § 1037). The two processes must have co-existed : thus are explained the doublets *oṇavṇem* : *vaṇavṇem* (*avanam-*), *ohaḷ* : *vahaḷ* and *oghaḷ* : *vaghaḷ* (*avagal-*, *avaghr-*), *omj(h)aḷ* : *vaṃjaḷ* (obscure etymology : *añjali-* or *avāñjali-* ?), *osvā* : *vasvā* (*avacchada-*), *olaṃg(h)ṇem* : *valaṃgṇem* and probably *opṇem* : *opṇem* "to sell". Similarly *omgal* : *vaṃgal* (*amaṅgala-*), *olaḷ* : *valī* (*āvalī-*), *ouṃl* : *vaṃl* (*vakula-*) : cf. *vovā* as against *vāmo* (*vyāma-*).

§ 79. These exchanges are rendered easier by the fact that the short *a* has a posterior pronunciation. In Mahari this tendency is pushed to the extreme and results in the pronunciation of *o* : *ānond* (*ānanda-*), *haros* (*harṣa-*), *dukkol* (*duṣkāla-*), see LSI, Mar, p. 157. In a general way, in the Konkani, *o* tends to replace *a* :

1. Under the influence of a labial, giving rise to examples cited above, LSI, Mar., p. 167 : *boreṇ* "well" (M. *bareṇ*), *boiṇ* "sister" (M. *bahiṇ*), *mhuṇ*- and *moṇ* "to say" (M. *mhaṇ*-), *poḍ*- "to fall" (M. *paḍ*-). This also happens in the normal speech, chiefly when this *a* is nasalised, that is to say when it has already spontaneously the tendency to be unvoiced, cf. *kaums-*, the popular pronunciation of tatsama *kāṃsa*, and inversely *kāṃsā*, the pronunciation proper to women for *korasā* "one who takes revenge". Thence, on the side of forms with *a*, *poḷem* (*prabāla-*), *poḷāḍā* (*pravāda-*), *bhoṃvṇem*, *bhoṃvaḍṇem* (*bhram-*), *bhoṃvar* (*bhramara-*), *bhoṃs* (D. *bhamāsa-*), *loṃbṇem* (*lambana-*), *ṭhoṃb* with reference to *thāṃb-* (*stambha-*). Inversely we find *laṃv* for *loṃ* (*loma*). Where there is no nasality, the phenomenon is much less frequent : cf. *mahāg* with regard to Gujarati *moghūṇ* (*mahārgha-*).

2. Under the influence of the cerebral *ḷ* : Thence *visulṇem* beside *visaḷṇem* (*vikṣal-*), *saṃgulṇem* the Konkani form of

saṃgaḍṇem (*saṃghaṭ-*), *iṃgoḷ* (rare) and *kiḷos* (given as dialectal) beside *iṃgaḷ* (*aṅgāra-*) and *kiḷas* (*kilāsa-*), *kisūl* (where there is probably a substitution of the suffix, either * *kisaula-* < *kisalaa-* following the doublet *devālaya-* : *devakula-*, Pkt. *devaula-*, *deula-*), *pākoḷī* beside *pīmkḷī* (*pakṣma-*).

3. Under the influence of *u* in a neighbouring syllable : *korn*=*karūn* "having done". This is almost unknown to the normal language.

4. By the assimilation of *o* of the preceding syllable if the intermediary consonant is *h* : *loho*, *moho*, the nom. sing.; cf. *mohorā*, *ḍoholā* for *mohrā* (*mukhara-*), *dohḷā* (*dohada-*) in the poetic language (see Joshi, § 175, 3).

Observations common to *e* and *o*

§ 80. *e* and *o* replace *i* and *u* under ill-defined conditions. In Prakrit, just as *i*, *u* used to denote short *e*, *o*, notably before a geminated consonant (Pischel, § 79-84), *e* and *o* replace *i* and *u* in this position (ibid, § 119, 122, 125, 127). Its reasons are visible : on the one hand the absence of any symbol for short *e* and *o* (see Jacobi, KZ, XXV, 29) and on the other the closing of the phonemes *e* and *o*. But if it had been a case of pure graphic notation, one would expect in the modern languages, either the general re-establishment of *i* and *o*, or their total disappearance. Now, such is not the case; with reference to the normal examples of *i* and *u*, we find *e* and *o*.

1. In certain words specifically found in Prakrit with *e* and *o* : *ethem* (*ittham*), *peḍhī* beside *piḍhem* (*pīṭha-*), *bel* (*bilva-*), *veṭh* (*viṣṭi-*), *śendūr* (*sindūra-*); possibly *gheṇem* (Pkt. *geṇh-*, Skr. *grh-*) and *khelṇem* (Pkt. *khel-*, Skr. *kriḍ-*); *ol* (*udra-*), *kohḷem* (*kuṣmāṇḍa-*), *koḍh* (*kuṣṭa-*), *toṃḍ* (*tuṇḍa-*), *thor* (*sthūra-*), *poḥar* (*puṣkara-*), *pothī* (*pustaka-*), *polā* (*pūla-*), *mogar* (*mudgara-*), *moth* (*mustā-*), *mol* (*mūlya-*, but probably also * *maulya-*; cf. *tol*=* *taulya-*); *soṇḍ* (*śuṇḍā*) corresponds to the Pali form (*soṇḍā*); to Deśī go back *koḍ* "love", *koḷem* "hump of the buffalo", *coj* "marvel", *bokaḍ* "billy-goat" (*bukka-*), *mocā* "slipper" (which is borrowed from Persian *mūcah*).

2. In other words it, undoubtedly, refers to a gradation of Indo-European origin, notably in verbal stems of the type : *phedṇem* : *phiṭṇem* (Pkt. *phiḍ-*); thus *cepṇem* : *ciṇṇem* (this latter is popular ; cf. Skr. *ciṇṭa-*), *bhokṇem* : *bhukṇem* (Pkt. *bhukk-*), *ghoṭṇem* : *ghuṭṭghuṭṇem* (Pkt. *ghuṭṭ*, *ghoṭṭ-*) and by analogy pos-

sibly the creation of *śendanem* (*chid-*), *leṭnem* (root *lī-*), *kopnem* (*kupya-*; unless it be a verb re-made on the tatsama *kopa*), *lehnem* (popular) : *lihinem* (*likh-*); cf. *hiṃṣnem* whose *i* found in Deśi corresponds to *e* of Skr. *heṣ-* (*hreṣ-*) and of M. *he(m)snem*. Similarly for the gradation of the verbal substantive and of the verb; *tilā* (cf. *toḍī* and *toḍnem*) with regard to *tuṭnem* (*truṭ-*), *khodā* of *akhudnem* (*khoda-*, *kuṇtha-*). Lastly it is the transfer of the verbal stem in the participle which explains the vocalism of the compound expression *denlen* (Pkt. *diṇṇa-*).

3. In the obscure cases: in *vehiā*, one could admit, either a differentiation of two *i*s of Skr. *vibhītikā*, or a Pkt. intermediary **vehiḍiā*. But it should not be forgotten that it is the name of a plant and, moreover, that there are in Sanskrit similar names of plants, such as *vihvala-* and *vedhaka-*. The plant-name *terḍā*, whose doublet is the dialectal *tirḍā*, seems to be older. But as in the case of examples going back to Prakrit, it is not possible to provisionally put forward a satisfactory explanation for the vocalism of *aherā* (cf. *ahirā*), *śegaṭ* (*śigru-*), *ocā* (*uccaya-*), *osaṃgā* (*utsaṅga-*, with the substitution of the preverb *ava-* for *ut* ?), *koḍem* (D. *kūḍa-*), *koṃḍāḷem* (*kuṇḍala-*), *gophā* (*gulpha-*), *tondel* (cf. *tund*), *tor* (beside *tūr*, Skr. *turī*), *comc* (*caṅcu-*) *coclā* (D. *cumculia-*), *nikhorḍā* (D. *nikhuria-*) *poṃkh* (*puṅkha-*), *bhoj* (*bhūrja-*), *mos* (Dialect. beside *mūs*, Skr. *mūṣa-*), *moḷi* (*mūlikā*), possibly *oj* (*ūrjas-*), *kor* (*krūra-*), *kolī* (*kulyā-*), *poṭ* (*puṣṭa-*).—Inversely *tūṇ* is in agreement with Sanskrit and differs from Pkt. *toṇa-*; *suṃṭh* has been kept whereas Hindi and Kashmiri have *soṃṭh*, *śoṃṭ*, and *kudāl* (Skr. *kuddāla-*) survives only in Marathi and Hindi, other languages have *o*.

It is possible that these are the traces of doublets going back deep in the past : cf. in the *Divyāvadāna* the co-existing forms *mūṭa* (*mūḍha-*) and *moṭa-*, whose equivalents are found in Marathi as *muḍī*, *moṭ*. For the time being it is not possible to attempt a deeper explanation.

In *bāher*, with regard to Pkt. *bāhiṃ* (*bāhira-*), see M. *bāhirilā* (Inscrip. of 1206) *e* is certainly short.

The *i* of Persian seems to be represented by *e* in *mehtar*, *pehran* but this is because Persian *i* before *h* opens in Persian itself, see Hoern., "Neupers. Schriftspr.", *Grundriss d. Iran. Phil.*, I, 2, § 4). To the *u* of Arabic corresponds *o* in *morāmbā*, possibly for some similar reason (ibid., § 6). Besides, popular etymology seems to have intervened here.

CONSONANTS

Occlusives

§ 81. We have seen in § 14 that following the alterations effected in the Middle Indian by older inter-vocalic consonants, there were, no longer, any occlusives inside Prakrit words, except when they were geminated. Later on, by one of the last consequences of the weakness of the intervocalic (consonants), the geminated became, most often, simplified at least in the Western languages except Panjabi (see Grierson, *Phon.*, p. 21 ff.) and notably in Marathi, where the exceptions seem generally to be due to borrowing.

In this way, we arrive in Marathi at a system where there is opposition between the initial occlusives or those developing from old geminated ones and the remnants of old intervocalic consonants or their substitutes. This opposition has been extended, since Prakrit, to *y* (the initial *y* and *-yy-* give in Prakrit and M. *j*; the intervocalic *y* disappears; M. *y* does not have a real existence, see § 54, 56 and *infra*) and to *m* (Pkt. *m* and *-mm-* > M. *m* are opposed to Pkt. M. *-mv-* issued out of the Sanskrit intervocalic *m*). It is found also in the case of *n* and *l*. In fact, *n* and *l* are the initial and geminated forms corresponding to *ṇ* and *ḷ*, forms reserved for the intervocalic position. Here, curiously, the difference concerns the point of articulation and not the manner of articulation. Everything happens as if *ṇ*, *ḷ* had been in relation to *n*, *l* as *y* in relation to *j*, or *h* in relation to *kh*, that is to say as if the cerebral had been an intervocalic, therefore weak, dental form.

Only one series of occlusives seems to contradict the rule of opposition between the old intervocalic and the old initial or geminated consonants. They are the cerebral sonants *ḍ* and *ḍh* which, if one were to trust the sign, would indifferently represent initial and geminated Skr. *ḍ* and *ḍh* on the one hand and the intervocalic ones on the other. Now the uniformity of the sign hides a real phonetic difference : P. R. Bhandarkar has informed me that the consonants in question were articulated at the same point as *ṭ* and *ṇ*, that is to say

on the anterior part of the palate (*g* of the figure given by Jespersen, at the end of his *Lehrbuch der Phonetik*) when they are in the initial position or are in group. But in the intervocalic position, *ḍ* and *ḍh* are articulated at the same point as *ḷ*, that is to say on the soft palate (just before the point *i* of the same figure). The articulation, therefore, takes place in *ḍāg*, *ḍhag*, *kaḍhṇem* for ex. further ahead than in *kāḍhā*. It will be observed that this opposition (which is found probably in the central languages, where the intervocalic *ḍ* is noted *ɽ*, see Grierson, *Phon.*, § 52), occurs in the same direction as that of *n* and *l* on one side and of *ṇ* and *ḷ* on the other. The strongest articulation is, at the same time, anterior.

The table, given below, summarises the oppositions characteristic of the system of Marathi occlusives.

	Initial or developed out of Prakrit geminated ones		Developed out of old intervocalics	
	Non-aspirates	Aspirates	Non-aspirates	Aspirates
Gutturals	<i>k, g</i>	<i>kh, gh</i>	<i>nil</i>	<i>h</i>
Palatals	<i>c, j</i>	<i>s,¹ jh</i>	<i>nil</i>	
Cerebrals	<i>ṭ, ḍ</i>	<i>ṭh, ḍh</i>	<i>ḍ(ḷ)</i> see supra,	<i>ḍh</i>
Dentals	<i>t, d</i>	<i>th, dh</i>	<i>nil</i>	<i>h</i>
Labials	<i>p, b</i>	<i>ph, bh</i>	<i>v</i>	<i>h</i>

The occlusives thus defined have, in principle, subsisted in Marathi without any change. However, the method of articulation of the occlusives has undergone a number of irregular changes affecting mainly the consonants following a nasal and the aspiration.

Occlusives following a nasal

§ 82. In the group, nasal + occlusive, it is the occlusive which is, in Marathi, the resisting part. The nasal is susceptible to different treatments, wherein its fate is linked with that of the preceding vowel (see § 69). The consonant, on the contrary, remains in principle, unchanged. On this point Marathi agrees with Gujarati and both of them are opposed to the north-western group on one hand, where a nasal changes

1. *s* developed out of Pkt. *ch* is mixed with Skr. *s, ś, ṣ* and like all palatals is susceptible to two pronunciations in accordance with the timbre of the following vowel.

the following occlusive surd into a sonant and on the other to all the central languages, where the nasal tends to dominate over the sonant occlusive (see J. Bloch, JA, 1912, I, p. 332 ff, and the examples given by Grierson, *Phonol.*, p. 34 to 38; cf. infra, § 124). Of these two last types of change, only exceptional cases are found in Marathi.

The words *kumjī* (*kuñcikā*) and *palamga* (*paryāṅka*—: cf. M. *pālak*, *pālakh* are found in almost all the dialects and are probably borrowed, largely from one another among them. One need not be surprised that the word for “key” and for a type of “bed” has travelled. As regards *kaṁgaṇī* (*kaṅkaṇa*-) and *kaṁgavā* (*kaṅkata*-) which co-exist with *kaṁkaṇ* and *kaṁkavā*, it is possible that the sonorisation therein has some phonetic principle. In fact, they are the only ones among the words beginning with *k*, where the group *ñk* goes back to Sanskrit. Now in these words there must have been hesitation in Sanskrit itself and it shows, for example, the doublet *kañku*-: *kaṅgu*- (m. *kāṁg*). On the contrary where Marathi has preserved the internal *k*, it is because of its being an old *kk* (*kaṁkoḷ* = Skr. *kakkola*-, *kaṅkola*-) itself developed generally out of *rk* (*kāṁkdī* < *karkaṭikā*, *kaṁkar* < *karkara*-, *kukar* < *kukkura*, *kurkura*-); *kumkūṁ* seems, therefore, to go back not to Skr. *kuñkuma*- (cf. Sindhi *kuṅgū*), but to the form found in Tokharian, *kurkama*- and Sogdian *kurkumba*- (forms communicated to me by Sylvain Lévi and Gauthiot).

The second type of change is found only in the recent doublets of the type *vindhṇem* : *vinhṇem* (*vyadh*-, Pkt. *vindh*-) and the aberrant forms of the word for the number “five”, which are, on the contrary, quite old and which have been studied in the chapter on the words for numbers.

Aspiration

§ 83. The aspiration of the occlusive gives rise in Marathi as in the related languages to frequent variations, which remain, nevertheless too sporadic and too irregular to enable us to discern any law therein. Everywhere are found cases of the aspiration of the non-aspirated occlusives and of the loss of aspiration of the aspirated occlusives. Only Sinhalese like its neighbours, the Dravidian languages of the South, is ignorant of all aspiration (Geiger, § 14, 3 and § 27).

§ 84. Among the phenomena of aspiration two cases should be distinguished. In the initial position of words, the aspiration often goes back to Prakrit and is also often found in the cognate languages. Such is the case in *khasṇem* (*kas-*), *khāṇar* (*karpara-*), *khīḷ* (*kīla-*; *khīla* is found in later Vedic and in Pali), *khujā-* (*kubja-*).

khemkaḍ (cf. *kāmkaḍī*; Skr. *karkaṭa-*), *khelṇem* (if it is related to Skr. *krīḍ-*; *khel-* is found from the *Rāmāyaṇa* onwards), *phaṇas* (dialectally *paṇas*, *panasa-*), *pharas* (*paraśu*), *phāsā* (*pāśa-*, cf. *sphāṃcī*), *phāsoli* besides *pāsoli* (*pārśva-*? cf. Pali *phāsulikā*), *bhisem* (*bisa-*), *bhīms* (*bṛsī*), *bhukṇem* (*bukk-*), *bhūms* (*busa-*). The explanations given so far for the Prakrit forms of these examples are insufficient. The prosthetic *s-*, alternating in Indo-European under unknown conditions with the initial consonant *k-* or isolated *p-*, which is probable in a case like *khāṇar*, and is possible elsewhere (see Wackernagel, I, 230 b, Pischel, § 205, 206, n. 2), does not allow us to render account of the aspiration of the sonants. The influence of neighbouring *r* or *s*, admitted by Jacobi (*Ausgew. Erz.*, § 21), seems to be better applicable to this case (cf. the very old Skr. example of *jaṣa-*: *jhaṣa-* cited by Wackernagel in § 141) and to render account, for example, of *ghoms* (*gucchā*). Besides, it is possible that the modern forms with initial *bh-* be in reality more authentic than the corresponding Sanskrit forms with *b-*; and in that case *b-* itself would then be the result of a dissimilation by the sifflant. It is known, in fact, that the Indo-European *b-* is very rare and that the Sanskrit *b-* represents more than once *bh* (see Wackernagel, § 105; cf. the observation of Pischel on *ghēp-* cited in § 106). In this case, the modern forms would be due to the maintenance of the old *bh-* in the presence of *s* or *r*. Thus may perhaps be explained *bher* (H. *ber*, M. *bor*, Skr. *baḍara-*), *bhukṇem* "to bark" is the only example without a sifflant; but the word can admit as an expressive word special treatment of the same type as in *kās-* > *khas-* "to cough".

In short, except in the case of *b-*: *bh-* one can admit it is a case of assimilation—moreover abnormal—of the aspirated initial implicit in the sifflant or *r*: this hypothesis seems to get confirmation by the examination of different forms corresponding to Skr. *kubja-*, *kubhra-*, cf. *khujā*, *khubā* besides *kubḍā* and by *jhumjhumem* (*judhya-*).

An example similar to the preceding one is found in *bhāph* beside *bāph* (*vāṣpa*), but it does not, certainly, belong to Marathi. The existence of *vāph* in this language makes us suspect that the form with *b-* is a loan. The same can be said with regard to *phattar* because of its duplication (cf. *pāthar*) and of *themb* (Skr. *tip-*: *step-*) because of the sonorisation of *p* after the nasal.

Certain examples can again be explained by contamination. Thus *ghāgar* (*gar-gara-*) "water-pot" can have been subjected to the influence of its homonym *ghāgrā* "chatter" (*gharghara-*), which also expressed the babbling of water. The name of the 'net' *phāms* or of the 'dice' *phāsā* (*pāsā-*, *pāsaka-*) can have been under the influence of the root *spars-*. This had, in addition, the advantage of disencumbering the radical **pās-* already representing *pārśa* and *pāścāt*, indeed *pakṣa-* (inversely the deaspiration of the initial in the semi-tatsamas done after *spars-*: *paras* is observed; see Grierson, *Phon.*, § 60 and cf. Pkt. *apuṭṭha*=*asprṣṭa-*, M. *apūṭ*). But certain forms remain outside the domain of all explanations, as *phol* with reference to *pol* (Pkt. *polla-*) and as, chiefly the words with initial *jh-*. Herein the aspiration is posterior to Deśī in *jhāḍ* and *jhoṭim*; cf. *jhomṇem* "to sleep" with reference to Kanarese *jomp-*. The exclamation *jhem* beside *jem* "what" (*yat*); *jhaṇi* "even if" which seems to be related to "*jāṇū*" as if, as "of the root *jan* (Skr. *jñā*), chiefly *jhālā*, the past participle of the verbe "to be", which replaces sometimes the old *jālā* (*jāta-*). The words with the initial *jh-* are, moreover, generally obscure; cf. § 107.

§ 85. At the end and inside a word, the examples of aspiration are still more sporadic and obscure.

The tatsamas *kamṇ(h)*, *aṃk(h)* furnish sure examples for the final. The doublet *kap*: *kaph* denoting "cotton" is difficult to interpret in the absence of etymology for the forms *kāpūs* and *kapās*. It is possible that *kap* represents the oldest form, *kaph* being since that time its alternative form. It is equally possible that *kaph* had been borrowed from some dialect where *s* became *h* (cf. Sindhi, Panjabi *kapāh*, or *kapā*) and then lost its aspiration. The words *jāmb(h)* (*jambu-*), *vāk(h-)* (*valka-*) are not isolated: cf. *jāmb(h)ūḷ* and *vāk(h)al* cited below.

S 86. The examples of aspiration inside the word are somewhat more numerous.

Some are probably purely apparent. The word *voghal-ogha!* (*avagal-*) has been subjected to the influence of the *tat-sama ogha-* or of *ojhar* (*avakṣar-*); *mumḍ(h)ā* "bald" (*numḍa-*) has been subjected to that of *mumḍhī* "head" (*mūrdhan-*), which by a return action has become *mumḍī*; *olaṃghṇem* possibly carries the trace of a contamination with the roots *lag-* "to hold" and *laṅgh-* "to jump", or *lambh-* "to hang" ; *buj(h)ṇem* (Pkt. *bojja-*) can have been influenced by its homonym *bujhṇem* (*budhy-*); *gumḥā* "sylvestrian retreat, cradle, cavern" seems, despite the authority of Hemacandra, to be nearer Skr. *guṣp-*, *guph-*, *gumḥ-* "to weave" than the root *gup-* "to hide, to protect."

A separate group is formed by the words with *-mb(h)-*, where the gradation is old : the Vedic has *ramb-*: *rambh-*, Sanskrit opposes *ambu-* to *ambhas-* and *abhra-*, later still *jambūra*, to *jambha-* and *jambhīra-* (Wackernagel, S 109). Undoubtedly thus can be explained the forms *āḷamb(h)em*, *jāmb(h)ūl*, *bāb(h)ūl*, perhaps even *cumb(h)ā!* (Pali *cumbaṭa-*). But there still remain several examples which are altogether obscure : thus *niḍ(h)a!* (*lalāṭa-*, Pkt. *nidāla-*), *pāṃḍhar* (*pāṇḍara-*), *pārak(h)ā* (*pārakya-*), *pāikhi* more frequent than *pāiki* (*pāyanka-*), *peṃḍ(h)i* (*piṇḍa-*), *vāḥhā*, *vāḥhṇem* (tats. *vap-*).

S 87. The deaspiration of the aspirated occlusives is exclusively met with inside and at the end of the word. Cases, where an initial non-aspirated consonant seems to correspond to an old aspirate, are found under special conditions. Thus *garat* for *gharat* (*grhasthā*) can come from dissimulation provoked by the old final *-th* of **gharatt(h)ā*. As regards *dāi* "nurse", it is not the Pkt. *dhāi*; it is an Iranian loan.

S 88. The final position is particularly favourable to deaspiration; its examples are also numerous at this place. Besides, to judge from the hesitations of signs, not only in Marathi but also in the parent languages and from one language to another, the deaspiration must be more general than is shown by spelling. Are noted in Marathi :

Gutturals : *bhik* (*bhikṣā*), *bhūk* (*bubhukṣā*); *cauk* (*catuṣka-*); *jāṃg* (*h*) (*jaṅghā*), *mahāg* (*mahārghya*), *savaṃg* (*samargha-*);
Palatals : *gūj* (*gukya-*), *māj* (*madhya-*), *vāmj* and *sāmj*,

less used than *vāṃjh* and *sāṃjh* (*vandhyā*, *sandhyā*);

Cerebrals: *īṭ* (*iṣṭā*) and *ūṃṭ* (*uṣṭra-*) had already lost their aspiration during the Prakrit era (*iṭṭā*, *uṭṭa-*, Pischel, § 304). We have similarly got *apūṭ* (*asprṣṭa-*, Pkt. *apuṭṭha-*), *kaṭ* (*kaṣṭa-*), *kaṃṭ* (in relation to *kaṃṭhā*, *kāṃṭhem*, etc., Skr. *kaṇṭha-*), *nāṭ* (in relation to *nāṭhā*, Sk. *naṣṭa-*), *pālaṭ* (wherefrom *pālaṭṇem*; cf. *pālthā*; Skr. *paryasta-*); *laṭ* (Pkt. *laṭṭhi-*), *lāṭ* (Pkt. *laṭṭha*), *saṭ* (*h*) (*ṣaṣṭi-*), *śīṭ* (*srṣṭi-*), *heṭ* (Pkt. *heṭṭha*); *ākhāḍ* (*āṣāḍha-*; but it is certainly a loan-word; cf. the Gujarati and Sindhi forms), *koḍ* (*h*) (Skr. *kuṣṭha-*, *koṭha-*) *dīḍ* (*h*) (Pkt. *divaḍḍha-*), *meḍ* (*h*) (Pkt. *meḍhī*);

Dentals : *garat* (*grhasthā*), *rohamṭ* beside *rovamṭh*, *romṭ* (*h*) (*romantha-*), *vīt* (dial. *vīth*, Skr. *vitasti-*), *śīt* (1. Skr. *siktha-*; 2. Deśī *sitthā*), *hāt* (*hasta-*); *ansūd* (*anna-śuddhi-*), *āsand* (*aśvagandha-*), *khād* (Pkt. *khaddha-*), *gīd* (*h*) (*grdhra-*), *pārad* (*h*) (Pkt. *pāraddhi-*), *saband* (*h*) tats. *sabandha-*; *band* on the contrary has nothing in common with Skr. *bandha-*, it is loan from Persian), *sāṃḍ* (*h*) (*samdhī-*);

Labials : *julūp* (Pers. *zulf*), *śem* (*b*) (*śleṣma*).

§ 89. Inside the word, examples of de-aspiration are equally quite numerous. It is often difficult to say if the change does not have its origin in a shorter word where the aspirate had been in the final position. Thus it is not known as to which is the original form, *bhūk* or *bhukṇem*, *saṃṭ* (*h*) or *sāṃṭ* (*h*) *ṇem*, *-sūd* or *sud* (*h*) *ā*, nor whether the verbs with the radical in *-ṭ*, the termination of an old participle, have received their radical without aspiration or have lost the same later on. Inversely, the forms of Pkt. *iṭṭā*, *uṭṭa-*, if they are not of archaic re-making, seem to indicate that the change of consonants considered above as finals has been produced at the moment when they had not been in that position. Finally, it is such a case where the hesitation between an aspirated consonant and the non-aspirated one is old. This happens in the word for "sugar", formed on the one hand in the Sanskrit form *śarkarā*, Pkt. *sakkara-*, and on the other in the Pali form *sakkharā*, cf. *Sakkhari*, a transcription coming undoubtedly from Western India.

Even while taking note of these observations, it is impos-

sible to explain phonetically all the facts. In the lists that follow, it is not possible to note the frequency of words containing a sifflant or an aspirate. The dissimulation due to the presence of these phonemes undoubtedly explains for a large part the loss of aspiration. This remark, besides, is applicable to a good number of examples of de-aspiration which are in the final position. But the divergent cases are too numerous to enable one to be satisfied with this explanation. It is better to group, here, the examples without seeking to explain all of them.

Surd Gutturals : Skr. *ṣk* is represented by *kh* in *pokhar* (*puṣkara-*) *vikharṇem* (*viṣkar-*), but by *k* not only in *dukaḷ* (*duṣkāla-*; cf. (Pkt. *dukkara-* < *duṣkara-*), *nikāmi* (*niṣkarma-*) where the composition, being felt, has been able to preserve in the main word its initial *k* (cf. Deśi *nikhaḍo* < (*niṣkaṭa-*, and probably *nikāl-* borrowed by Marathi from Hindi), but also in *sukā* (besides *sukhā*, rare and undoubtedly a stranger; Skr. *śuṣka-*). Similarly Skr. *ks*, normally represented by *kh* (see § 104); is shown as *k* in *śikṇem* (*śikṣ-*), *bhukṇem* (*bubhukṣ-*; cf. *bhūk* < *bubhukṣā* above), probably also in *pek(h)ṇem* (*prekṣ-*) and two other verbs, also undoubtedly, derived from the root *ikṣ-*, *paikṇem* "to wait" and *aikṇem* "to listen." There is also no trace of the aspirate in *pākḷi* (*pakṣma-*). Leaving aside the doublet *sākar*: *sākar*, Marathi has two co-existing forms in *sāmk(h)ṇem*, *sāmk(h)-aḷṇem* (Pkt. *saṃkhāi*), *sāmk(h)aḷ* (*śṛṅkhalā*, the form without aspiration is found in Jaina Prakrit).— The same holds true for the sonant : *saṃgad*, *sāṃgadṇem*, *sāṃgulṇem* (*saṃghat-*), *sāṃgṇem* (Pkt. *saṃ(g)h*, *saṃgṇem* (cf. Deśi *saṃghia-*).

Sonant Palatals : the passives *dājṇem* (*dahya-*), *ruj(h)ṇem* (*ruhya-*; but there is perhaps in existence an Indo-Iranian doublet without aspiration, see the Lexicon), *reṃjṇem* (*rih-?*), *śijṇem* (*sidhya-*; *śijhṇem* also exists, but is less authentic); similarly *samajṇem* (*-dhyā-?*; cf. H. S. *samajh-*), *mājim*, *mājārīm* (*madhya*; cf. *māj* cited supra). On *niśc-* > *nic* see § 101.

Cerebral Surds : *agḷ(h)i* (*agnistha-*), *āṭkem*, *aḍṭis*, *aḍsaṭ*

(*aṣṭa-*), *bhaṭakṇem* (*bhraṣṭa-*), *sāmṭ(h)ṇem* (*saṁsthā-
śeṭ(h)ī* (*śreṣṭhin-*). One should add here verb
made on the stems of the participle in *-ṭṭha* : *uma
ṇem* (*unmrṣṭa-?*), *ghātṇem* (*ghrṣṭa-*), *nīsaṭṇem* (*nī
rṣṭa-*), *piṭṇem* (**prṣṭa-*), *miṭṇem* (*mṣṭa-*; cf. *māṭṇem*).
The etymology of *sāṭ(h)im* “for” is not certain.
It seems, at first view, that it has something to do
with *artha-* : but the Sindhi form *sāṭo* (exchange)
Guj. “*sāṭa*” “in exchange for” lead us to suspect
the confusion of two words neighbouring in meaning
and similar except in aspiration : moreover, *sā*
has no known etymology.

Sonant Cerebrals : *aḍic*, *aḍkā*. *sāḍe* (*ardha-*; cf. *dīḍ(h)
oḍ(h)aṇ*, *oḍ(h)aṇī* (*D oḍḍhaṇam*, *ohāḍaṇī*), *sāḍ(h)
(śyālivodha-)*; *gāḍṇem* is not sure, it may represent
gart- as well as *gāḍh-* as regards *mumḍhī* (*mūrdhan-*).
this word can have been influenced by *munḍa*
on which, it has in its turn, reacted. (see § 35)

Dental Surds : *ut(h)al* (Pkt. *utthal-*), *kot(h)rib* for *kothir
bīr* (*kustumbarī-*).—

Dental sonants : *udav* (*uddhav*), *sud(h)ā* (*śuddha-*; cf. *ans*
cited supra); *vindrūm*, doublet of *vindhrūm* perhaps
contains, not the root *vindh-*, but Skr. *vidra-*.

Labial Surds : *apūṭ* (*asprṣṭa-*, Pkt. *apuṭṭha-*) can go back
to a certain doublet, without *s*, of the root *spars*
or can be the result of dissimilation (Pkt. **phuṭṭha-
>puṭṭha-*). The etymology of *pāpṇī* (*pakṣma-* :
is doubtful : cf. *pākṇī*. The form *vāphā* is more
usual than *vāpā* (*vāpya-*) : the homony *mvāph* (Sk
vāṣpa-) could have influenced it?—

Labial Sonants : *kubḍā* (Skr. *kubhra-*) goes back to
radical earlier containing two aspirates, or the dissimi-
lation has been effected in both the directions; c
khubā and *khuajā* (Skr. *kubja-*); *hambā*, *hambar-* resu-
from a similar dissimilation (Skr. *hambhā*, *hambhāra-*).
As regards *jābāḍ*, beside *jābhāḍ*, it is all the more
strange that if it is definitely a compound of *jāmbh-*
hāḍ, then the aspiration would have had double
reason for subsisting.

§ 90. The changes concerning the mode of articulation

set out above and that of *ch* into *s* (see § 102) are the only ones undergone by Marathi consonants in a regular manner. The exchange between the surd and the sonant (except when this exchange is determined by the contact of two consonants, see supra, § 82 and farther down) is almost unknown. The verb *macṇem* seems to be related to *madya-*: Prakrit has already got *maccai*, so the difficulty goes back to an epoch anterior to that of Marathi. Moreover, it is not sure if there had been some contamination (cf. the observation of Pischel on the subject of Pkt. *vaccai*, root *vraj-*, § 202, note 3). In the final position of certain loan words a trace of hesitation is found : thus *jāp* beside *jāb* (Per. *jauāb*); tats. *akāmt* (Skr. *ākranda-* “lamentation” possibly influenced by *ākrānta-* “tormented by passion”). Dialectally *s* is pronounced *j* (that is to say *z*) *zakalā*, *zhavli* for *sakalā*, *sāvli* in the Konkan (cf. Molesworth, *sāvli* and LSI, *Mar.*, p. 6). A curious and inexplicable evolution, but found from Prakrit onwards, concerns the development, in certain cases, of Skr. *ṣṭ* and *ṣṭh* not only upto *ṭṭh* and *ṭh*, but upto *ḍh* in the intervocalic position, see § 112.

Marathi Occlusives and their Point of Articulation

§ 91. The point of articulation of the Marathi consonants is, in principle, the same as that of the Sanskrit ones. Certain partial modifications, not based on any general principles, will be set out apropos of each of the category of the occlusives.

Gutturals.

k

§ 92. In the initial position, *k* succeeds the Pkt. *k* which is :

Skr. *k* in *karnem* (*karṇa-*), *kām* (*karma*), *kīḍ* (*kīṭa-*), *kuṃā* (*kūpa-*), *keḷ* (*kadatī-*) *koḍ(h)* (*kuṣṭha-*) and numerous other words which are found in the Lexicon;

Skr. *kṛ* in *kenem* (*kṛayāṇa-*), *kos* (*krośa-*), *kolhā* (*kroṣṭhuka-*);

Skr. *kv* in *kadhṇem* (*kvath-*); *kadhāi* (*kaṭāha-*) is perhaps of the same family: for *kāil* “kettle”, it is more

§ 93. In the interior or final position, *k* goes back to :
Skr. *k* after the nasal : *sāmkaḍ*, etc., cf. § 82;

Pkt. *kk* developed out of :

Skr. *kk* in *cikaṇ* (*cikkaṇa-*), in the expressive words *śiṅk* (*chikkā*) and *hakārṇem* (*hakkhāra-*), perhaps in *cukṇem* (*cukk-?*);

ky in *pārkā* (*pārakya-*), *sakṇem* (*śakya-*), *śikem* (*śikya-*);

kv in *pikā* (Pkt. *pikka*. = *pakka-*, Skr. *pakva-*);

kr in *cāk*, (*cakra-*), *cukā-* (*cukra-*), *tāk* (*takra-*), *vāṃk* (*vakra-*), *sūk* (*śukra*);

ṭk in *sak* (*ṣaṭka-*);

tk in *ukḍā* (*utkaṭuka-*), *ukar* (*utkara-*); *ukaṇem* (*ut-kṛt-*)
ukaḍṇem (*ut-kvath-*, Pkt. **uk-kadh-*), *ukaṇem* (*ut-*
kalāṇa certainly do not go back to Sanskrit. They
can have been the Prakrit compounds with
u- (< *ut-*, *upa-*, *apa-*, *ava-*, cf. § 78);

kr in *kaṃkar* (*karkara-*), *kāṃkḍī* (*karkaṭikā*), *kuṃkūṃ*
(* *kurkuma-*), see § 82; *bakrā* (*barkara-*), *mākaḍ*
(*markaṭa-*), *sākar* (*śarkarā-*);

ṣk in *cauk* (*catuṣka-*), *dukāl* (*duṣkāla-*), *sukā* (*śuṣka-*),
etc., see § 89.

§ 94. According to Pischel, the *k* of *mukṇem*, *mokaḷ*, *moklā* would go back to Skr. *kn*. It is certain, in fact, that the Prakrit participle *mukka-* can not go back to *mukta-*, which normally gives *multa-* (cf. Sinhalese *mut* and the examples of M. *t* —Skr. *kt* given below); Not one of the examples of the participles collected by Pischel in § 566 of his grammar can be surely explained by the morpheme *-na-*. Perhaps it will be better to recognise therein simply a direct action of the Sanskrit radical. This influence is particularly probable in the case of *mukṇem*, etc., whose relationship with the tatsamas of current usage, *mukta-*, *mukti-*, *mokṣa-* could not fail to be recognised.

In this hypothesis, the *kk* of Pkt. *mukka* is not to be phonetically interpreted. It will be simply a sign of the Skr. *k* rendered necessary by the Prakrit rule that in the intervocalic position there can only be geminated consonants. This is how are similarly explained *lākaḍ* (Pkt. *lakkuṭa-*, Skr. *lakuṭa-*), *mukā* (Pkt. *mukka-* beside *mūa-*, Skr. *mūka-*), and above all *ek* (Pkt. *ekka-*, Skr. *eka-*), a word particularly indispensable,—this can be maintained only at the cost of an artifice.

The Pkt. *-kk-* is inexplicable in *ṇakka-*, M. *nāk* (cf. Skr. *nāsā*, *nāsikā*). It is frequently used in classical Prakrit as a morpheme: see Lüders, *Bruchstücke*, p. 38, 41; Pischel, § 194, 598. This morpheme is, undoubtedly, already noted in some of the Aśokan inscriptions (see Fleet, *JRAS*, 1906, p. 407-410; T. Michelson, *J. Phil.*, XXXI, p. 59). In Marathi, its clear examples are rare. It is found in *thākṇem* (*sthā-*: cf. Apabh. *thakkei*), in expressive words like *khuḍakṇem*, *caḍakmicakṇem*, *phaṭak-*, in several words with unknown etymology: *ḍokī* (cf. the doublet *ḍoī*, *ḍhakkā ḍhāmṇem* (root *dhā-* ?), *ucakṇem*, (*ucca-* ?). This morpheme goes undoubtedly back in part to Skr. *-kya-*. The word *pārkā* clearly proves the same, but other influences could have been active. The notation *pāikka-* of Prakrit is in reality merely a transcription of the modern form *pāik*, which is a loan from Iranian, and not the successor of Skr. *padātika-*. On the other hand, it is known that *-kk-* is a current morpheme in the Dravidian languages (see Caldwell, *Comp. Gram. of the Drav. Languages*, 2nd edn., p. 97). Now the existence of words like *cikkā* in Deśī (M. *cikkar*, *cike*) proves that the Dravidian loans are old in Marathi, and it is permissible to put near each other the gradation, Mar. *caḍ*, *caḍak* "smack slap" and that of Kanarese *caḷa* "noise of a bubble that bursts": *caḷaka* "dexterity, speed", *caḷaken* "cramp, spasmodically contracting oneself."

 kh

§ 95. In the initial position *kh-* represents :

§ 95. In the initial position *kh* represents
Skr. *kh* in *khacṇem* (*khacya-*), *khaj* (*kharju-*), *khaju* (*khar-*
jūra-), *khadī* (*khaṭī*), *khaṇṇem* (*khan-*), *khaṇtem* (*khani-*
traka-), *khar*, *kharad* (*khara-*), *khala* (*khala*-subst. and
adj.), *khāt*, *khata* (*khaṭvā*, *khaṭvāṅga-*), *khāṇḍnem*,
khāmḍ, *khāmḍā*, *khadā* (*khaṇḍa-* cf. *khid*, *khind* etc.,
see § 75), *khāṇ* (*khāni-*), *khāt* (*khātra-*), cf. of the
same root *khāi* (Pkt. *khāiā*), *khāṇem*, cf. *khāū*
(*khādana-*), *khād* (Pkt. *khaddha-*), and *khājem*
(*khādya-*), *khijnem* (*khidya-*), *khudnem*, *khulnem*,
khudā, *khulā*, *khod*, *khodā* (root *khund-*, *khud-*),
khūr (*khura-*), *khedem* (*khetaka-*), *kher* (*khadira*);
and un-

- doubtedly in *khavā* (cf. Lat. *scapula*);
 Skr. *skh* in *khaḷṇem*, *khaḷbaḷṇem* (*skhalana-*);
 Skr. *kṣ* in *khaṇṇem* (*kṣaṇya-*), *kharnem* cf. *khirṇem* (*kṣar*),
khavam (*kṣapaṇika-*), *khār* (*kṣāra-*), *khirṇi* (*kṣirīṇi*),
khūr (*kṣīrikā*), *khubalṇem* (*kṣubh-*), *khevā* (*kṣepa-*),
khod (*kṣoda*), *khodṇem* (*kṣud-*)
 Skr. *k* in *khāpar* and the words studied in § 84; by the
 metathesis of aspiration in *khāṃk* (*kakṣa-*), *khāḍiṇ*,
khāḍaṇ for *kadhīn* (*kaṭhina*), etc.;
 Skr. *ṣ* in the words borrowed from languages where Skr.
ṣ gets mixed in the tatsamas with *kh*: *vikh*
(viṣa-), which besides in Hindi itself co-exists with
bis, as *ākhāḍ*, the name of the month of *āsāḍha-* co-
 exists there with *aṣahr*.

§ 96. Inside the word, *kh* goes directly to Skr. *kh* in
 the tatsamas *nakh* (written in Prakrit *ṇakkha-*), *mukh*, etc., and
 in the compounds whose second member begins with *kh* :
pakhāl (*pra-kṣal-*), *ākhudṇem* (*ākhuṭ-*); the reason why *kh* has
 been preserved in *udūkhala-* > Pkt. *ukkhala-* > M. *ukhaḷ* is not
 clear. For *ukhaḍṇem*, it is difficult to choose between a proto-
 type* *ut-khuṭ-* and a prototype *utkṣ-*, Pkt. *ukhaḍh-*, where a
 metathesis of aspiration had to be supposed.

kh represents in addition :

- Skr. *kh* after a nasal in *sāṃkhaḷ* (*śṛṅkkhalā*), cf. § 89;
 Skr. *khy* in *vākhāṇ* (*vyākhyāna-*) and perhaps in *ukhāṇā*
 (* *upa-khyāna* ?);
 Skr. *ṣk* in *pokhar* (*puṣkara-*), *vikharṇem* (*viṣkir-*); cf. § 89
 and 92;
 Skr. *kṣ* in *āṃkh* (*akṣa-*), *ākhā* (*akṣata-*), *kākh* (*kakṣa*),
kukhāvart (*kukṣi-*), *cokh* (*cokṣa-*), *pākh*, *pākhṛūṃ* (*pakṣa-*,
pakṣi-), *pekṇem* (*prekṣaṇa-*), *mākhṇem* (*mrakṣaṇa-*),
rākh (*rākṣā*), *rākhṇem* (*rakṣaṇa-*), *rākhismukh* (*rākṣasa-*),
rukḥā (*rūkṣa-*), *rūkh* (*rukṣa-*), *lākh* (*lakṣa-* and
lākṣā), *lākhṇem*, *olākhṇem* (*lakṣaṇa-*, *avalakṣ-*), *likh*
(likṣā). Add here *śikṇem*, etc., see § 89;
 Skr. *kṣṇ* in *tikh* (*tikṣṇa-*) and Skr. *kṣm* in *pākḷi* (*pakṣma-*).

g

§ 97. In the initial position, *g* represents Pkt. *-g* deve.

loped out of :

Skr. *g* in *gaṃḍ* (*gaṇḍa-*, cf. (*gāṃḍ*), *gaṇṇem* (*gaṇaya-*), *gadhā* and *gādhav* (*gardhabha-*), *gaṃdh*, *gaṃdhā* (*gandha-*), *garal* (*garala-*), *gar(h)āṇem* (*garh-*), *gavasṇem* (*gaveṣaṇa-*), *gavā*, *gavli* (*gāv-*), cf. *gāi*, *gāuli*, *garli* (*gopāla-*), *gahirā* (*gabhira-*), *gahūṃ* (*godhūma-*), *gaṇṇem* (*gal-*), *gaḷā* (*gala-*), *gāū* (*gātu*), *gājṇem* (*garjana-*), *gāṃjā* (*gañjā*) *gāṃjṇem* (*gañjana-*), *gāḍhā* (*gādha-*), *gāṇ* (*gahana-*), *gāṇem* (*gā-*), *gāt* (*gātra-*), *gābh-* (*garbha-*), *gāl* (*galla-*), *gāl* (*gālī*), *gilṇem* (*gil-*), *gīdh* (*grdhra-*), *gugūḷ* (*guggulu-*) *guṇ* (*guṇa-*), *guṇṇem* (*guṇana-*), *gurūṃ* (**go-rūpaṃ*), *gū* (*gūtha-*), *gūj* (*guhya-*), *gūḷ*, *guḍ* (*guḍa-*) *gelā* (*gata*), *gerū* (*gairika-*), *goṭh* (*goṣṭha-*), *goṭhī* (*goṣṭhī-*), *goḍ* (*gauḍa-*) *uḍ* (*guḍa-*) *goṇ* (*goṇī*), *got* (*gotra-*), *gophā* (*gulpha-*), *gorā* (*gaura-*), *govar*, *gosavī* (*govaram*, *gosvāmin*), *golā* (*golaka-*), perhaps *gadaḷ* (cf. Pers. *gil*), *gāṃjṇem* (Pkt. *gañj-*);

Skr. *gr* in *gāṃṭhṇem*, *gaṃṭh* (*grantha-*); cf. *guṃṭh-*; *gāṃvo* (*grāma-*) *gīm* (*grīṣma-*); perhaps *gyāj* (*grivā-*).

§ 98. Inside the word, *g*, obscure in certain cases as in *vāgul*, *pāṇṇem* goes back to :

Skr. and Pkt. *g* after a nasal : *aṃg(u)ṭha* (*aṅguṣṭha-*), *nāṃgar* (cf. *laṅgala-*), *nāṃglī* (*lāṅgalikā-*), *pāṃg* (*paṅgu-*), *maṃgaḷ* (*maṅgala-*), cf. *oṃgal* (*amaṅgala-*), *raṃg* (*raṅga-*), *laṃgḍā* (*laṅga-*), *saṃgem* (*saṃgata-*), *hiṃg* (*hiṅgu-*), etc., or in the semi-tatsamas *jag* (*iagat-*), *jūg* (*juga-*);

Pkt. *gg* developed out of :

Skr. *gy* in *jogā* (*jogya-*);

Skr. *gr* in *agyā* (*agrega-*), *agḷā* (*agra-*), *āgas* (*agraśaḥ*);

Skr. *gn* in *āg* (*agni-*), *nāgvā* (*nagna-*), *salag* (*saṃlagna-*);

Skr. *dg* in *mogar* (*mudgara-*), probably also *uga(va)ṇ* (*udgamana-*);

Skr. *rg* in *āgaḷ* (*argalā*), *māg* (*mārga-*), *māṇṇem* (*mārgaya-*); cf. *sugī* (Pkt. *sugga-* as in *dugga-*, Skr. *durga-*);

Skr. *lg* in *āragṇem* (*āvalg-*);

Skr. *k* in a certain number of semi-tatsamas as has been the case during all the periods (cf. for Prakrit Pischel, § 202, for Apabhraṃśa, § 192) ; *asog*, *osag*

Kannada has *kāgī*, *kāgi*), *pragaṭ* (*prakaṭa-*) *baḡlā* (*baka-*), *mugūṭ*, *mugṭā* beside *mukṭā* (*mukṭa-*), *sagā* (*śvaka-*) *sagḷā* (*sakala-*), *sāg* co-exists with *sāy* (*śāka-*). To the sentiment of this gradation, rather than to the phonetic assimilation, is due the form *askā*-*nd* re-made on the semi-tatsama *asgandha* (*aśvagandha-*)

gh

§ 99. In the initial position, *gh-* represents Skr. *gh-* in *ghaḍṇem* (*ghaṭ-*), *ghaḍā* (*ghaṭa-*), *ghaḍī* (*ghaṭikā*), *ghaṇ* (*ghaṇa-*), *ghāṇṭ* (*ghaṇṭā*), *ghāṭ* (*ghaṭṭa-*), *ghāṭṇem* (*ghṛṣṭa-*), *gham* (*gharma-*), *ghāy*, *ghāv* (*ghāta-*), probably *ghāḷṇem* (cf. *jigharti*), *ghāsṇem* (*gharṣaṇa-*), *ghās* (*ghāsa-*), *ghī* (*ghṛta-*) *ghoḍā* (*ghoṭaka-*). Similarly in the initial position of the first member of compounds, as in *vighaḍṇem*, perhaps *āghād*.

In the initial position and inside the word, *gh-* comes from Skr. *ghr-* Pkt. (*g*)*gh-* in *ghāṇ* (*ghrāṇa-*; cf. *ghāṇa*), *vāgh* (*vyāghra*).

The old *gh* after a nasal has subsisted : *laṃghṇem* (*laṅgh-*), etc.

In the initial position *gh-* comes from the recent *rapprochement* of *gh-* belonging, earlier, to two different syllables : *ghov* < D. *goho*. Perhaps the same holds true for the Prakrit forms corresponding to M. *ghā*, *ghenem* *gheṇem* (*graha-*, *grahi-*). On the contrary the initial aspirate can, however, go back to Indo-European, cf. Pkt. *ghara-*, M. *ghar* with reference to Skr. *grha-*.

The origin of the initial *gh-*, in a certain number of words, which are not found before Deśī, remains obscure : *ghaḍakṇem*, *ghusalṇem*, *ghumṇem-*, *ghulṇem-*, *ghoṭṇem*, *ghoḷṇem* (see the Lexicon).

-*gh-* represents Skr. *kh-* in the semi-tatsama *regḥ* (*rekḥā*).

Palatals.

§ 100. The mi-occlusive palatals of Sanskrit have not preserved a uniform pronunciation in Marathi. In fact, before the vowels, *a*, *u*, and *o*, they have lost their hushing character. The old articulation is constantly preserved only before *i*. Before *e* it is not uniform. In the initial position, it is normally palatal (*śeḷā*). Inside the word, it is variable; thus we sav

coi, loc. *cošet*, but "oblique of the genitive" *tyā-ce* as *tyācā* and *vācen* first sing. future as in the infinitive *vācṇem*. It seems that morphological influences have been active here. There must have been several dialectal variations here : thus the *Survey* gives the dental pronunciation of *c* before *e* as being normal in Konkani (LSI, *Mar.*, p. 22, 66). The hushing pronunciation before *a* reveals the recent fall of an *i*. Thus the oblique of *rāzā* (*rājā*) is *rājā*, which is for **rājeā* > *rājya*. The same pronunciation is also often the sign of a loan : in this case, sometimes one writes *cy* for noting the alien pronunciation (*kāṃcyā*, for ex. *cyār* for *cār* "four").

In the Skr. group *jñ*, *j-* could not keep its palatal pronunciation. This impossibility has facilitated the differentiation of two continuant consonants and the group has ended up as *dñ*.

Marathi is the only Indo-Aryan language, having these peculiarities of pronunciation. But it shares them with languages belonging to other families, which are contiguous to it in the East, namely, Telugu and the Dravidian languages; probably Kurku, Muṇḍa dialect (see LSI, *Muṇḍā and Drav. Langs.*, p. 169, 479, 586).

Elsewhere they have no influence on the ancient history of the language, and in this work we can consider the group of palatals as unique.

c

§ 101. In the initial position, *c* represents Skr. *c* in *cakvā* (*cakravāka-*), *citā* (*citraka-*), and in a large number of other words to be seen in the Lexicon; Skr. *cy-* in *cavṇem* (*cyav-*).—The enclitic *-c*, see M. *-ci*, has been treated as an independent word. In Gujarati and Sindhi, on the contrary, the same particle has evolved upto the sonant stage *-j* (see LSI, *Rāj.*, p. 59).

Inside the word or at the end of the word, *c* represents Skr. *c* after a nasal : *caṃcarṇem* (cf. *cañcarin-*), *caṃcaḷ* (*cañcala-*), *comc* (*cañcu-*), *pāṃc* (*pañca-*), *lāṃc* (*lañca*), *saṃcarṇem* (*saṃcaraṇa-*), *sāṃc(ā)* (*saṃcaya-*), *siṃcṇem* (*siñc-*), cf. *kilac*, *kilic* (D. *kiliñcī-*). The word *māc* : *maṃcī* is obscure and can as well go back to Kannada *maccu* as to Skr. *mañca-*.

In the same position, *c* goes back to Pkt. *cc*, that is to say to:

Skr. *cc* in *uṃc* (*ucca-*), *ucāṭ* (*uccāṭana-*), *omcā* (*uccaya-*), *kacrā* (*kaccara-*) *cūmc* (*cuccu-*);

Skr. *cy* in *khacṇem* (*khacya*), *rucṇem* (*rucya-*), perhaps in *micakṇem*;

Skr. *ty* in *kāc* (*krtyā*), *nācṇem* (*nrtya-*), *sāc* (*satya-*) probably *adīc* (*ardha-*, **trtya-*); perhaps Skr. *ty* in *romcṇem* (root *ruṭ-*);

Skr. *rc* in *āmc* (*arci-*), *kumcā* (*kūrca-*).

In the compounds with *niḥ-*, whose second member begins with *c*, the result is not *ch*, but *c* : thus *nicarṇem*, *ṇical*, *nicint*. Perhaps there has occurred here a substitution of the prefix *ni-* for *niś-*; perhaps the meaning has helped preserve the simple word (cf. *niṣka-* > *nik.*, § 89; see also the observation of Pischel regarding Pkt. *ṇahaara* and *harianda* in § 301).

Elsewhere *c* is recent as in *maccā* (*madh-cā*) or belongs to a borrowed word, either from Sanskrit (*aṃcavṇem* *kā(m)c vācṇem*) or to other languages (for ex. *upakharc* compound of a Sanskrit preposition and an Arabic word). In this last case *c* often transcribes *ch* of the congeneric languages. This is due to the fact that *ch* does not normally exist in Marathi. The fact is evident in *kā(m)cyā* where *y*, destined to note a palatal pronunciation, unusual in Marathi, betrays the loan; *kā(m)-cyā* (*kaccha-*), *kaḍcī* (D. *kaḍacchū*) are the loans which should be interpreted exactly as *aṃgochā*, *ucchāv*, *guch*, *chabilā*, *chāvḍā*, *chāvā*, *chāvṇī*, *paṃchī*, etc. Only *viṃcī*, *viṃcṇī* (*vṛścikā*) is old: The form without aspiration, already noted by Hemacandra, is natural to Marathi; it is, besides, inexplicable.

As regards *cultā* and other words of the same family where an aspirate should be expected, (Skt. *kṣudṛa-*), they form a group where the hesitation is old and is to be explained outside Marathi; see Wackernagel, § 116 and Pischel § 325.

s (Pkt. *ch*)

§ 102. In Sanskrit *ch* is not, from its origin, the aspirate corresponding to *c*. It is in reality the substitute of old consonantal groups simplified according to the formula generalised in Middle-Indian (see Wackernagel, § 131 ff.). Thence the fact that in Sanskrit

intervocalic position, and that this phoneme has not undergone either in Prakrit or in Marathi any change depending on its place in the word. Marathi has only one treatment of *ch*, which is that of the initials and of the geminated ones.

In Marathi, Pkt. *ch* has got mixed with the sifflant *s* (*ś* before the palatal vowel). The same evolution has been independently produced in various dialects. The best-known case is that of popular Bengali (see Beames, I, 218-219; cf. Ch. Eliot, JRAS, 1910, p. 1171, note and LSI, *Bengali*, p. 28). Its traces are found in western Hindi, in Rajasthani and in Gujarati (see LSI, *Rājasth.*, p. 20, 330). In Asamese the evolution is surely not identical: there *s* represents all the surd palatals (Grierson, *Phon.*, p. 3-4). The same is also true of a number of dialects inside Marathi itself (see *Survey*, p. 147, 151-52; cf. 161). The same confusion is produced in Sinhalese, but that is due to the fact that this language has lost all its aspirates (see Geiger, § 23, 1.).

The hesitation regarding pronunciation goes back far enough in the past. The N. W. inscriptions of Aśoka have *cikisā* in place of Girnar *cikichā*, the word corresponding to Skr. *cikitsā* (see O. Franke, BB, XXIII, 177-78). The Buddha, who is called *Kṛakuchanda* in Sanskrit, becomes *Kakusandha* in Pali. Pali also transcribes Skr. *kṛcchra-* as *kasira-*. Later Hāla writes indifferently *māussiā* (*mātr* (*sta*) *ṣṛkā*) and *māucchiā* (Pischel, § 148). Hemacandra admits the equivalence of the forms, *puṁchai*, *puṁsai*, *pusai* (Skr. *puṁch-*, *puṁch-*) and for Deśi that of *kasso* and *kaccharo* (Skr. *kaccara-*?). Lastly should be noted the equivalence *kaśyapa-*, *kacchapa-* (M. *kāṁsav* is equally well explained by either of the forms). These facts must be distinguished from those that are explained by the Indo-European gradation *k-: sk-* (Wackernagel, § 230), that is, the cases where Pali and Prakrit have *ch* for Skr. *ś* (Pischel, § 211). Thus Skr. *śakṛt-*, *śava-*, *śāpa-*: Pali *chaka-*, *chava-*, Pkt. *chāba-*, Ved. Skr. *śepa-*: Taitt. Samh. *paruccheṣa-*, Pali Pkt. *cheṣṣa-*; Skr. *śāna-*: D. *chāṇa*).

§ 103. Marathi *s*, coming from Pkt. (*c*)*ch* corresponds to :

Skr. *ch*, initial, in *saḥ* (*chala-*) *sāṃdṇem* (*chard-*), *sāḥḷi* (*chāḷā*), cf. *ostā* (*avacchada-*), *śimk* (*chikkā*), *suṭṇem*, *soḍṇem* (root *chu!*) cf. *solṇem*; *śeṇḍaṇem* (*chind-*; cf. *śimḍal*), *seṇ*

(*chagaṇa-*), *śev* (*cheda-*), *śeldūṃ* (*chagala-*).

Skr. *cch*, inside, in *usaṇem* (*ucchal-*), *kās* (*kaccha-*), *kāṃsav* (*kaccapa-*), *tuśī* (*tuccha-*), *puṣṇem* (*prcch-*), *puṣṇem* (*proñch-*); add here *asṇem* (Pkt. *acchai*, Skr. root *as-*);

Skr. *chr* in *usāṇ* (*ucchrayaṇa-*);

Skr. *chv* in *usāsā* (*ucchvāsa-*);

Skr. *thy* in *umās* (*unmathya-*);

Skr. *ts* in *sarū* (*tsaru-*), *vāṃsrūṃ* (*vatsa*);

Skr. *tsya* in *māsā*, *māslī* (*matsya*);

Skr. *ps* in *āsare* (*apsaras-*);

§ 104. Skr. *kṣ*.—This case requires a special study. In fact, Skr. *kṣ* is represented in Prakrit not only by *kh* (see § 95, 96), but also by *ch* and *jh*. This latter treatment, which corresponds to a particular origin of Skr. *kṣ*, will be examined later (§ 107). As regards the former two, they seem to be equivalent, and from Pali upto the modern languages, there is no dialect where they are not concurrently represented, often in the same words. The treatment *ch* goes back far enough in the past to have been noted in certain signs of the Atharvaveda (Wackernagel, § 135 b), and on the other hand we already find in the Mahābhārata *kheṭa-* “village”, the probable doublet of *kṣetra*—. Since then all hypotheses tending to explain the distribution of the treatments *kh* and *ch* by etymology seem destined to be weak. Such is particularly the case with the explanation proposed by Pischel in his grammar and which is confronted by too many contrary examples and too numerous doublets to be admitted as valid (Pischel, § 318-321; cf. Geiger, § 16). There are, on the contrary, certain indices which would tend to make one suspect a dialectal distribution at the origin.

It has been noted since long that in epigraphic Prakrit *kh* was the constant representative of Skr. *kṣ* in the Eastern inscriptions while *ch*, on the contrary, dominated the north-west and the west (O. Franke, *Pali und Sanskrit*, p. 118; T. Michelson, JAOS, 1910, p. 88; regarding a special sign for *ch* in the Kharosthi texts, see A. M. Boyer, JA, 1911, I, p. 423-30). On the other hand the unique treatment in the fragments of the Buddhist dramas published by Lüders is *kh*. These fragments have been written in the eastern or central dialects. Lastly it is known that latter-day grammarians

scribe to Magadhi the sign *sh* or *hk* in the intervocalic position (Pischel, § 324). Irrespective of the opinion one may form concerning the real value and the date of this sign [see Lüders, *Bruchstücke*, p. 37; cf. Meillet, *Bull. Soc. Ling.*, 1911, p. XLIV], it confirms the eastern character of the guttural treatment. Inversely the modern languages of the extreme north-west agree till today with the Kharosthi texts : the almost unique correspondent of Skr. *kṣ* therein is *ch* (see Grierson, *Pis. Lang.*, p. 94; Beames, I, p. 312).

We are, therefore, led to suppose the existence, at an early date, of a dialectal distribution of the treatments *ch* and *kh* of Skr. *kṣ*. The question then arises as to which of the old groups is Marathi to be attached ? It is difficult to answer this question, because in Marathi, as in other Prakritic languages, intermixing and doublets are abundant (cf. Beames, I, 309-310; Grierson, *Phon.*, § 77, 81). While waiting for a detailed analysis concerning each of the other languages, we have to be content with indices.

It is known that Sinhalese is often in agreement with Marathi. Now in this language, where the treatments are as mixed as elsewhere, the only example, cited by Geiger, which goes away from both Prakrit and Pali is an example of *s* < *ch* (*Lit. u. Spr. der Singhalese*, § 16, 3). On the other hand, classical Mahārāṣṭrī also had, in many cases, *ch* for the *kh* of other dialects (Pischel, *Hemacandra*, II, p. 60, cited—by Geiger, § 16, note 3). Similarly the analysis of the examples of Marathi and Gujarati yields a minimum residue of words where Skr. *kṣ* is represented by *s* (in Gujarati *ch* or *s*). We have to distinguish in fact :

1. words where *kh* is common to Marathi and other Prakritic languages. They form the major part of the examples given in § 95 and 96.

2. words where *s* of Marathi corresponds to *s* or *ch* of other languages. These latter are rare : *riṃs* (*rkṣa-*), *surā* (*kṣura-*), *tāṣṇem* (*takṣ-*; this word exists only in the western dialects); *sahā* (*ṣaṭ-*) has its place here, because it goes back through the Middle Indian *cha-* to an Indo-Iranian **ksakṣ*, cf. ZD. *xštāš* (see Meillet, *Revue slavistique*, V, p. 160). Here should be added *māṣī* (*makṣikā*) whose *ch* is found in other languages besides *kh* and *saṇ* (*kṣaṇa-*) which in the sense of

“festival”, preserved in Marathi has *ch*- since Prakrit and in all the dialects, the type of Prakrit *khāṇa*- being reserved in the sense of “moment”. In this latter sense, the word is missing in Marathi.—The word *khār* (*kṣāra*-) formed part of an old group of the same type; *khār* is found everywhere in the specialised sense of “alkaline salt;” *chār* in that of “ash”. This latter word is missing in Marathi and has been replaced therein by *rākh*.

3. Marathi doublets whose two terms are found in other dialects. Skr. *akṣa*-; *āṃkh* beside *āṃs* (the word is rare and is found only in Gujarati; for Skr. *akṣi*-, Sinhalese has the two forms; everywhere else it is *kh*).

Skr. *kakṣa*-: *kākh* (=G., H., B., O.) and *kāṃs* (=S. Panj. Simh., H.).

Skr. *kukṣi*-: *kukhāvart* (a semi-learned word; *kh* in G. S. Panj., H.) and *kūs* (=S., Simh.).

The doublet *khāl* (=G., S., Rom., H.) : *sāl* (G., S., H.), whose Sanskrit prototype is missing, is of another group. The Prakrit words *challī*, *khallā* seem to be juxtaposed to Skr. *carma*, *kṛttiḥ* as Lat. *scortum* in relation to *corium*, *cortex*.

4. Lastly, words where Marathi, generally in agreement with Gujarati, has the treatment *ch* > *s* as against other dialects :

ūs (Skr. *ikṣu*-; *s* in Guj. and Maldiv.; *kh* in Panj.).

tarams (Skr. *tarakṣa*-; *s* in Guj., *kh* in Panj.).

śet (Skr. *kṣetra*-; all the other languages have *kh*).

In reality *kūs* (*kukṣi*-) cited above should be listed here because *kukh*- exists only in an isolated and semi-learned word. Perhaps we should also have added *visaḷṇem* (*vi-kṣal*-) and *sumḍṇem* (Pkt. *chund*-, undoubtedly related to Skr. *kṣudh*-), but we have found these words only in Gujarati, where they have *ch*.

Despite the exiguity of this residue, the data, it furnishes, are so precise and accord so well with those drawn, on the one hand from Prakrit and on the other from languages closely neighbouring Marathi as Sinhalese and Gujarati, that we have every right in joining Marathi to the western group where Skr. *kṣ* normally gave *ch* (save naturally those cases where it corresponded to Pkt. *jh*, see § 107).

j

§ 105. In the initial position, *j* goes back to Pkt. *j* developed out of :

Skr. *j* in *jaḍ* (and *jaṭ*; Skr. *jaṭā*), *jaḍ* (*jaḍa-*), *jaṇ* (*jana-*) *jaḷ* (*jala-*), *jaḷū* (*jalaukā*), *jāi* (*jāti-*), *jāgṇem* (*jāgrat-*), *jāmgh* (*jārighā*), *jāṇṇem* (*jānāti*, root *jñā-*), *jān(i) vāsā* (*janya-*), *jā(m)ṇem* (*jalp.*), *jāmb* (*jambu-*), *jāmbhād* (*jambha-*), *jā(m)vāi* (*jāmātr-*), *jāl* (*jāla-*) *jīnem* (*jīva-*), cf. *jī* and *jīv* (*jīva-*), *jirṇem* (*jīrya-*) *jīrem* (*jīraka-*), *jībh* (*jīhvā*), *juṇā* (*jūrṇa-*), *je* (*jaya*);

Skr. *jy* in *jeṭh*, *jeṭhā* (*jyeṣṭha-*), *joṣi* (*jyotiṣika-*);

Skr. *jv* in *jar* (*jvara-*), *jāl*, *jālṇem* (*jvāla-jvalana-*);

Skr. *dy* in *juvā* (*dyūta-*), *jov*, *jopāṇṇem* (*dyota-*);

Skr. *y* in *jamṇem* (*yam*), *jar* (*yarhi-*), *jav* (*yava-*), *jamv* (*yāvat*), *jas* (*yaśas-*), *jāū* (*yātr-*), *jāṇem* (*yā-*), *jāṇhoem* (*yajñopavīta-*), *juī* (*yūtika-*), *jumṇem* (root *yu-*), *jumval*, *jūḷ* (*yugala-*), *jū* (*yūta-*), *jūm*, *jumv* (*yuga-*), *jogā* (*yugya-*), *jot* (*yoktra-*), *jod* (root *yut-*) and the semi-tatsamas *jatan* (*yatna-*), *jūg* (*yuga-*).—Excepting only the word *ūm*: in regard to Skr. *yūka-*, Deśī has already *ūā*; all the other dialects have the expected initial *j*.

§ 106. Inside the word, *j* represents Skr. *j* after a nasal : *gāmjā* (*gañja*), *pāmjar* (*pañjara-*), *bhāmjṇem* (*bhañj-*), *bhijṇem* (*abhyañjana-*), *vijṇā* (*vyañjana-*); exceptionally Skr. *ñc* in *kuñji* (*kuñcikā*), see § 82.

It goes back to Pkt. *jj* arising out of :

Skr. *jj* in *kājaḷ* (*kajjala-*), *bhājṇem* (*bhrajja-*), *lāj* (*lajjā*), *sajṇem* (*sajja-*); cf. *ujāgar* (*ujjāgara*);

Skr. *jñ* in *sāmjem* (*saṃjñā*), *paij* (*pratiññā*), with reference to the treatment *ṇ* of *pain*, *āñ* (*ājñā*); Prakrit already admitted *ṇṇ* beside *jj* (Pischel, § 276). Similarly Hindi has *sān* and *an* beside *paij*.

Skr. *jv* in *ujal* (*ujjvala-*);

Skr. *jy* in *vanjār* (*vāñijya-*);

Skr. *rj* in *khaj* (*kharju-*), *khajurī* (*kharjūra-*), *gājṇem* (*garjana-*), *bhoj* (*bhūrja māṃjar* (*mārjāra-*), *mājṇem* (*mārjana-*) perhaps of (*ūrjas*:).

Skr. *bj* in *khujā* (*kubja-*);

Skr. *dy* in *āj* (*adya*), *ujaviṇem* (*udyāpana-*), *khājem* (*khādyā-*), *khijṇem* (*khidya-*), *nipajṇem* (*niṣpadya-*), *pāj* (*padyā*), *māj* (*madya-*), *vājṇem* (*vādyā-*), *vijū* (*vidyut-*);

Skr. *ry* in *ājā* (*ārya-*), *kāj* (*kārya-*) *bhāj* (*bhārya*);

Skr. *yy* in *śej* (*śayyā*);

Skr. *y* in the passives ending in *-(i)ji* (Skr. *-yate*); in *dej* (*deya-*), *pej* (*peya-*) and perhaps *bhemj(h)ūd* (*bheya-*); in *dujā*, *tīj* (*dvitīya-*, *ṭṛtīya-*). This takes us back really to the preceding cases. In the passives and in the formations attached thereto, Pkt. *jj*, which replaces Skr. *-y-* (Pischel, § 535, 571, 572) is certainly not explained by the influence of the accent as proposed by Pischel (§ 91), but by the analogical extension of cases where *jj* was regular as in *chijjai*, *bhajjai*, *bhijjai*, *bhujjai* (see Pischel, § 546). In the case of *dvitīya-*, *ṭṛtīya-*, one is tempted to suppose the substitution of the suffix *-yya* for *-ya-*. This suffix, very rare in classical Sanskrit (for example, *śayyā* in relation to *śaya-*), is on the contrary quite alive in Vedic (see Whitney, *Sanskrit Grammar*, § 1216, 1218). Should we then admit that here also Prakrit is nearer Vedic, being separate from classical Sanskrit ?

In *ujū* (Pkt. *ṛju-*), the intervocalic *j* has been kept instead of being dropped. Prakrit already wrote *ujju*, which does not look to be a tatsama. The reduplication of the intervocalic *j* perhaps comes, according to an explanation suggested to me by Meillet, from the fact that *ṛ* had, in the initial position, a special treatment of the type *ur-*. Since then Skr. *ṛju-* regularly led to Pkt. *ujju-* through **urju-*.

The dental pronunciation of *j* partially explains the confusions of the type *māṃdūs* for Skr. *mañjūṣā*; *khād* "itch" for *khāj* (Skr. *kharju-*) has been probably influenced by the words of the family of *khad-* "to eat". The group *gāṃḍṇem*: *gāṃjṇem* "to torment", is obscure. The sense of Skr. *gañjana-* "contempt" is too far removed to have any value for the *rapprochement*. Maybe it is a phonetic doublet but from two different formations of the Skr. family *gada-* "disease". In that case, Pkt. *gajja-*, *gāgejja-* will have to be separated from this family.

jh

§ 107. This phoneme is rare in Sanskrit. It appears in the words without any etymology or in those with a Prakritic nature (Wackernagel, § 141). It is thus rare from *j* as *ch* is from *c*. In Prakrit *jh* represents Skr. *hy* *dhy*. Moreover, it corresponds to Skr. *kṣ* and seems to belong to a dialect, independent of Sanskrit, which would have served the sonority of an aspirated guttural+spirant group like the Indo-European. Besides the majority of words listed by Pischel in § 326 have no sure etymology. Whatever the case, the *jh* of Marathi continues the Pkt. *jh*. Moreover, it appears in a certain number of words found at a later date in Deśī, in Apabhraṃśa, and besides of unknown origin, it is perhaps purely local (see examples of initial *jh*- in the appendix). Where its value is clear, there *jh* represents :

Skr. *hy* in *ojhem* (*vahya*-), *mājhā*, *tujhā* (cf. *mahyam*, *tubhyam*), *rujhṇem* (*ruhya*-); cf. *gūj* (*guhya*-);

Skr. *dhy* in *jhumjhṇem* (for **jumjh*-, Skr. *yuddhya*-), *bujhṇem* (*budhya*-), *mājhārīm* *māj* (*madhya*-) *vāmjh* (*vandhyā*), *sāmjh* (*sandhyā*); perhaps *samajṇem* (root *dhyā* ? cf. § 88);

Skr. *kṣ* in *jharṇem*, *ojhar*, *nijharṇem* beside *khirṇem*, *vikharṇem* (root *kṣar*-), *jhinā*, *jhijṇem*, *vijhṇem* (root *kṣi*-) perhaps in *jhoḍ* beside *khaḍṇem*, *khoṭ*, etc. (root *kṣuṭ*); perhaps Skr. *dhv* in *jhemḍ* (*dhvaja*-);

Lastly Pkt. *j+h* earlier separated by a vowel in *jhamṇem* (*bh*-); the form *jhavije* is found already in an inscription of year 1109.

In the initial position, Mar. *jh*- seems, often, to be a pure simple doublet of *j*: see § 84.

cerebrals

§ 108. It is known that the cerebralisation of old dental plosives is an innovation peculiar to India (see Wackernagel, 144). This cerebralisation has not occurred at once and depends upon various conditions. In Sanskrit it has taken place in two cases :

1. In contact with a cerebral sibilant. The assimilation

is constant and is kept up in Middle-Indian as also in the modern languages. This is the case with *ḍ* in *nīḍ* (*nīḍa-*, i.e. **ni-zdo-*), with *ṭh* in *āṭh* (*aṣṭa-*), etc.

2. In contact with *r* (vowel or consonant) dropped while cerebralising the dental. As against the preceding one this change seems to have a dialectal origin. In fact, on the one hand, it does not reach all the words placed in similar phonetic conditions and on the other, it becomes more frequent with the passage of time in Sanskrit (see Wackernagel, § 146-7) and in Prakrit (see Pischel, § 289-294). Basing himself on the study of the Aśokan inscriptions, T. Michelson considers the cerebralisation of the Middle-Indian as an eastern phenomenon (see *Am. J. Phil.*, XXX, p. 240, 294, 416, 418). The evidence of Vararuci corroborates on one point the evidence of inscriptions. According to this grammarian, the participles in *-ḍa-* of the roots in *-ṛ* (*kaṭa-*, *maḍa-*) belong to *Māgadhi* (X, 15) and whereas Pali has *kaṭa-*, and Sinhalese, following Pali, has *kaḷa*; *maḷa* (in relation to *giya* < *gata-*), the majority of western Prakrits has *kaa-*, *maa-* as *gaa-* (Pischel, § 219, 12; cf. M. *ke-lā*, *me-lā* as *ge-lā*); *maḍa-* is found only later and as a provincialism (*Deśināmamālā*, p. 233-9, *maḍo kaṇṭho mṛtaś ca*; cf. perhaps 226, 5 and 223, 9) and Marathi keeps it only with special meanings (*maḍ* “man to be hated, pest, bother”, *maḍem* “corpse”). As against the same, Bengali and Oriya are the only ones having a cerebral in *cauṭh* < Skr. *caturtha-*: all the other dialects have *cauth* (Beames, I, 333).

For determining the position befitting Marathi among other dialects, we have to eliminate first of all cases where Marathi cerebrals have been inherited from Sanskrit or from Middle-Indian. This manner of proceeding has the handicap of hiding the real continuity of phenomena and also of mixing up phenomena of various types, because this will group together cerebrals due to the neighbourhood of a cerebral sifflant and those due to the neighbourhood of *r*. But, besides the fact that in a very large number of cases the real origin of cerebrals is not discernible, this method is suitable only when we do not have to render account of all the Marathi cerebrals, but only to see how it deals with dentals, which have been cerebralised by it at a recent date.

§ 109. Inside the word, *!* goes back to :

Skr. *!* after a nasal, in *kām!* (*kaṇṭaka-*), *ghām!* (*ghaṇṭā*);
vām! (*vaṇṭ-*);

Skr. *!!* in *aṭ!* (*aṭṭālikā*), *kaṭār* (*kaṭṭāra-*), *kuṭaṇ*, *kuṭnem* (*kuṭṭana-*), *kuṭiṇ* (*kuṭṭini*), *koṭ* (*koṭṭa-*), *ghā!* (*ghaṭṭa-*); *pā!* (*paṭṭa-* for *patra-*; cf. on the other side *karvat* < *karpattra-*).

Skr. *!* in *khā!*, *khaṭamg* (*khaṭcā*, cf. Skr. *khaṭṭi-* “bed”, “bier”).

Skr. *!* in *kar!* (*karotī*), *kuṭ!* (*kuṭila-*), *kuṭumb* (*kuṭumba-*), *koṭ* (*koṭa-*), *peṭ!* (cf. *piṭaka-*), *moṭ* (*moṭa-*); these words are, in reality, tatsamas. In fact, Prakrit or other languages often have *d* with reference to Marathi *!*. Perhaps we should list here *khā!*, *khaṭ!* (cf. Skr. *ṣaṭa-*). Beside *cāp!* is found *cāpa!* (*carpaṭa-*); this shows the existence of two suffixes, one in *-!* and the other in *-d-*.

There also exist a certain number of verbal stems where *!* corresponds to Skr. *!*; thus *aṭnem*, cf. *palāṭaṇ* (*aṭati*), *ucaṭnem*, cf. *ucā!* (*uccāṭana-*), *cāṭnem* (Skr. *cāṭu-*, Pkt. *cadd-*). Here the surd is explained by the constant opposition of the doublets to the sonant and to the surd, respectively representing the occlusive and the occlusive + *y* of Sanskrit. They are reintegrated into the series : *jaṭnem* : *jadnem*, *juṭnem* : *jodnem*, *tuṭnem* : *todnem* (cf. *toṭā* and *toḍi*), *nivaṭnem* : *nivadnem*. Thus we have on the one hand *khu!*, *khum!* and even *kho!*, and on the other *khuḍ-*, *khoḍ-* (Skr. *khuṇḍati*, *khoḍayati*), etc.

There remain a number of obscure words like the names of plants, *tarod* and *tarotā*, which, truly speaking, denote two different plants; and above all *ne!* (Skr. *nikaṭa-*), where the vowel proves the link with a tadbhava. The corresponding words in other languages have *d* or its equivalents. We should admit here a return action of the Sanskrit original.

Words like *ghoṭnem*, (*ghoṭṭai*), *cā!* (*caṭṭū*), *dā!* (*daṭṭa*), *viṭāl* (*viṭṭāla-*) are not found in Sanskrit but are common to Prakrit and to the totality of languages. We may consider

as going back to the common language words like *āṭ* (H. B. *āṭā*, etc., Iran. **ārta-*), *maṭ-ga* (root **mort-*) *ulaṭṇem* (*ulluṭ-*).

ṭh

§ 110. Inside the word, *ṭh* goes back to :

Skr. *ṭh* after a nasal in *kāmṭhṇem* (*kaṇṭha-*), *sūṃṭh* (*śuṇṭhi*), etc.—We may add here *gāmṭh* (*grantha-*) where the cerebralisation is old: cf. Skr. *nighaṇṭu-*, Pkt. *guṇṭhai* whose participle *guttha-* has led in Marathi to *gūth*, wherefrom *gumṭhṇem*);

Skr. *ṣṭ* in *āṭh* (*aṣṭa*), *tāṭh* (*trṣṭa-*), *dīṭh* (*drṣṭi*), *māṭhṇem* (*mṛṣṭa-*), *miṭhā* (*miṣṭa-*), *mūṭh* (*muṣṭi*), *riṭhā* (*ariṣṭaka-*), *sāṭh* (*saṣṭi-*). Add here *aṭhī* (later Skr. *aṣṭi-*, see infra), *ghāṭṇem*, etc., see § 89.

Skr. *ṣṭh* in *aṃgṭhā* (*aṅguṣṭha-*), *oṃṭh* (*oṣṭha-*), *kāṭhī* (*kāṣṭha-*), *kaṭha* (*koṣṭhaka-*), *goṭhā* (*goṣṭha-*), *goṭhī* (*goṣṭhī-*), *jeṭh*, *jeṭhā* (*īyeṣṭha-*), *niṭhūr* (*niṣṭhura-*) *pāṭh* (*prṣṭha-*), *sāṭh* (*ṣaṣṭhī*), *śeṭhī* (*śreṣṭhin-*).

Skr. *st*, *sth*, irregularly because the normal representative of Skr. *st(h)* is Pkt. *tth*, M. *th*. The principle of the extension of the cerebral at the cost of the dental goes back to Sanskrit (Wackernagel, § 205, 206). In the family of *sthā*, the two sounds have been neighbours since the ancient-most period of Prakrit. Besides the words with dentals, which will be cited in their place, we find in Marathi : *thāṇ* (*vaṭhāṇ*), *thār*, *thāy*, *thāv*, *gāvṭhā*, *gāvṭhaḥ*, *ku-ṭhem*, *ṭhāṅṇem*, *ṭheṇṇem*, *ṭhevṇem*, *uṭṭhṇem*, *saṃṭhṇem*; *kavaṃṭh* is joined or has been joined in course of time to the same family. It goes back to **kapiṭṭha-* for the Skr. *kapiṭṭha-*. In *pāṭhaviṇem* (*prasthāpaya-*), perhaps has been joined the action of the *r* of *pra-* as in Pkt. *paḍi-* < Skr. *prati-*, *paḍhama-* < Skr. *prathama-*; cf. *pālaṭ* beside *pālthā* (*paryasta-*) and *paṭhār* beside *pathārī* and *pāthar* (*prastāra-*). Similarly *ṭhāḍā* (*stabdha-*), where the initial cerebral has brought in the cerebralisation of the internal group since Prakrit (*ṭhaḍḍha-*); *ṭhomb*, the doublet of *ṭhāmb* (*stambha-*), where in addition the unvoicing

of the vowel is irregular (see § 79); *ṭhag* (root *sthag-*), *ṭhulī* beside *thulī* (*sthūla-*), *ṭhī* (*stri*), a rare form besides, can come from a dialect where *tr* becomes *ṭ*. It is also possible that *aṭhī* and *hāḍ* go back to a prototype forming with Skr. *asthi-* and old doublet of the Greek type, *ōsteon*: *ostrakhon*. As regards *het*, Pkt. *hetṭhā*, it has been explained by Wackernagel as the result of the contamination of Skr. *adhastāt* + *upariṣṭhāt*; but *māṭhā* (*mastu-*) resists all efforts of interpretation. *ṭh* represents Skr. *ṭh* in the tatsamas of the type *kaṭhin* and Skr. *ṣṇ* in *viṭhobā*, *viṭhaḷ* < Skr. *viṣṇu*. The normal treatment of Skr. *ṣṇ* being Pkt. *ṇh* > M. *n*, one has to recognise here a recent semi-tatsama, probably borrowed. Finally *ṭh* comes from *ṭ* + *h* belonging to two different syllables in *auṭhṇem* for *ohaṭṇem*.

ḍ

§ 111. Inside the word, *ḍ* goes back to Skr. and Pkt. *ḍ* following a nasal : *aṇḍ* (*aṇḍa-*), *kaṇḍ* (*kaṇḍu-*), *karaṇḍā* (*karaṇḍa-*), *kumḍ* (*kumḍa-*), *komḍāḷem* (*kumḍala-*), *khāṇḍ* (*khaṇḍa-*), *gaṇḍ* (*gaṇḍa-*), *daṇḍ* (*daṇḍa-*), *pāṇḍyā* (*paṇḍita-*), *piṇḍī* (*piṇḍa-*), *bhāṇḍ* (*bhāṇḍa-*), *bhāṇḍār* (*bhāṇḍāgāra-*), *maṇḍ* (*maṇḍa-*), *maṇḍaḷ* (*maṇḍala-*), *māṇḍao* (*maṇḍapa-*), *muṇḍā* *muṇḍṇem* (*muṇḍa-*), *rāṇḍ* (*raṇḍā*), *leṇḍūk* (*leṇḍa-*), *sāṇḍ* (*ṣaṇḍa-*), *ṣeṇḍā* (*ṣikhaṇḍa-*), *soṇḍ* (*ṣuṇḍā*); *govāṇḍ* corresponds exceptionally to D. *goaṇṭa-*, see § 82;

Pkt. *ḍ* arising out of Skt. *ṭ* in *aghāḍā* (*āghāṭa-*), *aḍaṇ* (*aṭani-*), *aḍulsā* (*aṭarusā*) *āḍ* (*avaṭa-*), *āḍī* (*āṭī-*), *kaḍ* (*kaṭi-*), *kaḍāḍ* (*kaṭakaṭā*), *kaḍāsen* (*kuṭāsana-*), *kaḍu* (*kaṭuka-*), *kaḍem* (*kaṭaka-*) *kavāḍ* (*kapāṭa-*), *kāṇḍī* (*karkaṭikā*), *kāṇḍā* (*karaṇāṭaka-*), *kāpaḍ* (*karpaṭa-*), *kudapṇem* (root *kuṭ-*), *kudao* (*kuṭapa-*), *kudā* (*kuṭaja-*), *kuḍī* (*kutī*) *ghaḍṇem* (*ghaṭ-*), *ghaḍā* (*ghaṭṭa-*), *ghaḍī* (*ghaṭikā*), *ghoḍā* (*ghoṭaka-*), *capḍā* (*carpaṭa-*), *cāḍ* (*cāṭu-*), *jaḍ* (*jaṭā?*), *jaḍṇem* (root *jaṭ-*), *joḍṇem* (root *yuṭ-*), *toḍṇem* (*truṭ-*, cf. *tuṭṇem*), *toḍī* (*troṭakī*), *dhāḍ*

(*dhāṭi-*), *paḍaḥ* (*paṭala-*), *puḍā* (*puṭā-*), *phaḍā* (*phaṭā*), *bhāḍ* (*bhāṭi-*), *mākaḍ* (*markaṭa-*), *raḍṇem* (*raṭ-*), *vāḍā* (*vāṭa-*), *viḍī* (*vīṭikā*), *saḍṇem* (*ṣaṭ-*), *saraḍ* (*saraṭa*), *sāṃkaḍ* (*saṃkaṭa-*);

Pkt. *ḍ* going back to Skr. *t* cerebralised under the influence of a neighbouring *r* in *paḍ* and its derivatives (Skr. *prāti-*);

Pkt. *ḍ* < Skr. *ḍ* in *khod* (*kṣoda-*), *god* (*gauḍa-*), *tāḍṇem* (*tāḍ-*) *nāḍ* (*nāḍī*), *nīḍ* (*nīḍa-*), *piḍṇem* (*piḍā*), *haḍḍā* (*haḍī*);

Pkt. *ḍ* < Skr. *ḍḍ* in *uḍṇem* (*uḍḍī-*);

Pkt. *ḍ* < Skr. *ḍr* in *vāḍ* (*vaḍra-*);

ḍ for *dh*, see § 89.

dh

§ 112. *dh* comes from :

Skr. *ṭh* in *paḍṇem* (*paṭh-*), *piḍṇem* (*piṭha-*), *maḍh* (*maṭha-*), cf. *kurhāḍ* (*kuṭhara-*);

Skr. *ḍh* in *gāḍhā* (*gāḍha-*), *dāḍhā* (*dṛḍha-*), probably in *oḍhaṇ* (cf. Vedic *voḷhave*);

Skr. *ḍhr* in *maḍdhā* (*medhra-*);

Skr. *ṭh* cerebralised under the influence of prehistoric **r* in *saḍhaḥ* (*ṣithila*);

The recent *dh* represents *ḍ+h* in *ḍher* (D. *ḍaharī*), *h+ḍ* in *uleṃdhāḷem* (D. *ullehaḍa*), *l+dh* in *sāḍhū* (*ṣyālivodha-*).

A curious evolution is that which has led in certain cases to (*t*)*th* arisen out of Skr. *ṣṭ* or *ṣṭh* to *dh*, contrary to the normal phonetics of Prakrit. This is the case with *aḍ(h)-* in the compound words for numbers (*aṣṭa-*), *kāḍṇem* (*kṛṣṭa-*; cf. *ukhaḍṇem* *koḍh* (*kuṣṭha-*) *dāḍh*, *dāḍhī* (*daṃṣṭrā*), *maḍṇem* (*mṛṣṭa-*), *veḍṇem* (*veṣṭ-*), *hāḍ* (*asthi-*, *aṣṭi-*). This evolution is ancient, Sanskrit having already incorporated forms like *dāḍhikā* (Manu), *koṭha* (Suśruta), *kaḍḍhaya* (in Buddhist formulae). Pali has *veṭhati*; *aḍha* (*aṣṭa-*) is found in the Jaina texts and attempts have been made to recognise it even in the Aśokan inscriptions (Fleet, JARS, 1906, p. 401 ff, see notably p. 413ff). On the other hand *maḍhai* is found only in later Prakrit and *hāḍ* has its antecedents only in Deśī. But

both are common to the chief Indo-Aryan languages.—On Skr. *ṣṭ* represented by M. *lh*, see § 148.

II. The treatment of *r* ÷ dental in Marathi.

§ 113. The treatment of this group shows no uniformity in Marathi. Contradictions are found, even inside certain word-families and are undoubtedly explained by the frequency of borrowings.

rt

§ 114. In the family of the root *vart-* are to be found, on the one hand, *vāṭṇem*, *nivāṭṇem* (*vartana-*) *vāṭṭā* (*vṛtta-*), *vāṭ* (*vartman-*), cf. *vāṭī* “bowl”; on the other we have *vāt* (*vartikā*) and *parvat*, *paratṇem* (*parivarta-*). It is impossible to render a phonetical account of this opposition, but it gets clarified if it is observed that all the words, having a cerebral are found with the same cerebral in Prakrit and in all the modern languages. Simhalese is the only exception with its dental in the only word *vat* (*vartman-*). On the contrary the dental of (*vartikā*) found in Māhārāṣṭrī Prakrit is found in the dialects of the centre and of the east, whereas Sindhi, Gujarati and Simhalese agree in showing a cerebral.

Similarly in the family of *kart-*, cerebrals are found everywhere in the words corresponding to *kāṭṇem* “to cut”. Dentals are also found in those corresponding to *kātṇem* “to spin”, *kāṭar* (*kartarikā*), *kattī* (*kartṛkā*), *kāṭḍem* (*kṛtti-*), *kāṭyā* (*kṛttikā* or *kārtika-*); but to *kāṃt* “shaving”, *kāṃṭaṇ* “cut, harmful insect”, correspond in Sindhi and in Hindi, words with cerebrals, either because it relates to a phonetic treatment, or because these words have been joined to the root of *kāṭṇem*, etc. But Gujarati has *kāṭaro* in the sense of “harmful insect;” which relates it to Marathi.

The dental of *dhutārā* (*dhūrta-*), found in Prakrit is found everywhere. On the contrary that of *māṭī* (*mṛttikā*) is unique. All the other languages, Simhalese included, have *ṭ*. The proper Marathi treatment consists, therefore, probably in the dental. Words like *karamṭāl*, *ohaṭ*, found only in this language, are not in agreement with this probability, but the etymology

is far from being sure. As regards the cerebral of *gaḍḍam* (active re-made on a root **gaṭ-*, cf. Skr. *garṭa-*), it is found everywhere.

rth

Examples are rare. On the one hand are found *cauth*, *cauthā* (*caturtha-*) and on the other *sāth*, *sāthī* (*vārtha-*), whose dental is found everywhere, except the first word in the far-eastern group and Kashmir.

In Marathi even the proposition *sāthīm sāṭīm* "in view of, for" seems, at first view to contain *artha-*. However Gujarati and Sindhi give evidence of a word *sāṭ* denoting "exchange" coexisting in the first of these languages with *sāthī* "why? because." The form with an aspirated cerebral of Marathi seems to give evidence of the contamination of these two words, where the second alone appears to be derived from *sārtha-* (cf. § 89).

rd

§ 115. Words containing a cerebral are rare and are not original. They are *kavḍā* (*kaparda-*), *maḍ*, *maḍam* (*mṛta-*) and *saṃḍṇem* (*chard-*). The eastern character of the word *maḍ* has already been noted. The dental is also found everywhere in *ādaḷ* (*vardalikā*) and *caudā* (*caturdaśa-*; the *ḍ* of S. *cauḍaḥam* and of Raj., West. Panj. *coḍā* proves nothing, because it is found in S. *ḍaka*, West. Panj. *ḍāh* < Skr. *daśa-*). Gujarati, Bengali and Hindi agree with Marathi and show a dental not only in *kudāl* which goes back to Sanskrit (*kuḍlāla-*) but also in *kudṇem* (*kūrdana-*), *pāḍṇem* (*pard-*), *lāḍṇem* (*lard-*). Sindhi has a cerebral in all these words and Sinhalese agrees with this language in regard to *pard-*. Oriya like Sindhi has *koḍ-* with reference to *kuḍlāla-*, but perhaps this is a direct derivative or a word under the influence of the root *kuṭ-*.

rdh

The cerebral of *mumḍhi* (*mūrdhan-*), of *vāḍhayā* (*vardhaka-*) is universal. The same is true of *vāḍhṇem* (*vardh-*), except a particularly strange exception : Sindhi here has a dental, although ordinarily it prefers a cerebral. As against the Skr. *gardabha-*, Marathi has both *gāḍhav* and *gadhdā*, Sindhi having the form with the cerebral and Gujarati, Hindi having only the form with the dental. Simhalese, like Marathi, has both the forms. The most obscure case is that of the representatives of Skr. *ardha-*: in face of *ādhā*, *ad-*, *adhāv* (*ardha-*) are found *sāḍe* (*sārdha-*) *dīḍ* (*h*) (*dvi-ardha-*), *aḍic* (*ardha-tṛtiya-*) and *aḍ(h)* (*ardha-*) used as a pejorative prefix. This opposition is found as such in all the dialects, except in Simhalese which seems to recognise only the cerebral. This opposition goes back to the Prakrit epoch.

§ 116. It is impossible to draw any sure conclusion from such confused lists. Exchanges and contominations go back too far in the past to enable us to distinguish in each case the phonetic treatment of the borrowing. All that we can say amounts to the fact that the examples of *r* ÷ surd dental provisionally give the impression that the phonetic treatment of Marathi is the dental. This will be in agreement with the data available regarding the ancient period.

III. *Spontaneous Cerebralisation.*

§ 117. Altogether different from the preceding one is the case where an old dental has spontaneously become a cerebral, or has been so changed without any recognisable influence. Its examples are extremely rare in Sanskrit, the Vedic root *dī-* "to fly" has become in classical Sanskrit *ḍī-*. This is the only word with an initial cerebral whose origin is known. The cerebral is found again inside certain words collected in the grammar of Wackernagel (§ 148 b, p. 173) and of whom none goes back to the Veda. The list starts getting longer the moment we reach the ancient-most period of classical Prakrit. Whereas Vararuci considers *maḍa-* and the other participles of the roots in *-ṛ-* as belonging to Māgadhi, he ascribes to common Prakrit, not only *paḍisara-* (*prati-*) *paḍhama-* (*prathama-*), *siḍhila-* (*śithila-*, for **śṛ-*) where the influence of *r* has been felt again, but *paḍāḍ*, *veḍisa-* (II, 8) *ḍola-*, *ḍaḍa-*,

ḍasana- (II, 24) and the roots *paḍ* (*pat-*), *saḍ* (*sad-*), *kaḍh-* (*kvath-*) (VIII, 39, 51; Beames, I, 219 ff). During the latest periods of Prakrit the phenomenon becomes extremely widespread, without our being able to determine its conditions any further. It is then that the dental nasal in particular becomes a cerebral in all positions (*no ṇah sarvatra*, Vararuci, II, 42; cf. Pischel, § 224). Last of all, during the modern epoch the word having a cerebral occlusive and found in Sanskrit or in Prakrit preserves this cerebral and the intervocalic nasal has remained a cerebral in the group Marathi-Gujarati-Sindhi-Panjabi. Moreover the intervocalic *l* has become a cerebral as the nasal in three of the dialects.

Here also it seems that it is a case of a dialectal phenomenon, but distributed entirely otherwise than in the case of the influence of *r*. It is remarkable that during the ancient period neither the Aśokan inscriptions nor the known fragments of Buddhist dramas contain any examples of spontaneous cerebralisation, other than those of Sanskrit. On the contrary, spontaneous cerebralisation is particularly frequent in classical Māhārāṣṭrī and in the Jaina Prakrits. During the modern period, the three western dialects alone know of the cerebral *ḷ*. They are the same dialects, with Sindhi and perhaps some of the speeches of the North-West Himalayas (see Grierson, *Piśāca Lang.*, p. 19), which have preserved the intervocalic *ṇ*. Lastly it is the western group, and in this group Sindhi, which is known for particularly affecting the cerebral occlusives, there where one would expect dentals (Beames, I, 236; Grierson, *Phon.*, § 55, 57, 91).

In Marathi, the examples of spontaneous cerebralisation are to be found in the initial position and inside the word.

§ 118. Inside the word, classical Sanskrit already presents us with some cases of cerebralisation : thus *aṭati*, *uḍumbara-* in relation to Vedic forms *atati*, *udumbara-*. The list gets a little longer in Marathi, but it is remarkable that the examples go back to old Prakrit : *jḍḍṇem* has already got its equivalent in the Dhātupāṭha; *kaḍhṇem* (*kvath-*) and *paḍṇem* (*pat-*), found in Vararuci, are also found in all the Prakrits; *meḍh* (*methi-*) is to be read in the Jaina Aṅgas. Only *maḍhū* (*madhu-*) seems to be recent. Here analogies have played their part. It is by the influence of *paḍi-* = Skr. *prati-* and *paḍhama-* =

Skr. *prathama-* that Wackernagel tries to explain the cerebralisation of Pkt. *paḍai* (§ 133, rem.). Similarly *mathi-* has taken the cerebral of *meḍhra-* and *madhu-* has been subjected to the analogy of the lost doublet of *mau-*, where the *d* of Skr. *mṛdu-* had been cerebralised. Whatever these attempts at explanation may amount to, it seems clear that these words are not, properly speaking, Marathi words. It is also significant that in the word *umbar* Marathi is in agreement, like Pali and Prakrit, with Vedic (*udambara-*) and is different from classical Sanskrit, which admits the cerebral (*uḍumbara-*).

With stronger reason, we may consider as strangers to Marathi words where an old intervocalic dental has been replaced by *l* or *r*. Representing the adaptation of *l* to Marathi phonetics, is found *l*, in the names of plants *alśi* (*atasī*), *kaḷamb* (*kadamba-*), *vehlā* (*vibhītika-*) : the *l* of the first is confirmed by all the languages, that of the second goes back to old Prakrit; the third is not easily found and perhaps carries the trace of a contamination. We also still find *dohlā* (*dohada-*), but here it concerns, in reality, a *ḍ* obtained under the influence of *r* (**dauhrda-*; see Wackernagel, § 194 b). In *ukhaḷ* Marathi, as other dialects, has opted for *udūkhala-* against the Vedic *ulūkhala-*. On the other hand *r*, which is exactly speaking, a treatment of the far north-west and of east (see Grierson, *Phon.*, § 52, p. 52), is found in the word for the number "ten" in compounds *akrā*, *bārā*, *terā*, *pandhrā*, *satrā*, *aṭhrā*, (*ekādaśa*, *dvādaśa*, etc.) and that of "seventy" *sattar* (*saptati-*); on these words see § 143.

§ 119. More frequent and more characteristic is the cerebralisation of the initial. It is almost unknown in Sanskrit : *ḍi-* is the only clear example (it has survived in modern dialects as *uḍḍi-*, M. *uḍṇem*). Later on words corresponding to Marathi *ḍimḇ*, *ḍhāl* are found, but it is chiefly in Deśī, the western dialect, that such examples are numerous. In the collection of Hemacandra are found *ṭār*, *ṭirṭir*, *ṭol*, *ḍamb*, *dhāṇkan*, *ḍhekā*, *ḍhekūn*. Other languages have in common with Marathi and Deśī the words *tāmḱ*, *ṭip*, *dāvā*, *dāl*, *doi*, *dokī*, *ḍomgar*, *ḍolā*, *ḍolī*, *ḍhemḱ* (Sindhi has the dental *dh*), *ḍher*. Although not found in the lexicon of Hemacandra, still other dialects confirm *ṭalṇem*, *ṭikṇem*, *ṭikā*, *tekāḍ*, *dāmḡ*, *ḍabṇem*, *ḍomḇ*.

The explanation of these cases is particularly difficult

In certain words it concerns cerebralisation under the influence of *r* in a group; thence *ḍoṇ* "boat" beside *doṇ* "boat" (*droṇi-*) and perhaps *dāṃg* (cf. also *ḍoṃgar* ? Skr. *draṅga-*). This treatment is not indigenous in Marathi where *dr* > *d*. These words are then suspected of being borrowed from another dialect, perhaps Sindhi (see Beames, I, p. 336-7).

Elsewhere it looks as if it were a case of assimilation to a cerebral of the same word, but not in contact with an initial. Thus *ḍākhūṇ* (*dakṣiṇā-*; the cerebral is found in Sindhi, Multani and in the Eastern group); *ḍar* (*dara-*), *ḍav*, c.f. *ḍabbā*, a form evidently borrowed from an eastern dialect as also the eastern form with the dental *dabḍa* (*darvī*); *ṭāḷī* (*tālikā*), *ṭāṭū*, *ṭāḷem* (*tāla-*) *ṭilā* (*tilaka-*) *ḍohḷā* (**dohada-*), *ḍolā*, *ḍolī* (*dol-*).

This cerebralisation at a distance is, in any case, contrary to the habitudes of Marathi. This dialect, as also its neighbour, Gujarati, preserves the initial dental of *taṃṭā*, *ṭāḷī*, *tāṭh*, *thaṃḍā*, *thoṃt*, *dāṭ*, *dāḍh*, *dāḍhī*. The cerebralisation in these words is found only in Sindhi, Hindi and Begali (see Beames, I, 237); also in Romany, for ex. *ran* = Skr. *daṇḍa-*.

It is remarkable that in the words, to whom this explanation does not apply, the cerebral is found, since the oldest period of classical Prakrit, for two families : that of Sanskrit *daṃś* (*daśṇem*, *ḍaṃkhṇem*, *sāṃḍas*) and of Skr. *dah-* (*dāṇem*, *ḍāhṇī*, *dāṅṇem*). Others, *ḍhaṃkṇem*, *ḍhakkā*, *ḍhuṃḍāl-ṇem* (and *dhāṃḍulṇem*), *ḍhusṇem* have an obscure origin, but are also found in most of the dialects. It is thus legitimate to admit here several borrowings direct or otherwise from a western language. In addition to the facts cited above, we may recall that Aśoka writes at Girnar *osūḍhāni* whereas the eastern inscriptions have *osadhāni* (*auṣadhāni*).

This hypothesis is, however not absolutely necessary or at least not necessarily unique. The dictionary of Molesworth gives as belonging to Konkan the word *ṭāṇ* (*tāṇa*) corresponding to *tāṇ* of the normal language. It will be useful to verify if Marathi does not combine two series of dialects, of whom one, that of the Deccan, had preserved the old dentals and the other, that of the coast, in agreement with a group, whose most characteristic group is Sindhi, had admitted various types

of cerebralisations unknown to the normal language. In this case the existence of doublets like *tālū*: *tālū*, *ṭilā*: *tiḷ*, *dāhṇi*: *dāhṇem*, *damb(hi)*: *damb(hi)*, *domgar-* *domgar-* : *duṃg*, *dhakkā*: *dhakkā* would be easily explained.

Dentals

§ 120. Except in the cases of cerebralisation examined above and the case of the old group : dental + *v* which will be found in § 129, the treatment of the old dentals presents no difficulty. It will be remarked that, except in the words where the cerebralisation is very old and found in Sanskrit, the group dental + *r* ends normally in a dental : this is, besides, the general treatment in the Indo-Aryan, except in Sindhi (see Beames, I, p. 337).

t

§ 121. In the initial position, *t* goes back to :

Skr. *t*: *taḍ* (*taṭi*), *taṇ* (*trṇa-*), *tahān* (*trṣṇā*), *tāv* (*tāpa-*), *tikh* (*tikṣṇa-*), *tīḷ* (*tila-*), etc;

Skr. *tr* : *tīn* (*trīṇi*) cf. *tij*, *tiḍem*, *tivaṇ*, *tisaḷ* (*tri-*); *tuṇem* (*trutyā-*) *toḍnem* (*troṭaya-*) cf. *toṭā*; *toḍi* (*troṭakī*);

Inside the word, *t* represents :

1. Pkt. *t* after a nasal : *āmt* (*anta-*), *kadtar* (*kadantara-*), *bhitar* (*abhyantaram*), *saṃt* (*śānta-*), *sāvantu* (*sāmantā-*), *śemotī* (*śimantikā*), 3rd. pers. pl. indic.

-*at(i)* (-*anti*), pres. partic. in -*t* (-*nta-*);

2. Pkt. *tt* arisen out of

Skt. *tt* in *utaṇṇem* (*uttrṇa-*) *utarṇem* (*uttaraṇa*), *utrāṇ* (*uttara-*), *utāṇā* (*uttāna-*), *utāvaḷ* (*uttāpa-*), *saṃpat* (*saṃpatti-*); cf. the childish word *āt* (D. *attā*);

Skr. *kt* in *aḷṭā* (*alakta-*), *nirutā* (*nirukta-*), *pāmt* (*paṅkti-*), *bhāṭ* (*bhakta-*), *ratī* (*raktikā*), *rāt* (*ā*) (*rakta-*), *ritā* (*rikta-*), *sātū* and *sattū* (*saktu-*);

Skr. *pt* in *tātavṇem* (*tapta-*), *nāt*, *nātū* (*naptr-*), cf. *paṇat* (*pranaptr-*), *Sāt* (*Sapta-*), cf. *satrā* (*saptadaśa*), *sattar* (*saptati-*), *sātvaṇ* (*scptaparna-*); perhaps in *alitā* (*ālipta-* ? cf. *aḷṭā*), and in *uṃśīt* (*utkṣipta-* ?);

Skr. *tn* in *savat* (*śapatnī*);

Skr. *tr* in *āmt* (*antra-*), *ārat* (*ārātrika-*), *karvat* (*karapatra-*), *got* (*gotra-*), *carit* (*caritra-*; the short *i* gives the word an air of a tatsama-), *cāt* (*cattrā-*), *citā* (*citraka-*), cf. *citaḥ* (*citrāṅga-* for the sense) and *citārī* (*citrakāra-*), *pāt* (*patra-*), *pūt* (*putra-*), cf. *rāūt* (*rājaputra-*), *mahāvat* (*mahāmātra-*), *mūt* (*mūtra-*), *rāt* (*rātri-*), *varāt* (*varatrā* and *varayātrā*), *vet* (*vetra-*), *sūt* (*sūtra-*); cf. *atām* (*atra*) ?

Skr. *ktr* in *jot* (*yoktra-*).

Remark :—*t* has been lost in recent compounds of *teḥ* “oil”, *araḍel*, *āvel*, *tiḥel*, etc.

th

§ 122. In Sanskrit this consonant has no real existence in the initial position. Thence it is that M. *th* does not go back to Skr. *th* except inside the word and following a nasal, as in *paṁth* (*panthan-*) *ma(m)thṇem*, *māthṇī* (*manth-*). Everywhere else M *th* represents an old group containing a sifflant, that is :

Skr. *ts* in *tharū* (*tsaru-*);

Skr. *st*, initial, in *thanā* (*stana-*), *thavā* (*stabaka-*), *thā*, *thāṁg* (*sthāgha-*), *thāmbṇem* (*stambha-*), *them* (*stip-*), *thoḍā* (*stoka-*);—inside the word, in *āthi* (*asti*), cf. *nāthi* (*nāsti*), *kothambir* (*kustumbarī*), *pāthar* (*prastara-*; cf. *pāthār*), *pathārī* (*prastara-*), *pālthā* (*paryasta-*; cf. *pālaḥ*), *pothī* (*pustaka-*), *māthā* (*mastaka-*), *vithar* (*vistara-*), *vīth* (*vitasti-*); probably *vaṁth* (*vastu-*); also *thomṭ*; on *hāt*, *hattī* for * *hāth* (*hasta-*) see § 88;

Skr. *sth*, always initiably, in *thaḥ* and its compound *saṁthaḥ* (*sthala-*) *thāvar* (*sthāvara-*) and the other derivatives of the root *sthā-*: *thāpṇem*, *thār*, with reference to which, forms with cerebrals are found : *thār*, etc., see § 110; *thāḷa* (*sthāla-*), *thīr* (*sthira-*), *ther* (*sthavira-*), *thor* (*sthūra-*), *thulī* beside *thulī* (*sthūla-*).

d

§ 123. In the initial position *d* goes back to Pkt *d* arisen from :

Skr. *d* in *dānt* (*danta-*), *dahiṃ* (*dadhi-*), etc.; see the Lexicon;

Skr. *dr* in *don* beside *ḍeṇ* (*droni-*);

Inside the word, *d* goes back to Skr.-Pkt. *d* after a nasal, in *kurumḍ* (*kuruvinda*), *maṇḍ*, (*manda-*); the development of a *d* in *śiṇḍal*, product of the differentiation of *ṣṇ* in *śiṇ(a)ḍ* (*chinna-*) is contrary to the normal phonetics of Marathi. It must be a loan on the same lines as *vāṇḍar*, the vulgar form of the tatsama *vāṇar*, influenced by H. *bandar*;

d, internally, also represents Pkt. *dd* arisen from :

Skr. *dd* in *kuḍāḷ* (*kuddāla-*);

Skr. *bd* in *sād* and its compound *paḍṣāḍ* (*śabda-*, *pratiśabda-*);

Skr. *rd* in *kudṇeṃ* (*kūrdana-*) *candā* (*caturdaśa-*), *pāḍṇeṃ* (*pard-*), *lāḍṇeṃ* (*lard-*), *vāḍaḷ* (*vardalikā*)), perhaps in *gadaḷ* (root **grd-* ?);

Skr. *dr* in *dād* beside the semi-tatsama *dādar* (*dadra-*), *nīd* (*nidrā-*), *bhāḍvā* (*bhāḍrapada-*), *bhāḍaṇeṃ* (*bha-drakāraṇa-*), *mudī* (*mudrikā*), *viṇḍrūṇ* (*vidra-*), *haḷad* (*haridrā*). Beside this treatment is also found for Sanskrit *dr* the corresponding ones *ḍ* (see § 119) and *l* (see § 141). The former appears to have a dialectal origin and the second goes as far back as Sanskrit: it is the dental treatment which looks to be normal in Marathi.

dh

§ 124. In the initial position, *dh* represents Skr. *dh* in *dhaṇ* (*dhana-*) *dhaṇeṃ* (*dhar-*), etc.; see the Lexicon.

Inside the word *dh* goes back to Skr. *dh* after a nasal in *aṃdhārā* (*andhakāra-*) *bāṇdhṇeṃ* (*bandhana-*), *viṇdhṇeṃ* (root *vyadh-*), *sāṃdh* (*sandhi-*). The occlusive has been exceptionally lost in *vinhṇeṃ*, the doublet of *vinḍhṇeṃ*. This then is a totally abnormal treatment in Marathi, and which is regular in Bihari, Panjabi and certain dialect of the extreme North-West (see § 82);

dh, inside the word, also goes back to Pkt. *ddh* arisen from :

Skr. *ddh* in *budh* (*buddhi-*) and the compounds *udharṇeṃ* (*uddhar-*), *udhaḷṇeṃ* (*uddhūl-*), probably *udhar*

(*ud-dhava*);

Skr. *gdh* in *dūdh* (*dugdha*-);

Skr. *bdh* in *lādhṇem* (*labdha*-);

Skr. *dhr* in *gīdh* (*grdhra*-).

The treatment *dh* < Skr. *dhy* in *madh* is totally irregular (cf. § 107) and betrays a tatsama.

We find *dh* resulting from a *rapprochement* of *d* and *h* originally belonging to different syllables in *dhūv* (*duhitṛ*) which goes back to Prakrit, and in *edhavām* (Pkt. *eddaha*-), and *saṃdhevīm*, corruption of *saṃdehīm*; to this *rapprochement* is due the form, *pandhrā* (*pañcadaśa*, Pkt. *pañnarasa*, *pañnaraha*) where the *d* inserted between *n* and *r* has taken the aspiration of the final *h* (cf. H. *pandarah*).

Labials

Except for the treatment of dental +*v*, which will be examined separately, the history of labials offers no difficulty.

p

§ 125. In the initial position *p* represents :

Skr. *p*. in *paḍṇem* (*pat*-), *pāv* (*pāda*-), *pyās* (*pipāsā*), *pūt* (*putra*-), *pej* (*peya*-), *pothī* (*tustaka*-) and numerous other words which will be found in the lexicon; *puvā* goes back to *pūpa*-, the elided form of *apūpa*-, which is found since Sanskrit : in *pākhar* (*upaskara*-) and the tatsama *pekṣām* (*apekṣā*), the elision is or looks to be more recent;

Skr. *pr* in the compounds of *pa* < *pra*-: *paṇat* (*pranaptṛ*-), *pasar* (*prasara*-), *pahār*, *pār* (*prahara*-), *pahilā* (*prathama*-), *pām*, *paim* (*prāyah*, *prāyeṇa*), *pāūs* (*prāvṛṣa*-), *pākhaḷṇem* (*prakṣālaya*-), *pājharṇem* (*prakṣar*-), *pāṭhaviṇem* (*prasthāpana*-), *pāthar*, *pathāri* (*prastāra*-), *pānhā* (*prasava*-), *pāphudṇem* (*prasphuṭ*-), *pāvṇem* (*prāpana*-), *pāhuṇā* (*prāghuṇa*-), *pusṇem* (*proñch*-), *pekṇem* (*prekṣaṇa*-), *pesṇem* (*preṣaṇa*-), *povāḍā* (*pravāda*-), *povḷem* (*pravāḍa*-), *pol*, *pauḷ* (*pratoli*), *paiṭhā* (*praviṣṭa*-), *pais* (*pradeśa*-), compound words with *paḍ*- and *pai*- (*prati*-); cf. also perhaps *pemṭh*

(*pratiṣṭhā*); the word *piyo*, *pihū* (*priya-*);

Skr. *pl* in *pāvṇā* (*plava-*), *pī* (*plihā-*);

Skr. *py* in *pohā* (*apyūha-*).

Inside the word *p* represents Skr. and Pkt. *p* after a nasal in *kāmpṇem*, *cāmpā*, *limṇem*; it goes back above all to Pkt. *pp* arisen out of :

Skr. *pp* in *pimṇaḥ* (*pippala-*); cf. *āpā*, a childish word (*appa-*);

Skr. *py* in *rupem* (*rūpya-*);

Skr. *tp* in the compounds of *ut* :- *upaj* (*utpadya-*), *upaṭṇem* (*utpāṭana-*), *upaḍṇem* (*utpat-*), perhaps *upaṇṇem* (*utpavana-*) and *upeḍ* (*utpraidh-*); the same prefix *u-* is found in *upalāṇā*, cf. *palāṇ* (*paryāṇa-*);

Skr. *tm* in *āpaṇ*, *āp* (*ātma-*);

Skr. *rp* in *kāpaḍ* (*karpaṭa-*), *kāpūr* (*karpūra-*), *kāpūs* (*kar-pāsa*), *cāpaṭ* (*carpaṭa-*), *sāp* (*sarpa-*), *sūp* (*śūrpa-*). probably also in *soṇṇem* (*samarp-*), *oṇṇem* (*arp-* or *ṛpy-*) and in *kāpṇem* (* *karp-*);

Skr. *lp* in *śimpī* (*śilpin-*), perhaps in *aprā*, if this word contains Skr. *alpa-*.

ph

§ 126. The initial *ph* goes back to Pkt. *ph* arisen out of :

Skr. *ph* in *phal* (*phala-*) and its compounds *phaṭār* (*phalā-hāra-*), *pophāl* (*pūgaphala-*), cf. *phaḷā* and *pharū* (*phalaka-*), *phāg* (*phalgu-*), *phāl* (*phāla-*), *phūl* (*phulla-*), *phen* (*phena-*);

Skr. *sp* in *phāṇḍṇem*, *phaṇḍ* (*spanda-*); cf. *phirṇem* (i. e. **spir-*);

Skr. *sph* in *phāṭṇem*, *phāḍṇem*, *phālṇem* (*sphaṭ-*), *phūr* (*sphāra-*); *phuṭṇem*, *phod* (*sphuṭ-*, *sphoda-*), *phurṇem* (*sphur-*), cf. *phitṇem*, *phedṇem*;

Skr. *sphy* in *phāvḍā* (*sphya-*).

Inside the word, *ph* represents Pkt. *pph* arisen from :

Skr. *ṣp* in *vāph* (*vāṣpa-*), probably *gumṇphā* and *gophan* (*guṣpa-*).

Skr. *sph* in *niphaḥ* (*niṣphala-*);

Skr. *tph* in *uphāṇṇem* (*ut-phan-*), *uphaḷṇem* (*utphulla-*), *uphālṇem* (*utphal-*);

Skr. *lph* in *gophā* (*gulpha-*);

Skr. *sph* in *aphaṇem* (*āsphālana-*), *pāphudnem* (*prasphuṭ-*);

For exchange of *p* and *ph*, see § 84 ff.

b

§ 127. In the initial position *b* represents Pkt. and Skr. *b* in *bak*, *baḡlā* (*baka-*), *bakrā* (*barkara-*), *bīm* (*bīja-*), *bujhnem* (*budhya-*), *bel* (*bilva*), *bokaḍ* (*bukka-*), and other words to be found in the Lexicon. Marathi has kept up in the initial position the distinction between old *b-* and *v-*, see infra

b, initial, also goes back to Skr. *br* in *bāmaṃ* and *bāmbhurḍa* (*brāhmaṇa-*);

Lastly it represents Skr. *p*, become initial, as a consequence of an apocope during the period when surds had been made into sonants in the word *baisnem* (*upaviśa-*). Pal already has *uviṭṭha-*, which supposes a haplology of **uvaviṭṭha-* and is consequently dated from an epoch when the intervocalic *b* had already become *v*. Here Gujarati and Sindhi are in agreement with Marathi; Kashmiri has *v*. As regards Romany, it is divided : that of Europe has *bes-*, that of Armenia *ves-*. The accessory word *bī* (*api*) carries the trace of the same accident : here the Romany of Europe also has the treatment of the intervocalic (*vi*).

Inside the word, *b* goes back to Pkt. *b* after a nasal, firstly there where Sanskrit had already *mb* : *uṃbar* (*udumbara-*) *kāmbḷā* (*kambala-*), *kusumb* (*kusumbha-*), *lāmb* (*lamba-*), *nimb* (*niṃba-*), *sāmbar* (*śambara-*), etc. and secondly there where Pkt. *mb* goes back to *ml* : *āmb* (*āmla-*) or to *mr* : *āṃl* (*āmra-*), *tāmbem* (*tāmra-*). It is known that in similar cases cognate languages simplify *mb* into *m*: Marathi ignores this evolution. It is strange that a final occlusive has been re-established where it was opposed by etymology, in *śeml* beside *śem* (*śleṣma*), a form which is given as less suitable and which is, however, the only regular one. Similarly we have *theml* beside *them* (*stim-*).

Moreover, internal *b* represents Pkt. *bb* arisen from Skr. *lb* in *sumb* (*śulba-*), and of Skr. *rb* in *kabrā* (*karbura-*), *dubḷā* (*durbala-*), *bābar* (*barbara*). Here also Marathi makes a distinction between Pkt. *vv* and Pkt. *bb*, contrary to the opinion

Grierson (*Phon.*, 11, 33). The opposition of *ḍabbā*, *dabḍā* and of *ḍāv* (*darvī*) suffices to prove that the first two forms are borrowed. Moreover, the reduplication of the consonant is not normal in Marathi and adds to the alien character of *ḍabbā*. If, therefore, *ūb* represents D. *uvvā*, it cannot be a purely Marathi form; and the *rapprochement* of *dābṇem* with Pkt. *īvai* (Pischel, S 261) is suspect.

b is the product of de-aspiration in *khāmb* (*skambha-*), *āmbṇem* (*stambha-*), *kubḍā* (*kubhra-*).

bh

S 128. In the initial position, *bh* represents Pkt. *bh* arisen out of :

Skr. *bh* in *bhāt* (*bhakta-*), *bhem* (*bhaya-*), etc.; see the Lexicon;

Skr. *bhr* in *bhaṭṭā* (*bhrāṣṭra-*; a word suspected to be borrowed), *bhaṇvāi* (*bhrū-*), *bhāū* (*bhrātr-*), *bhājṇem* (*bhrajj-*), *bhoṇṇem*, *bhoṇṇadṇem* (*bhrama-*), *bhoṇwar*, *bhoṇcrā* (*bhramaraka-*).

Skr. *b*, see S 84.

Inside the word, *bh* represents Pkt. *bh* after a nasal, in *ambhaṇem*, *kumbh*, *kumbhār* (*kumbhakāra-*), *jāmbhād* (*jambha-*); *ambhurḍā* goes back to *bambhaṇa-*, the doublet of *ambhaṇa-* (M. *bāmaṇ*) found since the oldest Prakrit.

It goes back to Pkt. *bbh* arisen out of :

Skr. *rbh* in *gābh* (*garbha-*), *dābh* (*darbha-*), *nibhagṇem* (*nirbhagna-*), perhaps *bhāmbhaḷ* (*bharbh-*);

Skr. *bhr* in *ābh* (*abhra-*);

Skr. *bhy* in *lābhṇem* (*labhya-*) after whom has been formed *dubhṇem* (*duhya-*); *bhya* has become *bhi* in *bhitar* (*abhyantara-*), *bhiṇṇem* (*abhyañjana-*);

Skr. *hv* in *jībh* (*jihvā*).

Lastly *bh*, is found as a result of the *rapprochement* of *b* and *h* originally belonging to different syllables, in *bhūk* (*bubhukṣā*), *bharā*, the dialectal form of *bahirā* (*badhira-*), the recent tatsama *bhorūp*; in *bhiṇṇem* there is perhaps not only the spontaneous reduction of *bihiṇṇem*, but also the influence of *bheṇem* (*bhaya-*, *bibheti*); the co-existence of H. *nibāhnā* and *ibhnā* proves that the aspirate has the same origin in *nibhṇem* (*nirbādh-*).

The Sanskrit Group : dental ÷ v.

§ 129. This group has two treatments equally well attested in Marathi : one consists in a dental consonant, and the other in a labial. Both go back to Prakrit. During the oldest period, they seem to have been distributed according to geographical regions and not in accordance with the phonetic principles.

In fact, among the inscriptions of Aśoka, those of Girnar are the only ones which have protected and even reinforced the labial articulation. They show the absolutive in *-tpā* in relation to *-tu* (*-tvā*) or *-tī* (Vedic-*tvī* ?) of other inscriptions; are also found therein the forms *catpāro* (*catvāro*), *hitatpā* (*hitatvāt*), *dhādasā* (*dvādaśā*); in relation to *tadattayē-* (*tadatva-*) which is found at Shahbazgarhi and Mansehra (*tādatvāye* at Kalsi and Dhauli; *tadātvane* at Girnar and of *mahatatā* (*mahatva-*) of the inscriptions of Sahasram and Rupnath. The inscription of Girnar does not show any examples of the group : dental ÷ v before *i*, so that we cannot say if inside the dialect of this region, there had been a difference of treatment according to the vowel. It could be suspected, if we compare the place-names, *Barakhi* (*Dvārakā*) and *Diu* (*dvīpa-*), both of whom belong to the same region. Unfortunately if *Barakhi* is found in the first century of the Christian era, the second is modern and belongs to a period when the name of the "island" could have been very well made uniform in the different dialects. In any case, since Ptolemy, it is the form with the dental which is found in the word of *Iavadiōn* (*yavadvīpa*). This very form is shown in the name of Ceylon given by Cosmas and his successors, *Selediba* (*Śimhaiadvīpa-*). Nothing prevents us from supposing that even from the time of Aśoka, the name of *Jambudīpa-* had already become fixed. This hypothesis is based on the fact that at Mysore, we read, beside forms like *mahatpā* which has the same relationship to Skr. *mahātmā* as *ātpā* of Girnar to Skt. *ātmā*. Now the treatment of *tm* and *tv* seems to be near each other (we also read at Brahmagiri *garut-*; but it is impossible to guess the end of the word). Whatever be the treatment before *i*, there remains a clear opposition between the dental group ÷ v before *a* between the dialect of Girnar and those of other inscriptions.

To judge from current readings, there would have been serious exception in the form of the word for the number "twelve" at Shahbazgarhi. We generally read *baraya* or *adaya*, but the end of the word is in any case incorrect. Moreover, the parallel inscription of Mansehra shows the form *ṭṛadaśa*. Finally and above all, Bühler admits that the first two syllables of the word are badly read (Z D M G, 1889, p. 138; on the totality of facts, cf. Senart, *Inscr. de Piyadasi*, I, p. 353 ff., p. 379 ff. T. Michelson, JAOS, XXX, 79-80, XXXI, 235, 244).

As soon as we reach Pali and literary Prakrits, we find that the two treatments are found, in parallel, in the same texts. It seems, however, that the more frequent of the two in normal classical Prakrit, that is to say in Māhārāṣṭri, is the dental treatment. We find, from Hāla onwards, *dāra* and *bāra* (*dvāra*-) side by side. Hāla has similarly *biṇa* whereas the old Jaina Aṅgas have *duguna* (*dviguna*-); but *ubha* has entered literature after *uddha*- or *uḍḍha*- (*ūrdhva*-) and the replacement of the suffixes *-tta*, *-ttaṇa* (*-tva*, *-tvana*) by *-ppaṇa* starts only with the Apabhraṃśa (see Pischel, § 298-300; cf. 436).

§ 130. Despite the confusion presented by modern languages, we see therein a distribution similar to the one shown by Aśokan inscriptions. Kashmiri, beside *bar* "door", which can be a loan like *darwaza*, has *zah* "two", *dōyum* "second", *ōdil* "right, just"; the suffix of the gerundive *-ith* recalls the *-ti* of Aśokan inscriptions. Similarly Baṣgali has as the suffix of the gerundive *-ti* and *dū* for denoting "two" and "door" (Sten Konow, JRAS, 1911, p. 20.) In the far South, Sinhalese has *udha* "right", *dora*- "two", *diṇṇu* "double" and even, contrary to the generality of the languages of the continent, *dolos* "twelve" (beside the Elu *bara*). On the other hand it is remarkable that the only two dialects, where the word for the number "two" begins with a labial, are Sindhi (*ba*) and Gujarati (*be*), that is to say precisely the dialects of the region where Girnar is located.

The distribution of the two treatments in Marathi seems to clearly indicate that, there also, the dental is normal.

To Skr. *tv* correspond on the one hand, M. *t* in *nāṭeṃ* (*jñāṭvā*-), *sat* (*satva*-) and the probably borrowed word *sattā*

(*satva-*); on the other hand M. *p* in the suffix *-paṇā* (*-tvana-*) whose labial contradicts Prakrit as seen above, and which consequently could very well have come as a loan from some Central language.

To Skr. *dv* corresponds M *d* in *daṃd* (*dvandva-*), *dār* (*dvāra-*), *sādaḷṇem* (*śādvāla-*). As against the same *bārī* "window", probably derived from *dvāra-*, is found in Gujarati beside *bār* "door". It is, thus surely, not a word which is indigenous to Marathi. As regards the forms of the word for the number "two", their history is too obscure and extension too general and too old to enable us to draw any conclusions therefrom. We have, on the one hand, *don* "two", *duṇā* "double", *dujā* "second", and on the other *bīj* "second day of the Moon", *be* "two" (in multiplication), *bārā* "twelve", etc.; see the chapter on the words for numerals.

To Skr. *dhv* correspond on the one hand *dh* in *dhāṃsalṇem* (*dhvaṃs*) and in the semi-tatsama *dhajā* (*dhvaja-*), and on the other *bh* in *ubha*, *ubhṇem* (*ūrdhva-*), which, as has been seen, have later on replaced in classical Prakrit, the word with dental *uddha-*.

In addition to these two treatments, Prakrit seems to furnish several cases, where the old group dental + *v* ends up in a palatal. All the examples, given by Pischel in § 299 in this connection, are not equally sure : *kiccā* for example is probably the result of the contamination of **kittā* < *kṛtvā* by **kicca* < *kṛtya-*. They are, in general, late except one *jhaya-* (*dhvaja-*), found quite early in the Jaina texts and which has, continued upto the epoch of Marathi, where it is become *jhemḍ*.

Lastly *v* has been vocalised in the semi-tatsamas *turūt* (*tvarita-*; *tūrta-* ?), *dhūn* (*dhvani-*). The absolute in *ūn*, as will be seen, does not undoubtedly correspond to Pkt. *-(d)ūṇa* < Ved. *-tvāna*, see Pischel § 586. Regarding *cār* (*catvāraḥ*), see the chapter on words for numerals.

Nasals

§ 131. Neither in Marathi nor in Sanskrit do the guttural and palatal nasals have any independent existence. The only nasals found elsewhere than in contact with the occlusives of their group and notably in the intervocalic position, are the

cerebral, dental and labial nasals. In Pali and in Buddhist Prakrits the geminated palatal nasal $\tilde{n}\tilde{n}$ representing Skr. ny and $j\tilde{n}$ is found (see Lüders, *Bruchstücke*, p. 48-9). But this has been an unstable phoneme and it has ended in classical Prakrit as $n\tilde{n}$ in all the dialects except Māgadhī and Paiśācī (Pischel, § 276, 282; cf. § 243). Today, except in certain sporadic cases of recent origin, of the type noted by Hoernle in Bihari (*Comp. Gram.*, § 13), all the dialects including Simhalese preserve, as Marathi, the aspect of the normal Prakrit. The western group consisting of Sindhi (see Beames, I, 78; Trumpp, *Sindhi Grammar*, § 9, 14) and Panjabi, at least of its western dialects (O'Brien and Wilson, *Glossary of the Multani Lang.*, p. 1-2; J. Wilson, *Grammar...of Western Panjabi*, p. 1-2), seems to be separate from the Prakritic languages. It admits \tilde{n} arisen out of Skr. ni ; is also found there \tilde{n} for Skr. ny ; but the absence of this phoneme in the case where it would represent Skr. $j\tilde{n}$ and the co-existence of n or nn with \tilde{n} , where it refers to Skr. ny proves that it relates to a recent phenomenon, here as elsewhere. The same phenomena are still found in the dialects of the N.W. Himalayas: Kashmiri *beṇa* (*bhagini*) is evidently recent. Nothing can be deduced from the examples of $\tilde{n} < ni$ in Bengali cited by Sten Konow (JRAS, 1911, p. 23).

On the loss of n and m as penultimates in certain terminations, see § 66, 67.

\tilde{n} and n .

§ 132. In Sanskrit the dental nasal and the cerebral nasal had been clearly distinct. In literary Middle-Indian, n has been cerebralised in all positions. At least such is the case in classical Prakrit (see Pischel, § 224.), but if the change is not found in Buddhist Sanskrit, its debuts must, however, go back farther. Pāṇini, for example, knows a word *māṇava*-“young Brahmin”, the doublet in a specialised sense of the Vedic word *mānava*-“man” (see Wackernagel, § 173; for a different explanation of the word, *ibid.*, 172 b), and the intervocalic \tilde{n} is found several times for n in Pali, notably after u or o (see Kern, *Festschrift Thomsen*, p. 73).

In such a case one would expect a category of nasals in

the Indo-Aryan languages. This is true only in Hindi and in the Central dialects, where, moreover, this nasal is generally a dental (see Grierson, *Phon.*, § 54; for the trace of η in vulgar Bihari, see Hoernle, § 13; on Simhelese, Geiger, § 25). The western dialects have re-established the distinction of n and η according to the place occupied by the nasal in the word. In Marathi the intervocalic η of Prakrit has subsisted; but the initial or geminated η has become a dental (see Sten Konow, JARS, 1902, p. 419) : so much so that the cerebral nasal behaves in relation to the dental nasal as a spirant with reference to an occlusive, for example as Pkt. nasal v in relation to m . The rule of Marathi applies also to Gujarati, Rajasthani, Sindhi where $*\eta\eta$ arisen out of ηd has, in its turn, become nn , see J. Bloch, JA, 1912, I, p. 335), to Panjabi and perhaps to certain dialects of the W. Himalayas, in any case to Baṣgali (see Sten Konow, JRAS, 1911, p. 23-4; Grierson, *Piśāca Lang*, p. 19, 112). The same sign is found in Prakrit but at a later date. The Jaina manuscripts on paper are the only ones which show it and except Hemacandra, the earliest grammarian who allows it is Kramadīśvara, whose date, besides uncertain, can not be anterior to the IXth century (Pischel, § 224, 37; cf. Bhandarkar, JBBAS, 1887, p. 5, note). Given the date and the nature of the texts where it is noted, we may consider the dentalisation of the initial η and of internal $\eta\eta$ as a recent and western phenomenon. It is to be noted that this latter characteristic is in accordance with the distribution of the modern dialects.

§ 133. Besides, the opposition of the intervocalic η coming from η and n , and of the initial or internal n arisen from $\eta\eta$ has been disturbed in Marathi by special changes occurring in different speeches. Observers agree in noting the uncertainties of pronunciation, but the details given by them are insufficient or contradictory. According to Navalkar η becomes a dental in the Deccan (p. 8). According to the informations of the Linguistic Survey this change is found in the popular languages of the Konkan (LSI, *Mar.*, p. 66, cf. 109, 161, 173, 198) and in Vidarbha and in the Central Provinces (ibid., p. 225), that is to say, in the dialects where in addition l becomes l or r . The spread of this phonetic phenomenon, combined on the other hand with the influence of

Sanskrit, explains the frequency of the mix-up of the dental *n* and of the cerebral *ṇ* in the common language. A few examples of this confusion will be given below.

§ 134. *ṇ* is found only inside or at the end of the word. It comes from Pkt. *ṇ* arisen out of :

Skr. *ṇ*, in *kaṇ* (*kaṇa-*), *kāṇā* (*kāṇa-*), *kāraṇ* (*kāraṇa-*), *kivaṇ* (*kr̥paṇa-*), *keṇem* (*kraṇa-*), *gaṇṇem* (*gaṇaya-*), *goṇ* (*goṇi-*), *ghaṇ* (*ghaṇa-*), *caṇā* (*caṇaka-*), *tāṇ* (*tṛṇa-*), *tarnā* (*taruṇa-*), *doṇ* (*droni-*), *phaṇ* (*phaṇa-*), *phen* (*phena-*), *maṇi* (*maṇi-*), *loṇ* (*lavaṇa-*), *vaṇ* (*vraṇa-*), *saṇ* (*śaṇa-*), *saṇ* (*kṣaṇa-*). Some of these words are probably tatsamas. The fact is clear for words like *kirāṇ-*, *koṇ* or *riṇ* (*ṛṇa*). It is made probable for words like *kiṇ*, *kōṇ* by the co-existence of forms with the dental due to more recent changes: *kinā*, *konā*, *konyā*; see below :

Skr. *n*, in *aṇgaṇ* (*aṇḡana-*), *āṇṇem* (*āṇayana-*; cf. *paraṇṇem* of *pariṇayana-*) *uṇā* (*ūna-*), *oṇavṇem* (*avanam-*), *kumṭaṇ*, *kuṭiṇ* (*kuṭṭaṇi*, *kuṭṭini*), *jaṇ* (*jana-*), *jāṇṇem* (cf. *jānāti*), *tāṇ*, *tāṇṇem* (root *tan-*), *dhaṇ* (*dhana-*), *dhaṇi* (*dhanikā*), *pāṇi* (*pāṇiya-*), *puḷaṇ* (*pulina-*), *bahīṇ* (*bhagini*), *māṇas* (*mānuṣa-*), *loṇi* (*navanīta-*), *vīṇ*, *viṇem* (*vinā*), *hāṇ* (*hāni-*); all the infinitives in *-ṇem* (*-nakam*) and the feminine adjectives in *iṇ-* (*-inī*); as also the negative prefix *aṇ-* (*an-*).

The sentiment of gradation : Skr. *n*, M. *ṇ* has remained so alive that it has resulted not only in the adaptation of the tatsamas like *kaṭhiṇ* (*kaṭhina-*) but also in the cerebralisation of *n* in certain words borrowed recently, such as *phaṇūs*, *phāṇas* (Ar. -Pers. *fanūs*), *maṇ* (Arab. *man*), *meṇ* (Pers. *myān*), *sābūṇ*, *sābaṇ* (Ar.-Pers. *ṣābūṇ*). Inversely the co-existence of the tatsamas like *tāṇ* and of the tadbhavas like *tāṇ* (*tāna-*) could have led to the restitution of the false tatsamas. In this manner will be explained, for example, *kinā* beside *kiṇ* (Skr. *kiṇa-*), *konā*, *konyā* beside *koṇ* (*koṇa-*), forms moreover in use since a period probably old, as is shown for example by the Deśi transcription *koṇṇa-*. The case of *kisāṇ*, in relation to Skr. *kr̥ṣāṇa-*, is undoubtedly different. It relates probably to a loan from Hindi.

§ 135. The initial *n* goes back either to Skr. *n* in *na*, *nako*, *nāthi* (*na*), *nai* (*nadī*) and the majority of words with

initial *n*, which are found in the Lexicon, or to Skr. *jñ*, in *nāṭem* (*jñātvā-*).

Inside the word, *n* comes from Pkt. *n* before a dental occlusive. Thus we have *daṃt* (*danta-*), *daṃd* (*dvandva-*), *rāṃhṃem* (*rāndhana-*), etc. It also goes back to Pkt. *ṇ* arisen out of :

Skr. *ṇ*, in *punav* (*pumṇāga-*);

Skr. *nn*, in *ansūd* (*anna-*), *śinā* (*chirna-*);

Skr. *ny*, in *ān*, *ānsā*, *ān(i) khī* (*anya-*; to the same word is undoubtedly joined the conjunction *āni*, *āṇ*, pronounced *āni* in the Konkan, see LSI, Mar., p. 173. Like Marathi, Gujarati possesses beside the dental form another with the cerebral. This latter is probably of Indo-European origin), *jānivaśa* (*janyā-*), *dhān* (*dhanya-*), *mān* (*manyā*) *māṇṇem*, *manāvīṇem* (*manya-*), *sunā* (*śūnya-*);

Skr. *ny* in *rān* (*aranya-*) beside which is found the form with the cerebral *rāṇ*. This latter is the only one found in the compound *usrāṇ* (D. *ucchuraṇam*).

Skr. *jñ* in *vīnavṇem* (*vijñāpaya-*), *jānavem* (*yajñopavīta-*). Beside the *n* treatment two more are also found : 1. *ṇ* in *āṇ* (*ājñā*), *paṇ* (*pratijñā*) a poetic form and *rāṇī* (*rājñī*) which could at best be considered as a loan; 2. *j* in *paij* (*pratijñā*). the doublet of *paiṇ*, and *sāṃjem* (*saṃjñitam*). The three treatments go back to Prakrit (see Pischel, § 276); and neither in ancient history nor in the distribution of modern dialects is found any indication enabling us to render account of this diversity;

Skr. *ṇ* in *kān* (*karṇa-*), *kāṇadā* (*karṇāṭaka-*), *cūn* (*cūrṇa-*), *junā* (cf. *jīrṇa-*), *pān* (*parṇa-*), *vān* (*varṇa-*), *soṇem*, *sonār* (*suvarṇa-*). But *śiṇ* (Skr. *śirṇa-*), *vāṇ* and *vāṇṇem* are found beside *vān*, *sāṭvaṇ* (*saptaparṇa-*) beside *pān* and *cuṇī* beside *cūn* and *cunā*. In this last case the two forms go back to Deśī. A case of old simplification of Pkt. *ṇ* is that of Pkt. *kaṇiyāra-* (*karṇikāra-*) found in the oldest texts of the Jaina Canon (Pischel, § 287, cf. 258).

§ 136. Pkr. *ṇ* forming a group with *h* has become a dental like the geminated *ṇ*. As a consequence, it is the Marathi

nh which corresponds to Skr. *sn*, *ṣṇ* in *kānhū* (*kṛṣṇa-*), *tānh* (*tṛṣṇā*), *pānhā* (*prasava-*). Most often, when the vowel preceding or following the group is *a*, another *a* is inserted inside the group : thence *tahān* beside *tānh* (*tṛṣṇā*), *nahān* beside *nhān* (*snāna*) *nāhāvī* beside *nhāvī* (**snāpita-*). Similarly in *sāhan* (*ślakṣṇa-*), where *kṣṇ* is moreover irregularly treated as *ṣṇ*, cf. § 96. Sometimes the aspiration also disappears : thence *ūn* beside *ūnh* (*uṣṇa-*), *upas-tān* besides *tānh* and *tahān* (*tṛṣṇā*), *sān* beside *sāhan* (*ślakṣṇa-*), *sūn* (*sṇuṣā*, Pkt. *sunhā*).

There is probably a relationship between this instability of aspiration in the group *nh* and its appearance in certain words where it is not rendered legitimate by etymology. Such words are *dinhalā* (Pkt. *diṇṇa-*), whose stem, moreover, is found in other languages; *jānhavem* beside *jānavem* (*yajñopavīta-*) which on the contrary seems to belong to Marathi, as also *jomdhḷā*, if it refers to Deśī *joṇṇaliam*.

In this last word, the differentiation has led to the development of a dental occlusive. The same fact is found in *śindaḷ*, the doublet of *śinnaḷ*, *śinal* (*chinna-*). In these two cases, the development of *d* is recent. The doublet *vānar* : *vāndar* (*vānara-*), on the contrary, should go back far in the past as its equivalents are found not only in Hindi, but in Kashmiri and even in Sinhalese. In Marathi the word is suspected to be simply borrowed from Hindi *bāndor*, whose spread is well-known (cf. Wackernagel, § 157).

m

§ 137. This labial nasal exists in the tadbhavas of Marathi only where it goes back to initial *m* or to internal *mm*, *mh* (see Beames, I, 342, 345, 347; Grierson, *Phon.*, § 96, 102). The old intervocalic *m* has become a spirant and has ended as a nasal *v*, an unstable phoneme whose nasality has generally been carried to the neighbouring vowel or has even totally disappeared. This spirantisation of the intervocalic *m*, universal in Aryan India, except in Sinhalese and in the mountain dialects of the North-West (see Grierson, *Piśāca Lang.*, p. 118; Beames, I, p. 254 ff; Grierson, *Phon.*, p. 16) seems to be quite late. Its traces in Sanskrit are rare and suspect (Wackernagel, I, § 177, note, 196 note). Classical

Prakrit admits it only in a number of particularly favourable positions : in the root *nem-* and in a few analogous cases it has been brought in by the dissimilation of nasals. Examples collected by Pischel in the first part of § 251 of his grammar relate, on the contrary, to the assimilation of an *u* in touch with *m*. An example of the same type is found in the oldest known Marathi inscription : *Cāvumḍarājeṃ* (*Cāmuḍarājñā*); but judging by the transcriptions *Śimulla* and *Komarēi* of the *Periplus of the Erythrean Sea*, this change itself seems, in Western India, to be posterior to the first century A. D. (see *Mél. Sylvain Lévi*, p. 9.) In any case, the rule of spirantisation of the intervocalic *m* is admitted for the Apabhraṃśa in its generality by Hemacandra. The same author also admits the intervocalic *m* in his notation of Deśī. This is how we find in his collection the forms *gāmauḍa*, *bhūmi-pisāa*, *sāmara*, *somala*, etc., the equivalents of the Marathi words *gāvḍā*, *bhuim*, *sāmvar*, *soṃvaḷ*, etc. But this notation is perhaps conventional. In fact, *v* is found not only in the Marathi texts posterior by a few years (for example, *gāmvu* in the Paithan inscription of 1273) but in the *Deśināmamālā* itself. Is found therein *karavandī* as the equivalent of *karamandikā*. Above all words like *tamo* and *tamaṇaṃ*, respectively translated by *śoka-* and *cullī*, seem clearly to go back to the Skr. root *tap-*, Pkt. *tav-* (cf. Mar. *tāv*) and should, therefore, be read as **taṃvo*; **taṃvaṇaṃ*. Similarly, *vimalia-* is found evidently going back to the root *val-*. It is true that here, at best, a dissimilation is admissible. In short, it seems that *m* became a spirant in all positions, either after the epoch of Hemacandra, or earlier, but at a date which was late enough to enable this author to preserve the graphic tradition of the intervocalic *m*.

The sentiment of the gradation *m* : *v* has led to the re-establishment, in certain words, of *m* in place of *v* itself, whereas *v* went back to a non-nasal labial. This fact is noticeably met with in Gujarati and in the eastern dialects. (see Hoernle, *Comp. Gram.*, p. 74; Grierson, *Phon.*, p. 17). Marathi does not seem to have any examples of the same.

§ 138. In the initial position, *m* goes back to :

Skr. *m* in *mau* (*mṛdu-*), *māg* (*mārga-*) and in a large number of other examples to be found in the Lexicon;

Skr. *mr* in *mākhṇeṃ* (*mrakṣaṇa-*);

Skr. *śm* in *masaṇ* (*śmaśāna-*), beside which is also found the form with a tendency to archaism, even from the view-point of Prakrit, *mhasaṇ* (cf. Pischel, § 104).— A distinction should be made between this case and the one where a recent *mh* goes back to *m+h* earlier separated by a vowel, as in the words *mhais* (*mahiṣī*), *mhātārā* (*mahattara-*), *mhetar* (for *mehetar*, *mehtar*; Pers. *mihtar*), *mhomv* (*moha-*), etc. In this group also the aspiration is unstable : that is why we have *māūt* beside *mahāvat* (*mahāmātra-*), *motsāv*, *motsāh* (*mahot-*), *moḷem* beside *mohaḷ* (cf. Skr. *mukha-*). Inside the word, *m* goes back to :

Skr. *m* in contact with a labial consonant, in *uṃbar* (*udumbara-*), *kum̐bh* (*kumbha-*), *kusum̐b* (*kusumbha-*), *kothambīr* (*kustumbarī*), *cum̐banem* (*cumb-*), *cum̐baḷ* (Pali *cumbata-*), *niṃb* and *liṃb* (*nimba-*), *liṃp̐nem* (root *lip-*), *hambā* (*hambhā*).

Pkt. *nm*, itself arisen out of :

Skr. *nm* in the compounds of *un* + a word beginning with *m* : *umagnem* (*unmagna-*), *umajnem* (*unmajjana-*), *umaḷnem* (*unmil-*), *umaḷnem* (*-mala-*), *umāññem* (*unmāna-*), *umās* (*unmathya-*); *unmaḷnem* (*unmūlana-*) on the contrary is a *semi-tatsama*; as regards the word *sāmāśī* one should see therein a recent compound of *sā*, that is to say, *sahā*- “six” + *mās-* (*māsa-*) rather than a representative of Skr. *ṣaṇmāsa-*;

Skr. *mm* perhaps in *samor* (cf. *sammukha-*)?

Skr. *rm* in *kām*, cf. *nikāmī*, *rikāmā* (*karma-*), *ghām* (*gharma-*), *cām* (*carma-*), *dhāmā* (*dhārmika-*); undoubtedly also *ghum̐nem* (**ghūr-m-*; Skr. *ghūr̐-*);

Lastly, *m* goes back to Pkt. *mh*, representing either Skr. *mh* as in *bāmaṇ* (*brāhmaṇa-*; the form *bāmbhurḍā* goes back to Pkt. *bāmbhaṇa-*), or Skr. sifflant + *m* as in *amhī* (*asme*; cf. *tumhī*), *gim* (*grīṣma-*; cf. *ṣiṃgā*). It will be noted that aspiration has dropped everywhere except in personal pronouns, normally of archaic form. In *cāmhār* the aspiration is adventitious and has been correctly explained by Beames (I, 346) as being due to the analogy of *kvm(b)hār*.

In view of the principles enunciated above, the intervocalic *m* represents Skr. *m* only in the *tatsamas* or *semi-tatsamas*; such

is the case in *udīm* (*udyama-*), *koykamaḥ* (*kamala-*), *gosāmi* beside *gosāvi* (*gosvāmin-*), *namṇem* in relation to *onamṇem* (*nam-*), *nem* or *nīm* (*niyama-*), *vamṇem* (*vam-*) and *vām* (*vāma-*) in relation to *vāmv* (*vyāma-*), *somaḥ* beside *somvaḥ* (D. *somāla-*, cf. Skr. *sukumāra-*) etc.

r and *l* (l)

§ 139. These two phonemes can, at no moment of the linguistic history of Aryan India, be independently considered. The oldest Vedic texts already show a disturbed linguistic aspect, supposing the introduction in a dialect where *r* had been the normal representation of both the Indo-European *r* and *l*, at least in certain positions (see § 2). Later on the mixtures become more numerous and the spread, due to religious and political circumstances, of a dialect where *l* represented both the Indo-European *l* and *r* must have been responsible for the increasingly frequent substitution of *r* by *l* in the vocabulary of classical Sanskrit and Prakrit (see Wackernagel, § 191-193, Pischel, § 256, 257, 259). Modern idioms, heirs of Sanskrit and Prakrit, show the same mixtures as these languages; and there is no more any dialect having generalised either *r* or *l* in all positions. Besides, the detail of the vocabulary is never more identical from one dialect to another; so much so that we must admit that the loans and adaptations have continued to be effected during all the periods and undoubtedly in all directions. In addition, evolutions particular to certain speeches have occurred. Thus in Sindhi the intervocalic *l* has become *r* (Beames, I, 247); in Bihari and often in Bengali the same alteration has taken place, not only between vowels (Hoernle, *Comp. Gram.*, § 30, 110; Grierson, *Phon.*, 66) but also in the initial position, as is shown, for example by the name of the village of *Rummindei*, whose old name is *Lumbini* or *Lummini* (Windisch, *Actes du XIV^e Cong. des Orient.*, Algiers, I, 280 note; Fleet, JRAS, 1906, p. 177). In this latter case the passage of *l* into *r* looks all the more remarkable because of its occurrence in the domain of old Māgadhi, where all *rs* became *l*. It is true that in the Eastern dialects *r* is dental (Grierson, *Phon.*, § 65), so that the transformation of *l* into *r* is similar only in appearance to the one found in Sindhi. It represents one of

the consequences of the instability of *l* in these speeches, verified besides by the frequent change in Bengali and in Oriya of *l* into *n* (Beames, I, 248; Grierson, *Phon.*, § 66, p. 15).

§ 140. Marathi offers, like other dialects, a large majority of cases where *r* and *l* (*!*) respectively respond to *r* and *l* of classical Sanskrit. This is how M. *pimṇṇī* agrees with Skr. *pippalī* as the forms of Hindi and Bengali, whereas the words of Gujarati and Sindhi go back to the form noted by Greek *péperi*. Similarly, M. *sārī* reproduces Skr. *sārikā* (cf. Hindi *sār*) whereas Pali had an *l*, which is found in Sinhalese. When the Sanskrit tradition admitted two forms, Marathi has opted for different meanings according to the words. Thus we have on the one hand *lomv* (*loma-*, *l* is found in Sinhalese and in Sindhi; *l* in Gujarati, Panjabi, Hindi, Bengali,) *soṃvaḷ* (= **sukomala-* rather than *sukumāra-*; cf. M. *koṃvaḷ* < *komala-*; see Pischel, § 123), *gaḷṇem*, *ugaḷṇem*, *gaḷā*, *giḷṇem* (*gal-*, *gala-*, *gil-*; *l* everywhere except Sindhi, where *r*=*!*), On the other hand *thor* (*sthūra-*; *r* in Gujarati, *l* in Sinhalese, *rohī* (*rohita-*, *r* everywhere). Sometimes Marathi opposes Sanskrit also.

§ 141. In a sufficiently large number of words Marathi shows *l*, whereas Sanskrit has *r*. Most of these forms are found since the ancient-most period of classical Prakrit. Such is the case with *iṃgaḷ* (*aṅgāra-*), *haḷad* (*haridrā*) in relation to *har-yāḷ*, *hirḍā*, *hirvā* (*harita-*) which are noted in Vararuci (II, 30); of *cālīs* (*catvāriṃśat*) whose *l* is current in Pali. Of certain words where *ry* preceding *a* has been noted since Prakrit as *ll* : *palaṃg*, *pālakh* (*paryaṅka-*), *palāṭan*, *pālaṭ*, *paletṇem* (*paryaṭ-*), *palāṇ* (*paryāṇa-*), *pālthā* (*paryasta-*), *pelṇem* (*prerya-*); and finally of the words where Skr. *dr* has become *ll* : *ālem* (*ādraka-*), *ol* (*udra-*), found in old Prakrit, *cultā*, whose prototype *culla-* is current in Pali (cf. *kṣulla-*, the other form of *kṣudra-* in the Atharva-veda), *bhalā* (*bhadra-*). The form *bhalla-* has been introduced in classical Sanskrit), *śīl* (*chidra-*, in the Konkan *śīl*) which goes back to Deśī. We should probably add here on the one hand the adjectives in *-r* (Pkt. *-lla-*, Pischel, § 595) and on the other the name of the ogress *lāṃv* (*rāmā* : the form with *l* of *rāma-* is already found in the old word *lamaka-* and its patronym *lāmakāyana-*, without counting the perfect *lalāma* of the root *ram-*, found in the *Harivaṃśa*), the word *malāi* derived from the caste-name, *malla-*, which itself is only the

name of the eastern branch of a people known in ancient Panjab as *madra-*; finally the word *las* “pus”, as the Skr. *laśa-* “resin” of the later texts is, without any doubt, an adaptation of a modern word, the doublet of the Skr. *rasa-* “juice”. Of similar type are *aḍḍṣā* (*aṭaruṣa-*), *ghoḷṇem* (*ghūrṇ-*), *coḷṇem* (*cūrṇ-*), *niḥāḷṇem*, *saṃbhāḷṇem* (root *bhar-* ?) which are recent but are found with *l* in other languages (with the exception of the first) as the names of isolated plants. As regards *nikāl* (*niṣkar-*) the fact that *l* herein is a dental leads us to suspect that it is a word borrowed from Hindi.

§ 142. Marathi has *r* where Sanskrit has *l*. Thus *kir* (*kila-*), the only one found in old Prakrit; *sāmvar* (*śālmali*; cf. M. *śemori* and Pali *simbalī*) and *pharā*, the doublet of *phaḷā* (*phalaka-*) are noted in Deśī. Most of the examples are recent: *avher* in relation to *heḷṇem* (*helana-*), *ujrī* in relation to *ujaḷ* (*ujjvala-*), *kusri* in relation to *kusaḷ* (*kuśala-*), *nāṃgar* (*lāṅgala-*), probably *saver* in regard to *veḷ* (*velā*). These words, doubling other words of identical meaning, are suspected to be borrowed either from some eastern dialect, or from a Marathi speech where the intervocalic *l* had become *r*. It is known in fact that in the speeches of Konkan, Vidarbha and Central Provinces, this change is normal (see § 144). The dictionary of Molesworth gives *ohar* as a form of the Konkan, opposed to normal Marathi *ohaḷ*. As regards *nāṃgar* (*lāṅgala-*) which contrasts with *nāṃglī* (*lāṅgalikā*), it is probably also a provincial word. In fact the current term for the “plough” in the Deśī is *aūt* (see Molesworth, s. v.).

The Marathi words in which *l* or *ḷ* correspond to *r* of Sanskrit are, thus, numerous and old, chiefly if we take into account the rarity and the recent character of the inverse cases. This fact is particularly in accordance with the hypothesis that Marathi is derived from a common language whose vocabulary would have contained a sufficiently strong eastern element.

We have now to examine cases where *r* and *l* of Sanskrit have been preserved right upto Marathi.

r

§ 143. In the initial position, *r* goes back to Skr. *r*; examples are : *raṃg-* (*raṅga-*), *raḍṇem* (*raṭ-*), *ratī* (*raktikā*) and

all the words with the initial *r* to be found in the Lexicon.

Inside the word, *r* represents :

Skr. *r* in *aṃtar* (*antara-*), *ār* (*ajagara-*), *ārat* (*ārātrikā*), *ukar* (*utkara-*), *utarṇem* (*uttar-*), *utrāṇ* (*uttara-*) *uṃdar* (*undura-*), *uṃbar* (*udumbara-*), *er* (*itara-*) *eraṃḍ* (*eraṇḍa-*), *ovrī* (*apavaraka-*), *kaṃkar* (*karkara-*), *kacrā* (*kaccara-*), *kabrā* (*karbura-*) *kar* (*kara-*), *karṇem* (*kar-*), *karvat* (*karapattra-*), *kāvrā* (*kātara-*), *kāṃsār* (*kāṃsyakāra-*) and the other nouns for agent in *-ār* < *-kāra-* as *kumbhār*, *cāmhār*, *maṇyār*, *lohār*, etc., *khar* (*khara-*), *kher* (*khadira-*), *garodar* (*guru-*), *gahirā* (*gabhīra-*), *gābhār* (*garbhāgāra*) and other nouns composed with *-ār* < *-āgāra-*, such as *kaulār*, *dhaṃlār* and *bhāṇḍār* (this last one already found in Sanskrit), *gerū* (*gairika-*), *gorā* (*gaura-*), *carṇem* (*car-*), *cār* (*catvāri*), *ciṃvar* (*cikura*), *cor* (*caula-*), etc.;—*ghar* corresponds not to Skr. *gr̥ha-* but to Pkt. *ghara-*;

Skr. *rh* in *jar*, *tar* (*yarhi*, *tarhi*), *gārāṇem*, the doublet of *gārāṇem* (*garbha-*);

Skr. *d* or *t*, contrary to the general law of the disappearance of intervocalics, in certain nouns of numerals composed with Skr. *daśa* and in *sattar* (*saptati-*), see § 118, 221 and 223. The pronominal adjectives *sarisā* or *sarsā* and *sārikhā* should not be cited here. These words are not based on *sādr̥śa-*, **sādr̥kṣa-*, cf. *taisā* (*tādr̥śa-*), *jaisā* (*yādr̥śa-*), etc., which give the normal phonetic treatment; see Wackernagel, p. XXI.

Skr. *ry* : the normal treatment of this group is *j* (see § 106); under special circumstances it also allows the treatment *l* (see § 141). As regards *r*, according to Pischel, it appears in Prakrit only after *i* and *ū*, and besides in the words where one may suspect the substitution of a morpheme (see Pischel, § 284). The examples of Marathi can be explained in this manner only in the case of *vīr* (*vīrya-*) and of the word, undoubtedly remade on this model, *dhīr* (*dhairya-*); *vīpārā* is a tatsama, where *vīparyaya-* seems to have been influenced by *vīparita-* and can be interpreted as a compound of *vī-* and *pār* “the other bank, on the other side;” *parisṇem* or *pares-*

ṇem (*paryeṣaṇa-*) seems to be a recently adopted tatsama, the poetic language having preserved *pariyeṣaṇem*; such is also the case of *vyarā* (*abhyavahāra-*, cf. *abhyavahṛta-*) and undoubtedly even of *pāruṣṇem*, *pārosā* (*paryuṣ-*). But forms like *tirkā*, *tirsa* (*tiryak-*) or *mer* (*maryādā*), whereof one, moreover goes back to classical Prakrit and the other to Deśī are, for the time being, inexplicable.

!

§ 144. This phoneme is found in Marathi only inside or at the end of the word. It comes firstly in place of Skr. the intervocalic *l*. This treatment is comparable to that of *n*. Like *n* also, the initial or geminated *l* has remained a dental (see Sten Konow, JRAS, 1902, p. 417-8). The same law applies in Rajasthani (see LSI, *Rājasth.*, p. 20), in Panjabi, Gujarati, and Oriya Beames, I, 244). At first view, the domain of *!* appears to be cut up into a number of groups of isolated speeches. This would be astonishing, if this were not a case of pure appearance. In fact, on the one hand, Sindhi, which occupies the region lying between Gujarat and Panjab, converts intervocalic *l* into *r*. Whatever be the history of this change, it offers along with that of the neighbouring speeches, the common character of representing a passage of dental articulation to the cerebral. This interpretation applies, without doubt, also to those cases, where intervocalic *l* is represented by *r* in the dialects of the N. W. mountains, which seem then, to be attached to the same group (see Grierson, ZDMG, 1912, p. 82, 83). On the other hand, Oriya is not as isolated from the western group as it seems. In fact, the Dravidian languages, all of them contiguous on the meridional frontier, have the cerebral *!*, as has been remarked by Beames (I, 245). The same is true of Sinhalese where *!* also represents the cerebral occlusives of Sanskrit, and not *l* which is preserved (Geiger, § 14, 6; § 25). India considered as a whole is, thus, divided into two groups : the first, which includes the Indus valley, the entire Deccan and Ceylon, has *l* and *!*; the second, which includes the dialects of the N. W. mountains (see Grierson, *Pisāca Lang.*, p. 124) and the speeches of the valley of the

Ganges, has only the dental *l*, this *l* being susceptible, in its turn as we have seen, of being transformed into *r*, equally a dental.

But since which period has *l* been cerebralised in the Marathi areas? The Prakrit sources are obscure: *Paiśācī* is the only dialect which is shown as normally converting the intervocalic Skr. *l* into *ḷ*. But it should also be noted that the rules concerning the same date from Hemacandra, that is to say from a very late epoch (Pischel, S 260). The texts, written in other dialects, do not have a uniform sign. Thus, as could be expected, the meridional manuscripts have *ḷ*, while those of the North keep *l*, but the grammarians know only *l*, even where it represents *ḍ*, that is to say, where the Vedic had already *ḷ* (Pischel, S 226). In old Marathi, only *l* is found in the inscriptions of Patan (1206 A.D., see note 9 of Rajwade), of Pandharpur (1273, 1276), in a mss. of the *Jñāneśvari* (1290 A. D. ?—see JA, 1909, II, p. 565); but it is noted in the verse of the *Yogaratanmālā* in 1400 (see *Granthamālā*, March, 1903, p. 33).

It is impossible to determine if the script has been adapted to the pronunciation almost along with its evolution, or if the signs of the grammarians of Prakrit of the lower period had not, already, been late as regards the real pronunciation.

The rule of the cerebralisation of *l* admits, in the local speeches, a number of exceptions. The dental articulation is maintained on the coast, from Thana to Rajapur; *ḷ* is replaced by *r* (and even by *y*) in the Central provinces and Vidarbha (LSI, Mar., p. 23, 220). We have seen above that in the Konkan *r* had also been a possible substitute of *ḷ*.

§ 145. However *ḷ* is the normal development of the intervocalic *l* as is shown by examples given below.

agaḷ (*argala-*), *aṃḡḷī* (*aṅguli-*), *aṭāḷā* (*attālikā-*). *avāḷā* (*āmalaka-*), *aḷṭā* (*ālakta-*), *aḷambem* (*ālamb-*), *aḷī* (*alin-*), *aḷem* (*ālavāla-*), *āṃḍuḷṇem* (*āndolana-*; cf. *ucaṃḍaḷṇem*, *hiṃḍuḷā*), *āl* (*alaya-*, *āli-*), *āḷas* (*ālasya-*), *iṣāḷā* (*irṣyāla-*), *iḷā* (*ilī*), *ukhaḷ* (*udūkhala-*), *udhaḷṇem* (*uddhūlaya-*), *eḷā* (*elā*), *oṃgaḷ* (*amaṅgala-*), *olaṃḡṇem* (*avalagaya-*), *olambṇem* (*avalamb-*), *ouṃḷ* (*vakula-*), *oḷ* (*valī*), *kaḷ* (*kalā*), *kaḷṇem* (*kalana-*), *kaḷvā* (*kalāpa-*) *kaḷas* (*kalaśa-*), *kaḷho* (*kalaha-*), *kaḷī* (*kalikā*), *kāvḷā* (*kāka-*; D: *kāyala-*), *kāḷ* (*kāla-*, subst., cf. *dukaḷ*), *kāḷā* (*kāla-* adj.), *kīḷ* (*kīla-*), *kudāḷ* (*kuddāla-*), *kusaḷ* (*kuśala-*), *kūḷ* (*kula-*), *keḷ*

(*kadalī*), *koil* (*kokila-*), *koykamaḷ* (*kamala-*), *kolhāl* (*kolāhala-*), *komvḷā* (*komala-*), *kolī* (*kaulika-*), *koḷem* (*kavala-* and *D. kola-*), *khaḷ* (*khala-* subst. and adj.), *khaḷṇem* (*skhal-*), *khīl* (*kīla-*), *gaḷṇem*, *gaḷā* (*gala-*), *giḷṇem* (*gil-*), *garaḷ* (*garala-*), *goḷā* (*golaka-*), *cāḷṇem*, cf. *nicaḷ* (*cālana-*), *jaḷ* (*jala-*), *jaḷṇem* (*jvalana-*; cf. *ujaḷṇem*), *jaḷū* (*jalankā*), *jaḷ* (*jāla-*) *jhoḷi* (*jhaulikā*), *tālī* (*tālikā*), *ṭālū* (*tālu-*) *ṭāḷem* (*tāla-*), *ṭīḷā* (*tilaka-*) *ḍoḷā* (*dola-*) *tarāḷṇem* (*tarala-*), *tisaḷ* (*triśūla-* ?), *tīḷ* (*tila-*), *tuḷ*, *tuḷṇem* (*tulā*, *tulana-*), *tuḷśī* (*tulasī-*), *thaḷ* (*sthala-*), *thālā* (*sthāla-*), *daḷ* (*dala-*), *dubḷā* (*durbala-*), *deuḷ* (*devakula-*), *dhavaḷ* (*dhavala-*), *naḷ* (*nala-*), *nāṃgli* (*lāṅgalikā*) *nāreḷ* (*nāri-kela-*); *nāl* (*nāla-*), *paḍaḷ* (*paṭala-*), *paḷṇem* (*palāyana-*), *paḷas* (*palāśa-*), *pākhaḷṇem* (*prakṣālana-*), *pāl* (*pālī*), *pālṇem* (*pālana-*), *pimpaḷ* (*pippala-*), *piṇḷā* (*pītala-*), *puḷaṇ* (*pulina-*), *paul* (*pratoli-*), *phaḷ* (*phala-*; cf. *uphāl*, *jaiphaḷ*, *riphaḷ*, *pophal*, *phaḷār*, etc.), *phaḷā* (*phalaka-*), *phāḷa* (*phāla*) *baḷ* (*bala-*, *bali*), *baḷ* (*bāla-*), *bīḷ* (*bila-*), *bhāl* (*bhāla-*), *maṃgaḷ* (*maṅgala-*), *marāl* (*marāla-*), *mahāl* (*mahālaya-*), *maḷ* (*mala-*, cf. *omvḷā*, *umaḷṇem*), *māvḷā* (*mātula-*), *māl* (*mālā-*), *miḷṇem* (*milana-*), *mūḷ* (*mūla-*) *meḷ* (*mela-*), *moḷī* (*mūlikā-*), *rasāl* (*rasāla-*), *rāuḷ* (*rājakula-*), *rāl* (*rāla-*), *lāl* (*lālā*), *loḷ-* (*lul-*), *vaḷṇem* (*valana-*; cf. *omvaḷṇem*) *vaḷem* (*valaya-*), *vāḍaḷ* (*varadalikā*), *vālā* (*vāla-*), *vālū* (*vālukā-*), *visaḷṇem* (*vikṣal-*), *viḷavṇem* (*vilapana-*), *veḷ* (*velā*), *saraḷ* (*sarala-*), *saḷ* (*chala-*), *sāḍaḷṇem* (*śāḍvala-*), *sāl* (*śālā*, *śālī*) *sālā* (*śyāla-*), *saḷī* (cf. *śala-*), *śiḷā* (*śītala-*), *śīḷ* (*śīla-*), *sūḷ* (*śūla-*), *seḷ* (*chagala-*), *somvaḷ* (*D. somāla-*), *haryāl* (*haritāla-*), *haḷ* (*hala-*) *haḷis* (*halīṣā*), *haḷu* (*laghu-*), *heḷṇem* (*helana-*); and all the adjectives with the suffix *-aḷ* (*misal*, *mokaḷ*, *mohaḷ*, *śiṇḍaḷ*, cf. *piṇḷā*, *poḷ*, etc.) or *-āl* (Skr. *-āla-*, *-ālu-*), of whom the majority is recent or found at the most in Deśi.

§ 146. Secondly *ḷ* comes from the intervocalic Skr. *ḍ*.—The passage of *ḍ*, *ḍh* to *ḷ*, *ḷh* is one of the oldest cases, found in Sanskrit, concerning the opening of the intervocalic occlusives. It is, in fact, constant since the *R̥gveda*, but classical Sanskrit has restored the archaic pronunciation and reintroduced *ḍ* and *ḍh* everywhere (Wackernagel, p. XXIII; Meillet, IF, XXXI, p. 123). The aspirated sonant, as it has been re-established by classical Sanskrit has been kept without apparent change in Prakrit and Marathi (cf. § 112). On the contrary, *ḷh* is a group of consonants in Prakrit as in Vedic and ends.

as a consequence, in *lh*, *l* in Marathi; cf. Pischel, § 247 and infra §148. As regards *ḍ*, it is represented in Marathi both by *ḍ* and *l*.

We find *ḍ* in a small number of words where Skr. *ḍ* seems to have been artificially preserved both in Prakrit and in the modern languages. Many of these words have, beside them, the forms in *l*, which confirms this interpretation. Its examples are given above in § 111. The treatment *l*, on the contrary confirmed by Guj. *l*, H. *l*, S. *r*), is more frequent and seems to correspond to a real phonetic evolution. Does it go back directly to the Vedic language? We dare not affirm it. It is, nevertheless, true that the tendency to open *ḍ* is found during all the epochs. Its traces are found in classical Sanskrit since the *Atharva-veda* (Wackernagel, § 194a). The change of *ḍ* into *l* is normal in a series of Pali texts and in many dialects of Buddhist Prakrit (see Lüders *Bruchstücke*..., p. 44 and 55). It is equally shown as being the rule in classical Prakrit. Besides this rule is at first optional (see Vararuci, II, 3 and the commentary), and suffers from sufficiently numerous exceptions confirmed by the state of modern vocabulary (Pischel, § 240). But as a whole, the tendency is clear and it is this tendency which explains the Marathi examples given below.

In the case of *khelṇem* (*kriḍ*-: *khel*-), of *gūḷ*, *goḷā* (*guḍa*-, *gauḍa*-, *gola*-; cf. M. *goḍ* adj.), of *nāl* (*nāḍi*-: *nāla*-; cf. M. *nāḍi*), the form with *l* is noted since classical Sanskrit, but the etymology and history agree in showing its secondary character. For *talāv* (*taḍāga*-), *piḷṇem* (*pīḍ*-; cf. M. *pīḍṇem* with a moral sense), *soḷā* (*soḍaśa*), words that are etymologically clear, *l* is found in Prakrit. Similar is the case for *nirḷi* (*nigada*-), whose *ḍ* is not explained. Later still, or even recent, are the forms *talapṇem* in relation to *taḍphad*, *taṭṭaṭ* (cf. *tāḍ*-), *kolapṇem* (D. *kuḍ*-), *māl* in relation to *māḍi* (D. *māḍia*- and perhaps *māla*-) *ukhaḷṇem* coexisting with *ukhaḍṇem* (root *kadh*-), finally *sāṃguḷṇem* the Konkani form of *sāṃgaḍṇem* (*saṃghaṭ*-). We should also add here *cumbaḷ* (Pali *cumbala*-). Other cases which one will be tempted to cite also are of little help: *khulā* and *khodā* (*khoda*-: *khola*-) can be different words; *phālṇem* and *phāṭṇem* (*phal*-: *sphaṭ*-) are the forms drawn from different stems, although from the same root.

One should consider *paṃḷeṃ* as being regularly attached to Skr. *pravāla-*, whose doublet *pravāḍa-* is less definitely attested. As regards *kohḷeṃ* (*kuṣmāṇḍa-*), it is a completely obscure word (cf. § 170). It seems that in certain cases a return action had been caused : thus beside *nāṃḡlī* (*lāṅgalikā*) are found *naṃgoḍā*, *nāṃgḍā* (*laṅgūla-?*) but nothing is known regarding the origin of this group of words.

§ 147. To the preceding cases should be added those where *ḷ* represents Skr. *r* or *t* or *d* and which have been described above (§ 118, 141) and the only word of its type *veḷū* (Skr. *veṇu-*), where *ḷ* is found very early in Pali and in Prakrit and is perhaps etymologically primitive.

l

§ 148. In the initial position, M. *l* represents Skr. *l* in *lasaṇ* (*laśuna-*), *lahu-* (*laghu-*), *lāj* (*lajjā*), *lohār* (*lohakāra-*) and a large number of words with *l* as initial given in the Lexicon. In Prakrit and as a consequence in Marathi, the initial *l* sometimes represents dissimilated Skr. *n* : *limb* (*limba-*); *loṇi* (*navanīta-*); it corresponds, in appearance at least, to *y* in the word *laṭh*, which is joined to Skr. *yaṣṭi-*. Lastly Pkt. *ḍ* > *l* in *lekruṃ* (*dekka-*).

Inside the word, *l* goes back to Pkt. *ll* arisen from :

Skr. *l* after a nasal, in *salag* (*saṃlagna-*);

Skr. *ll* in *asval* (*acchabhalla-*), *gāl* (*galla-*), *cūl* (*cullī*), *jhālar* (*jhallari*), *pakhāl* (*-khalla-*), *ṭālav* (*pallava*), *phūl* (*phulla-*). There is hardly any need for showing how recent and of Prakritic aspect, all these words are and even in Sanskrit (cf. Wackernagel, § 195). There is no serious reason for separating therefrom the cases where Pkt. *ll* represents either Skr. *ry*, or Skr. *dr*, cf. § 141, nor the words only in Prakrit or even in Deśī, such as *kol* (*kulla-*), *khāl* and *sāl* (*challī*, *kholī* (*khulla-*), *celā* (*cilla-*), *vel* (*vellā*), *velhāl* (*vellahala-*).

Skr. *ly* in *kāl* (*kalya-*), *kolī* (*kulyā*), *tol* (*taulya-*), *mo* (*maulya-*) *sal* (*śalya-*; cf. M. *sālī*);

Skr. *lv* in *bel* (*bilva-*): this case is doubtful, as *rv* gives

Combined with aspiration, *l* is found in *kolhā* (become in its turn *kolā*), which goes back to Pkt. *koḷhna*, *kuḷha-* (*kroṣṭu-*). Here the Prakrit sign, no matter how badly explicable, is in short more correct than *ḍh*, because *ḷh* in Prakrit represents, as is correct, an old group of consonants (see Pischel, § 242, cf. § 304). This character is confirmed by the dental articulation of the Marathi phoneme. The word *kolhāl* (*kolāhala-*) is a semi-tatsama, because it is difficult to accept the theory that the fall of the internal *ā* has been even during the recent period, so complete as to allow the agglutination of *l* + *h* and the dentalisation of the group. A curious result of the equivalence of *l* arisen from *ll* and of *lh* is the existence of the doublets with *l* or *ll* and *lh*, where etymology does not authorise the aspiration : thence *ulhālā* besides *ullālā* and *ulāḷa* (*ullāla-*), *kulhā* beside *kullā* and *kulā* (D. *kulla-*), *malhār* for Skr. *mallārī*. In Deśī is found *palhaṭṭai* beside *palatṭai* (cf. M. *pālaṭ*, *pālthā*), but here it can be a case of the aspiration brought out by the old sifflant of Skr. *paryasta-*. Regarding *lh*: *ll* in Sanskrit, see Wackeragel, § 212 a.

§ 149. By means of preceding examples, we have already seen that contrary to the general rule of the simplification of the intervocalic consonants (§ 81), *ll* has often been preserved. Similarly are found *pillūṃ* (P. *pillaka-*), *ullū* (*ulūka-*), *killī* (*kīla-*). It is true that the first is a childish word and the second the name of a bird, used also as a term of abuse. As regards the last one, it co-exists with *khīḷ* and could, therefore, come in through borrowing.

The form *kilac* which goes back to D. *kitiñca-* is curious. Should we take it that in Deśī *l* between two palatal vowels could not become cerebral ? In that case the word *killī* would rightly be opposed to *khīḷ* whose prototype would be **k(h)ilā*. But *ilī* (*ilī*) for example has a cerebral and moreover *kilac* can belong to the family of *killī*. It is impossible for the time being to push the question any farther.

In the alien words *l* has not undergone a uniform treatment. We have, on the one hand, *pūl*, *alaṃg* (see Printz,

KZ, XI-IV, p. 18) and on the other *java!* It is impossible to say if this difference of treatment is due to the greater or lesser antiquity of the borrowed words or to other circumstances.

The same difference is found in the compounds whose second term began with an *l* : in relation to *alanī* (*a-lavana-*), *hilagṇem* (*alhilagna-*), we find not only *aḷambem* (*ālam̐ba-*), which is a common noun since the Deśī, and *viḷavṇem* (*vilapana-*) whose simple stem has disappeared, but *oḷakhṇem* (*avalakṣ-*), *oḷamṇem* (*avalan̐gh-*), *oḷambṇem* (*avalamb-*), which co-exist with the simple verbs or other compounds of the same verbs, and where the sentiment of the composition is, without doubt, not lost.

v

§ 150. In the initial position of a word, M. *v* represents Skr. *v*. Marathi is a member of the group of western languages—Gujarati, Sindhi, Panjabi, to whom is joined on the one hand Simhalese and Kashmiri on the other—, they having preserved the initial Skr. *v*. The central and the eastern languages have, on the contrary, mixed up *v* and *b*. Classical Prakrit does not take note of this innovation in any of its dialects, but it is known that since the Veda, sporadic exchanges of *b* and *v* have occurred (Wackernagel, § 161); and it is possible that the abundance itself of *b* in classical Sanskrit is due to some local influence, because it is a phoneme, almost unknown in Indo-European (ibid., § 158, 162). In the Nāgarī Script, *b* is merely a *v* provided with a diacritical sign. Whatever be the origin of the Sanskrit phonetic system, it is this system which is faithfully reproduced in Marathi, at least in the initial position of the word. Marathi, therefore, enables us to recognise, when the orthography of Sanskrit texts is hesitant, as to which of the forms is authentic. Thus *omū!* can not but go back to *vakula-* but *bīm* and *bīḷ* guarantee Skr. *bīja-* and *bila-*. Similarly the *b* of *budṇem*, confirmed by Gujarati and already by Prakrit, contradicts the *v* of *voḍita-* of the *Divyāvadāna*. The case of *bāṇh* : *vāṇh* (*bāṣpa-*, *vāṣpa-*) is obscure; the word appears only in classical Sanskrit and possesses no known etymology. Pāli and Prakrit, like all the modern languages, have *b*. There is also in Marathi a form *bhāṇh*, which seems to be borrowed (see Beames, I, 191). Therefore it is legitimate that *bāṇh* be

considered as a compromise between *vāph* and *bhāph*, or as an equally borrowed form. In fact, Marathi has had to borrow forms from the eastern dialects. This is proved by the example of the co-existence of *bijlī* and *viḷū* (*vidyut*). Similarly the comparison of Gujarati *vāo* and Sinhalese *voeva* shows that *bāvdī* (*vāpī*) is a Hindi word.

These considerations enable us to leave aside certain *rapprochements*. Thus it has been wrong to explain *bāp* by Skr. *vaptṛ*. Moreover *pt* develops normally as *tt* and not *pp* and moreover the nominal stems in *-ṛ-* give the nouns in *-ī* or *-ū*. This etymology cannot be depended upon in any case. Similarly *biṭī* should, undoubtedly, be separated from Skr. *viṣṭhā*, which is represented in Marathi by *viṭ-*, *viṭāl*: in fact Sinhalese has *b* in the corresponding word and *biṭī* is missing in the Hindi dictionary, which seems to exclude the hypothesis of a loan.

A curious case, and explicable with difficulty, is that of certain words found in Deśī with two pronunciations, and where Marathi has uniquely *b* (*barū*, *bāhulā*, *beḍā*, *beḷkem*), and the words *bāj* and *bujñem* ("to frighten") found in Prakrit, seemingly, with *b*, but in Deśī with *v-*. Prakrit has a *u* and Deśī *b* in the word to which seem to correspond the Marathi forms, *vaṭvaṭñem* and *baḍbaḍñem*, but it is equally possible that these two be two words of different origin, which had got near each other due to meaning.

The Arabo-Persian *baghair* "except, without" is represented in Marathi and Gujarati by *vager*; however *bagar* is more usual in Marathi as in Hindi. No doubt *bagar* has been influenced by *vagaire* "et cetera", a word equally borrowed from Arabic.

§ 151. The initial *v*, representing Skr *v*, is found in *vaṭñem* (*vart-*), *vaḍ* (*vaṭa-*), *varth* (*vastu-*), *var* (*vara-*) and in most of the words with *v* as initial gathered in the Lexicon.

Initial *v* can also go back to Pkt. *v* arisen from, either Skr. *vr* in *vaṇ* (*vraṇa-*) and the semi-tatsama *vaḍvat* (*-vrata-*), or from Skr *vy* in *vākhāṇ* (*vyākhyāna-*), *vāṃg* (*vyāṅga-*), *vāgh* (*vyāghra-*), *vārñem* (*vyāhar-*), *vāṃv* (*vyāma-*), *vāvar* (*vyāpāra-*), *vāvsā* (*vyavasāya-*), *vecñem* (*vyaya-*) and the semi-tatsama *vagra* (*vyagra-*); *viḷū*, as against Pkt. *vūha-*, is a tatsama (*vyūha-*).

In *vakhār* (*avaskara-*), *vaṭhāṇ* (*upasthāna-*), *var* (*upari*), etc *v* has become initial only as a consequence of a relatively recent apocope.

§ 152. Inside the word, *v* goes back to :

1. Pkt. *v* arisen from :

Skr. *v* in *ahev* (*avidhavā*), *avsā* (*āvāsa-*) *omvra* (*apavaraka-*) *omvsā* (*upavāsa-*), *gavasṇem* (*gaveṣaṇa-*), *carṇe* (*cyavana-*), *jav* (*yava-*), *dāv* (*dāva-*), *dev*, *devaḥ* (*deva devālaya-*), *dhāmvṇem* (*dhāva-*), *nav* (*nava-*), *navā* (*nava-nāv* (*nāvā*), *nīv* (*nīva-*), *nīvī* (*nīvi-*), *pārvā* (*pārāvāta-pāvṇā* (*plav-*), *pālav* (*pallava-*), *paisāv* (*-sra-*), *bhā* cf., *mānbhāv* (*bhāva-*), *marvā* (*maruvaka-*), *lavaṇ* (*lavaṅga-*); *vakhār* (*avaskara-*), *vasvā* (*avacchada-*) and the words, where the initial *va-*, alternating with *va-* represents Skr. *ava-*. In the verbal compounds whose second term has *v* as the initial, such as *avaḥṇem* (*avahṇem*), *omvāḥṇem* (*val-*), *āvagṇem* (*valg-*), *nivaḥṇem* (*vart-*), etc it is most often impossible to decide if it is the internal *v* or the initial one. We find *vh* corresponding to Skr. *śv* in *parv(h)ām* (*para-śvaḥ*) cf. § 157.

Skr. *p* in *utavṇem* (*uttapana-*), *karvat* (*karapattra-*), *kavṇ* (*kaparda-*), *kavāḍ* (*kapāṭa-*, cf. Wackernagel, I XLVIII), *kāmsav* (*kacchapa-*), *kivaṇ* (*kṛpaṇa-*), *kīṇ* (*kṛpā-*), *kuvā* (*kūpa-*), *khavaṇ* (*kṣapaṇika-*), *civa* (*cipiṭa-*), *tāv* (*tāpa-*), *tivaṇ* (*tripaṇa-*), *daḥvī* (*dalapati-*) and other proper nouns formed with—*pati-*, *dīv* (*dīpa-*), *nhāvī* (*nāpita-*), *pādvā* (*pratipad-*), *pāvṇem* (*prāpaṇa-*), *bhādvā* (*bhādrapad-*), *mahāvat* (if it refers to *mahāputra-*), *māṇḍav* (*maṇḍapa-*), *rovṇem* (*ropaṇa-*), *vaṭhāṇ* (*upasthāna-*) *var* (*upari-*), *vāvar* (*vyāpāra-*), *viḥavṇem* (*vilapaṇa-*), *savat* (*sapatnī-*), *savā* (*sapāda-*), *sātvāṇ* (*saptapaṇa-*), *śimsav* (*śimśipa-*); add here firstly perhaps *dāvṇem* if it refers, as suggested by Pischel, to Skr. *drp-* and *khavā*, whose corresponding term is missing in Sanskrit (Lat. *scapula*); secondly the recent compounds of *pāṇī* (*pāṇīya-*), where this word appears under the form *-vaṇī*, as *aṃbavaṇī*; similarly *avikṇem* (*ava+pikṇem* with syllabic superposition), *ahāroḷī* (*āhāra+poḷī*), *bāroḷī* (*bārā+pāyāḷī*) and thirdly

all the causatives, where *-va-* or *-vi-* goes back to Skr. *-paya-*. Thus we have *vimaviṇem* (*vijñāpaya-*), *karaviṇem* (*kar-*) and the analogous formations like *kamaviṇem* (*karma-*);

Skr. *b* in *thavā* (*stabaka-*), *lavḍā* (*alābu-*), *lavā* (*lāba-*)

2. Pkt. *vv* : here the eastern languages have regularly *b*. From the correspondences noted in the Lexicon, it will be seen that the languages of the Centre and of the North-West have often a *v*. The rule, postulated by Grierson, (*Phon.*, p. 11), and following which rule, Pkt. *vv* always becomes *b* in the modern Indo-Aryan languages, is not exact. At least for Marathi, the examples given below are telling :

Skr. *vy* : *sav* (*savya-*), *śivṇem* (*sīvyā-*); the termination *-āvā* of the participle of obligation (*-tavya-*), ex. : *dyāvā* "which should be given";

Skr. *rv* : *cāvṇem* (*carv-*), *ḍav* (*darvī*; M. *ḍabhā* is evidently a loan of eastern origin), *nivṇem*, *nivāṇem* (*nirvāṇa-*);

Skr. *vr* : *nīv* (*nītra-*).

3. Pkt. intervocalic *m* (see § 137 and 138) in *avamṭṇem* (*āmantraṇa-*), *avḷā* (*āmalaka-*), *avas* beside *amos* (*amāvāśyā*), *āmv* (*āma-*), *āmvās* (*āmiṣa-*) *ugavaṇ* (*udgama-*), *oṇavṇem* (*avanamana-*), *ṃvḷā* (Pkt. *avamalia-*), *kumvar* (*kumāra-*), *gāmv* (*grāma*), *gosāvi* (*gosvāmin-*), *jevṇem* (*jim-*), *thāv* (*sthāma-*), *tāmv* (*tamas-*), *tevṇem* (*tim-*), *dāvaṇ* (*dāmanī*), *nāmv* (*nāma-*), *bhomṇem*, *bhomvar*, etc. (*bhrama-*), *revṇem* (D. *rem-*), *rovamṭh* (*romantha-*), *lāmv* (D. *lāmā*), *vāmv* (*vyāma-*), *visavṇem* (*viśrama-*), *savamṅ* (*samargha-*), *savem* (*samaya-*), *saṃvthaḷ* (*sama-*), *sāvamṭu* (*sāmanta-*), *sāmvḷā* (*śyāmala-*), *sāmvār* (D. *sāmarī*), *sāmvā* (*śyāmāka-*), *śemṭi* (*semantikā*), *soṃvaḷ* (D. *soṃāla-*), *hiṃv* (*hima-*), finally the suffix of the ordinal starting from *pāṃcvā* (*pañcama-*).

§ 153. The articulation of *v* in Marathi is relatively weak and it is known that for representing English *v*, the Marathas use the group *vh*.

It is this indistinct character of articulation which has made *v* to be inserted between the vowels forming a hiatus or being exchanged with *u* (§ 55, 57). Hence also the frequent reduction of *ava-*, even recent, into *o* (see § 78) or into *a* as in *ugaṇ* (cf. *ugaviṇem*) or *kārand* (*karamandi-*), *bhomr* for *bhomvar* (*bhranara-*), *soṃpṇem* (*samarpaya-*). It still happens that *v* is dropped between vowels of different quantity or timbre, above

all when it refers to the nasal *v* arisen from the intervocalic *m* ;
 1. before *i* : *koykamaḷ* (*kumada-*), *dhuī* (*dhūmikā*), *bhuīm* (*bhūmi-*), *sāī* (*svāmin-*; cf. *gosāvi*); 2. in the penultimate position, notably after the labial vowel, *loṃ* for *loṃv* (*loma-*), *jaṇū* (**jaṇṇovam*), *kumkūṃ* (*kuṇkuma-*) *gahūṃ* (*godhūma-*) and in certain termination like *-eṃ*, *-iṃ* (*-āmi*, *ayāmi*) see § 66, 67.

The loss of *v* before *i* is extremely frequent in the initial position of the word; see LSI, *Mar.*, pages 23, 66, 83, 161, 169, 195, 225 : for example we say *īs* for *vīs* (*viṃśat*) or *igār* for Pkt. *vicar*; similarly before *e* : *yeḷ* (that is to say *eḷ*) for *veḷ*; inversely *v* is abusively re-established, for example in *vīḷ*, the form more common than *īḷ* which is however justified by etymology (*iṣṭā*), or in *viḷā* which co-exists with *iḷā* (*iṣṭi-*), in *visād* in relation to *īs* (*iṣā*).

Note on *y*

§ 154. This sonant has no real existence in Marathi, leaving aside the tatsamas, it is found :

1. as the resultant of the differentiation of the initial *y* : examples, *yeṇeṃ* for *eṇeṃ* (*eti*), *yer* for *er* (*itara-*), *yeḷ* for **eḷ* the substitute of *veḷ* (*velā*), etc., this is, no doubt, the same differentiation which is found in *-yāśiṃ*, a form of *eṃśiṃ*, *aiśiṃ* "80" in compounds.

2. in certain cases where *y* replaces in old intervocalic consonant, see § 54;

3. as the symbolic equivalent of *i* or *e* in a diphthong : *i*+vowel : *pāṃdyā* (*paṇḍita-*), *pyār* (*priyakāra-*), *pyās* (*pipāsā*), *pyāhā* (*plihā*), *manyār* (*maṇikāra-*); *e*+vowel : *āgyā* (*agrega-*), *dyāvā* (cf. *deya-*); the obliques in *-yā*, earlier *-eā* : see § 191; vowel+*i* : *paḍkay* (*pratikṛti-*), *vay* beside *vai* (*vṛti-*); the two signs frequently co-exist chiefly in the final position; here in relation to *i*, *y* plays a rôle similar to that of *v* in relation to *u*; cf. § 57.

Sifflant

§ 155. There is only one sifflant in Marathi (see § 15), which is susceptible of two pronunciations, according to the timbre of the following vowel : it is a dental before *a*, *u* and *o*

and palatal before *i* and undoubtedly before *e*. The sifflant of Marathi, irrespective of its origin, thus belongs to the same phonetic category to which belong the occlusives derived from ancient Prakrit palatals (see § 100). The words borrowed from other languages have been adapted to the tendencies of Marathi. This is how the Persian words *šarm*, *šuman*, *šīsā*, *gumašt* have become *saram* (*šaram* also exists), *sumar*, *šīsā*, *gumastā*. As regards *šāi*, it clearly represents *šyāhī* rather than *šāi*. The loss of old *y* explains here the palatal pronunciation of *s*, as that of *j* in *rājā* in the oblique cases. Therein lies, probably, the origin of the palatal sifflant of *bhoṃśā-ūs* where *bhoṃśā* is the oblique case of *bhoṃs*. In *śam-bhar* or *savā-śā*, the palatal sifflant can have come either from the ancient *ya-śruti*, or from the direct analogy of *śem* (*śatam*). In favour of this last hypothesis, cf. the dialectal form *śembhar* cited in the LSI, Mar., p. 22-23.

The history of the sifflant is the same, whether it is simple or geminated, initial or internal.

§ 156. We have already seen, § 102 ff., the cases where *s* (*ś*) comes from Pkt. *ch-*. Through Pkt. *s* it goes back to :

Skr. *s* (1) initial in *sai* (*smṛti-*), *sai* (*sakhī*), *sakār* (*satkār*), *sagaḷā* (*sakala-*), *saṃgem* (*saṅga-*) *saṃcarṇem* and the other verbal compounds of *sām* (*saṃ-*), cf. *salag* (*saṃlagna-*), *sat* (*sattva*), *sarṇem*, *sār* and their compounds *osarṇem*, *osrī*, *osār*, *nisarṇem*, *saṃsār*, etc. (*sar-*, *sāra-*), *sav* (*sap-*), *sav* (*savya-*), *savat* (*sapatnī-*) and the other compounds of *sa-* as *savā* (*sapāda-*), *sāde* (*sārdha-*), etc., *saṃvtha!* (*sama-*), *savem* (*samaya-*), *sāū* (*sādhū-*), *sāk* (*sākṣī-*), *sāc* (*satya-*), *sājṇem* (*sajj-*), *sāmjh* (*sandhyā-*), *sāt* (*sapta-*), *sāmtā* (*sant-*), *sātu* (*saktu-*), *sāth* (*sārtha-*), *sāṃdh* (*sandhi-*), *sāp* (*sarpa-*), *sāṃpem* (*sāṃpratam*), *sāvantu* (*sāmanta-*), *sāyar* (*sāgara-*), *sāhṇem* (*sah-*), *śijṇem* (*sidhya-*), *siṇṇem* (*sevana-*), *śisem* (*sisā*), *śim* (*sahita-*), *śiṭ* (*śṛṣṭi-*), *śīt*, cf. *uśīt* (*siktha-*), *śiv* (*śimā*), *suār* (*sūpakāra-*), *sui* (*sūci-*), *sugī* (*su-*; cf. *sureṃg*, *soṃva!*), *sūraṇ* (*surāṇa-*), *sūt* (*sūtra-*), *sūr* (*surā*), *śeṇvī* (*senāpati-*), *śeṃdūr* (*sindūra-*), *śeṃotī* (*semantikā-*), *sonem* (*suvarṇa-*), *sopṇem* (*samarp-*), *soyrā* (*sodara-*), *soṃva!* (*somala-*); — (2) internal in *usāsā*, *nisās* (*ucchoṣa-*,

niḥśvāsa-), *dās* (*dāsa-*), *dīs* (*divasa-*), *pyās* (*pipāsā-*), *māṃs* (*māṃsa-*), *mās* (*māsa-*), *ras* (*rasa-*), *veṣṇem*, *vās* (*vāsa-*) and its compounds, cf. *omṡsā* (*upavāsa-*) *vevśā* (*vyavasāya-*), *hasṇem* (*haṃs-*);

Skr. ś, (1) initial in *sakṇem* (śakya-), *sadṇem* (śat-), *sadha* (śithila-), *saṇ* (śaṇa-), *saṃt* (śānta-), cf. *sāmt* (śānti-), *sasā* (śaśa-), *sāṃkū* (śaṅku-), *sāṃkaḷ* (śṛṅkhalā), *sāṃgṇem* (śaṃs-?), *sādī* (śaṭa-), *sūṇ* (śāṇa-), *sād*, cf. *paḍsād* (śabda-), *sādalṇem* (śādvala-), *sāṃbar* (śaṃbara-), *sāy* (śāka-), *sāl* (śālā and śāli-), *śālī* (śalya-), *śikṇem* (śikṣ-), *śikem* (śikhya-), *śiṃg* (śṛṅga-), *śiṃpī* (śilpin-), *śiras* (śiriṣa-), *śiṃsav* (śiṃśīpa-), *śilā* (śītala-), -śī in *āgśī* (śikhā), *śīṇ* (śīrṇa-), *śīr* (śīras-), *śīs* (śīrṣa-), *śīḷ* (śīla-), *śīḷ* (śīlā-), *suā* (śuka-), *sukā* (śuṣka-), *śuṃth* (śuṇṭhi-), *suṇem* (śunaka-), *śudhā* (śuddha-), cf. *ansūd* (śuddhi-), *sunā* (śūnya-), *śuṃb* (śulba-), *susar* (śiśumāra-), *sūk* (śukra-), *sūp* (śūrpa-), *sūḷ* (śūla-; cf. *tisaḷ*), *śem*, cf. *savāśā*, *śaṃbhar* (śatam), *śegaṭ* (śigru-), *śej* (śayyā-) *śeṃdā* (śikhaṇḍa-), *śerā* (śikhara-), *soṃḍ* (śuṇḍā), *sos* (śoṣa-); (2) internally in *asog* (aśoka-), *āgas*, cf. *māgas* (agraśaḥ), *ās* (āśā), *useṃ* (opaśa-), *kasā* (kaśa-), *kusaḷ* (kuśala-), *kes* (keśa-), *kesar* (kesara-), *taisā* (tādrśa-), *das*, cf. *dasrā*, *candas* (daśa), *des* (deśa-), *nās* (nāśā-), *niṣṇa* (niśāna-), *pisā* (piśāca-), *pais* (pradeśa-), *phāsā* (pāśaka-), *masaṇ* (śmaśāna-), *rās* (rāśī), *lac* (laśa-), *lasaṇ* (laśuna-), *vasne* (vaśa-), *vāṃsā* (vaṃśa-), *vīs* (viṃśat-), *śiṃsua* (śiṃśīpa-);

Skr. *ṣ* (1) in the initial position in *sahā* (*ṣaṭ-*), cf. *sak* (*ṣaṭka-*), *solā* (*ṣoḍaśa-*), *sāmḍ* (*ṣaṇḍa-*); (2) internally in *āmvas* (*āmiṣa-*), *kas* (*kaṣa-*), *gavasṇem* (*gaveṣaṇa-*), *joṣī* (*jyotiṣika-*), *tusār* (*tuṣara-*), *tūs* (*tuṣa-*), *mīs* (*miṣa-*), *mhaiṣ* (*mahiṣī*), *rīs* (*riṣ-*), *rusṇem* (*ruṣya-*), *so* (*śoṣa-*).

§ 157. Through Pkt. *s* or *ss*, Marathi sifflant goes back to the groups :

Skr. *śy*, in the initial position, without doubt, in *sālā* and perhaps *sādhū*, (*śyāla*-); Sanskrit also has *śyāla*-, which seems more recent);—(2) internally in *avas* (*amānāsvā*) *ālās* (*ālāsvā*) *kāman* *kāmanā* *lī-*

- rahas* (*rahasya-*) ;
- Skr. *śy* (1) as initial in *sāṃvṛṭā* (*śyāmala-*), *sāṃvā* (*śyāmāka-*);
—(2) internally in *disṇem* (*dṛśya--*), *vestā* (*veśyā-*),
and perhaps *kāṃsav* (*kaśyapa-*) ;
- Skr. *śy* in *pūs* (*puśya-*);
- Skr. *sr* in *ustem* (*usrā*), *paisāv* (*pratisrava-*); *āsrā* (*āśraya-*)
is thus a tatsama;
- Skr. *śr*, as initial, in *śeṭ* (*śreṣṭhin-*) internally in *āṃsū*
aśru-), *miśaḥ* (*miśra-*), *viśāṇem* (*viśrama-*), *sāsū*
(*śvaśrū-*) and in *-s* as a suffix to the nouns of relation-
ship (*śrī*); cf. *nisaṇ*, *niśiṇ* (*niḥśreṇi-*);
- Skr. *śl* in *sān* (*ślakṣṇa-*), *śembā* (*śleṣma-*);
- Skr. *sv* in *sāi*, *gosāvi* (*svāmin-*) and the semi-tatsamas *sair*
(*svaira-*) and *sagā* (*svaka-*); *sūr* (*svara-*) is thus a
learned word;
- Skr. *śv*, as initial in *sāsū*, *sāsrā* (*śvaśrū-*, *śvaśura-*), inter-
nally in *āsand*, *āsupaṭhi* (*aśva-*), *pās*, cf. *pasolī* (*pārśva-*);
it is the passage of *śv* to *ss* which has favoured the
abridgement of Skr. *mātrśvāsrkā* into Prakrit
māussiā, Marathi *māuśī*. Similarly when the group
śv is preceded by an aspirate in Sanskrit : *niśās*
(*niḥśvāsa-*); *parhvām*, if it is indigenous, does not
therefore represent Skr. *paraśvah*;
- Skr. *rś* in *śis* (*śirṣa-*) and undoubtedly *kaṣṇem* (*karṣa-*);
varasṇem (*varṣa-*) and also *ārsā* (*ādarśa-*) are therefore
tatsamas, besides old (see Pischel, § 135);
- Skr. *s*, as initial followed by a nasal. The examples
sāṃv (*snāyu-*) and *visarṇem* (*vismar-*) are sure and are
opposed to the treatment *nh*, *mh* whose
examples are given in § 136 and 138; *sūn* (*sunṣā*)
is explained otherwise : this is a case of an old
metathesis, shown by Pkt. *suṇhā*. The case of *śm*
is obscure. We have on the one hand *rassī* (*raśmi-*),
which is suspected to be borrowed due to the gemi-
nation of the sifflant, and which, besides, is the only
form in Prakrit, and *āsand* which is explained equally
well by both *aśvagandha-* and *aśmagandha-*, and on the
other hand *m(h)asaṇ* where the alternation of the
initial sifflant can have been favoured by dis-
similation (such is also the case in Prakrit of *maṃsu-*

— Skr. *śmaśru-*; see Pischel, § 312). It is difficult to settle the problem : all that is known is that the change of the internal *śm* into *ss* is normal in the dialects of the North-West, like that of internal *sm* (Grierson, ZDMG, 1912 p. 77) and therein it goes back pretty far into the past. Pliny had already noted the form *casiri*, which corresponds to Kashmiri *kāśiru* (*kaśmīra-*); Arrian writes '*Assaikhinoi* = Aśmaka and the fragments of Dutreuil de Rhins, where the group *sm* is generally preserved, perhaps offer, in declension, a trace of the same evolution : if the form of the genitive *-sa* (*-sya*) can be used as a locative, we can think that it is due to evolution of the locative in *-smin* into *-si* (cf. Senart, J A, 1898, II, p. 214 etc.).

The Aspirate

§ 158. In Sanskrit *h* is already the resultant of a change undergone by old aspirated sonants, notably in the intervocalic position (see § 2). In the Middle-Indian all the intervocalic aspirated consonants have lost their occlusion, continuing in this way the evolution which had begun since Vedic Sanskrit. There is, therefore, no essential difference between *h* of Sanskrit, Prakrit and of the modern languages; and the distinctions established below have only the value of classification.

§ 159. In the initial position, Marathi *h* succeeds Prakrit *h* arisen out of :

Skr. *h* in *haṇem* (*han-*), *haraṇ* (*haraṇa-*) and the majority of words with *h* as initial, that are to be found in the Lexicon;

Skr. *bh* in *hoṇem* (*bhū-*) : the passage of *bh-* into *h-* is due to the frequent use of this word as an accessory one in the sentence. It is found since the oldest Prakrit (Lüders, *Bruchstücke*, p. 60-61). The case of M. *haṇḍī*, if it refers, as it looks, to a doublet of *bhāṇḍ* (*bhāṇḍa-*), is more obscure. The simple aspiration is found Since VII century, but in a compound, where *bh* would be inside the word; on the other hand, *haṇḍika* is found only in an anthology of the

XVth century.

Inside the word, *h* represents Pkt *h* arisen out of :

Skr. *h* in *ahār* (*āhara-*), *kolhāl* (*kolāhala-*), *geh* (*geha*), *bāher* (*bahir*), *bāhi* (*bāhū-*), *moho* (*moha-*), *rahas* (*rahasya-*), *roh* (*roha-*), *rohī-* (*rohi-*, *rohita-*), *lahar* (*lahari-*), *lohār* (*loha-*), *vahāṇ* (*upānah-*), *vāhaṇ* (*vahana-*), *vivāh* (*vivāha-*), *sāhṇem* (*sah-*);

Skr. *kh* in *duhī* (**dukha-* for *duḥkha-*);

Skr. *gh* in *pāhuṇā* (*prāghuṇa-*), *māho* (*māgha-*), *mehuḍā* (*megha-*), *rahāt* (*araghaṭṭa-*), *lahu* (*laghu-*); cf. *māher* (*māṭṭgrha-*);

Skr. *th* in *pohā* (*prthuka-*), *mahuṇ* (*maithuna-*) *rahaṇvar* (*ratha-*);

Skr. *dh* in *ahev* (*avidhavā*), *gahūṇ* (*godhūma-*), *dahim* (*dadhi-*), *bahirā* (*badhira-*), *moh* (*madhu-*), *rāhī* (*rādhā*), *vahū* (*vadhū-*);

Skr. *bh* in *ahāṇā* (*ābhāṇaka-*), *gahirā* (*gabhira-*), *niḥāṇem* (*nibhal-*, *lāhṇem* (*labh-*), *loho* (*lobha-*), *hilagṇem* (*abhi-lagna-*); for the surd examples are lacking, cf. Pischel, § 200 and Beames, I, 271. Moreover in Sanskrit, even *ph* is relatively rare and often obscure in origin, see Wackernagel, § 158;

Skr. *s* or *ṣ* in a group with *n* or *ṇ*, whence Pkt. *nh*; where the aspiration is not lost, it subsists by admitting insertion of a vowel, see § 136; on Pkt. *mh*, see § 138.

§ 160. It is generally admitted that in certain cases *h* goes back to an old sifflant. It is true that in the north-western group (Sindhi, Panjabi, Kashmiri) the opening of the intervocalic *s* is frequent (see Beames, I, 259 ff., Grierson, *Phon.*, § 68). This change is also found in common Gujarati and in Western Rajputana (LSI, *Bhili*, p. 2, 11, 27; *Raj.*, p. 4, 330). But in Marathi it has been noted only at two points located at the frontier of Gujarati and in the speeches which are morphologically near this language (LSI, *Mar.*, p. 144, 148).

In Marathi, all the Sanskrit sifflants, initial or intervocalic, are normally preserved. All the divergent examples are to be left aside or examined.

The most important ones are drawn from numeration. Beside *das*, the normal representative of Skr. *daśa*, is found *daha* which is the most used form as also the nouns for the units of the

'second ten', from "11" to "18", *akrā, bārā, terā, caudā, pañ-dharā, solā, satrā, aṭhrā*. These forms are not found in Aśoka, but are already authorised by Vararuci (Pischel, § 263, cf. 443 and 446). The word for "seventy" *sattar* (*saptati-*), combined with the units, becomes *-hattar*. This form goes back to a relatively lower period of Prakrit (Pischel, § 264).

This change of the intervocalic sifflant is only one of the numerous phonetic irregularities shown by the nouns of number, if they are considered from the purely Marathi point of view. This is because numeration must provide for the greatest part of the common languages, anterior to the fixation of modern speeches. Hence the fact that the irregularities, shown here, are found in all the cognate languages (Beames II, 134 ff; cf. I, 288).

By the side of *divasa* Prakrit has *diaha-* (Pischel, § 264), which seems to be present in M. *dī*, the popular doublet of *dīs*. But it is probably simpler to recall à propos of M. *dī* that in Deśī the form *dio* is found, which is evidently based on Skr. *diva-*, passed from neuter into masculine under the influence of *divasa-*.

It is, then, illusory to explain the termination of the oblique singular of the nouns by the Skr. genitive in *-asya* (cf. § 183), and efforts to directly link *āhṇem* to the root *as-*, *pāhṇem* to Skr. *paś-*, or *bāhṇem* to the Skr. *bhāṣ-*, should be given up (see these words in the Lexicon). The demonstrative pronoun *hā, hī, hem* is not explained by the unique form of the nom. sing. masc. of Apabhramśa *ehu*, which is derived from Skr. *eṣa* (Pischel, § 263). Prakrit *aha, aho* (Pischel, § 432) are enigmatic, but do not necessarily go back to *asau*. Should we recognise herein the prothesis of a particle *ha*, that had been earlier an eclitic (cf. Brugmann, *Demonstrative-pronomina*, p. 69)? In this case, the word itself would not be surely indigenous to Marathi, because if *hevam* is found in the *Divyāvadāna*, it appears only in the eastern versions of the inscriptions of Aśoka (T. Michelson, *Am. J. Phil.*, 1909, p. 291, note 1).

§ 161. As has been seen (§ 81 ff.), the aspiration is unstable in the occlusive aspirates. There is all the more the reason for the same when it is a simple sonant breath intercalated between two vowels, or preceding a vowel in the initial position (examples in LSI, *Mar.*, p. 144, 169, 332). This is

not, moreover, a fact exclusive to Marathi. It is, on the contrary, very frequent everywhere. We will limit ourselves to the languages neighbouring Marathi, cf. LSI, *Rajasthani*, p. 20, *Gujarati*, p. 330, 347, etc.

The instability of aspiration is the cause of a sufficiently large number of cases of anticipation, pointed out in § 168.

The common language often admits the fall of the intervocalic *h* and consequently the contraction of the surrounding vowels :

aha > *ā* : *akrā* and the nouns of the units of the second ten, cited in § 160 (Pkt. *daha*); *agrār* (*agrahāra*-), *aṇā* beside *ahāṇā* (*ābhāṇaka*-), *thā* (*stāgha*-), *pār* beside *pahār* (*prahāra*-), *phaḷār* (*phalāhāra*) *marāṭhā* (*mahārāṣṭra*-), *mānbhāv* (*mahānubhāva*-), *lāṇī* beside *lāhūī* (*lābh*-), *vārṇem* (*vyāhar*-), *sāmāśī* in relation to *sahā* (*ṣaṭ*), *sutār* (*sūtra-dhara*-);

ahi > *ai*, and even *e*, *ī* : *varai* (*varāha*-), *sai* (*sakhī*), *sāy* beside *sahā* (Pkt. *sāha*-); *eḍ* (*aṃhrī*- ? see Grierson, *Phon.*, p. 403); *śīm* (*sahita*-);

iha > *e*, *i* : *āgśī* (*śikhā*), *pī* beside *pihā* (*plīhan*-), *śeṃḍ* (*śikhanda*-), *śerā* (*śikhara*-);

eha > *e* : *upeḍ* (D. *uppehada*-);

ahu > *au*, *o* : *vomāī*, *ovar* and *vavar* beside *vahū* (*vadhū*), *sūū* (*sādhu*-);

aho > *o* : tatsama *motsāv*, *motsāh* for *mahot*;

uha > *u* : *amū* (*amukha*-), *gū* (*gūtha*-);

oha > *o* : *oyrā* (*avahar*), *moḷem* beside *mohaḷ* (*mukha*-), *lokhaṇḍ* beside *loh*, *lohār* (*loha*-), *samor* in relation with *mohrā* (*mukhar*-);

uhi—*ui* : *duī* beside *duhī* (*duḥkha*-);

ehu—*eu* : *mevuṇ*, *mevṇā* beside *mehuṇ*, *mehuṇā* (*maithuna*-).

Inversely, *h* simply marks the hiatus in *bāhulā*, the doublet of *bāvlā* (D. *bāulla*-); *pihū*, the doublet of *piyo* (*priya*-); *nahī* for *naī* (*nadī*); *vahī* for *vai* (*vṛti*-).

Lastly, *h* seems to be altogether adventitious in *kohḍem* beside *koḍem* (*kūṭa*-), *jahālā*, *jhālā*, see M. *jālā* (*jāta*-), *dāhaḷ* (cf. Skr. *dala*-), cf. § 136 and LSI, *Mar.*, p. 66, 157, 169; *sāhāṇ* for *sāṇ*, which is found only dialectally (*śāna*-), could have been influenced by *sahān* : *śān* (*ślakṣṇa*-). The aspiration

of *kaṇher*, the doublet of *kaṇer* (*karatira-*), is already noted by Hemacandra; that of *cāmhār* (*carmakāra-*) comes from the analogy of *kuṃbhār* (*kumbhakāra-*).

THE WORD

Phonemes in Contact

§ 162. Indigenous Marathi words are, in principle, composed of regularly alternating consonants and vowels, and do not seem to compulsorily include vowels in hiatus or groups of consonants. We see frequently recently borrowed words undergoing changes tending to make them conform to the system. Thus : apenthesis in *taras-* (*tras-*), *sapan* (*svapna-*), *īristāṃv* (Europ. Christ), *hukūm* (Arab. *hukm*); metathesis in *girhā* (*graha-*), *gokraṇ* (*gokarṇa-*), and the reduction of groups in *cikṣā* (*cikitsā*), *paṇt* (for *paṇḍit*), *maṣīd* (Arab. *masjid*).

Recent Consonantal Groups

§ 163. However, even in the words cited above, the existence of consonantal groups is observed. It is because the extreme reduction of the median vowels, referred to in § 50 ff. has brought near one another consonants belonging to different syllables. The contact is immediate in numerous cases. This seems to occur notably when one of the consonants is a continuant. Thus for the sifflants (*ispiṭal*,. Europ. *hospital*; *mahotsav*, Skr. *mahotsava-*; *cikṣā*, Skr. *cikitsā*), for *r* (*girhā*, *gokraṇ* cited above; *catrā* —Skr. *catura-*, *cirhāṭ* —D. *cirihīṭṭi*, *īrcir* —D. *ciricirā*, *bakrā* —Skr. *barkara-*), *h* (cf. *vahvar*, *vavar* <*vadhuvāra-* and various aspirated consonants due to the *approchement* of *h* with an occlusive, see § 99, 107, 110, 112, 124, 128). When the consonants with neighbouring articulations, such as the cerebrals and the dentals, are thus brought together, the narrowness of contact seems to depend, on the one hand, on the sonority of the occlusives. According to the evidence of P. R. Bhandarkar, two surds (cerebr. ÷ dent. : *aṭṭaṭṇem* “to be drawn to breaking point”, *vāṭṭo*, 3 sing. pres. of *vāṭṇem* “it seems”; the examples of dental ÷ cerebral are lacking) or two sonants (cerebr. ÷ dental : *haḍḍem* “obstacle”, *uddā-* obl. of *uḍḍid* “phaseolus radiatus”; dent. ÷ cerebr. :

gadhdā “ass”) constitute real groups; on the other hand; if *poṭḍukhī* “stomach-ache” sounds tri-syllabic, a vocalic group is quite clearly distinguished in the group dent. + sonant cerebr. : *kāṭḍem* “leather”, *cuṭḍā* “vagina.”

§ 164. Consonants once in contact have reacted on one another. This is, undoubtedly, the origin of a number of metatheses or dissimilations cited above. A number of assimilations are thus produced. They can affect :

1. Sonority—In this case the assimilation is generally regressive; sonant + surd : *adhikārī* — *ātkārī* “functionary”; *adh-pāv* > *ātpāv* “1/8th of a seer”, **adh-śer* > *accher* “½ a seer” (but *ad-śerī*, “2-½ seers” subsists), *madh-cā* > *maccā* “Median”, but in the inverse sense *gartā* > *gardā* “hole”;

surd + sonant : *dhukdhukṇem* — *dhugdhugṇem* “to palpitate” : *roṭgā* > *rodgā*”.

2. Articulation—the assimilation is regressive in *pastis* for *paṁc-tis* “35”, *paṁsaṣṭ* for *paṁc-saṣṭ* “65” progressive in *sādhū* (*śyālīvodhr-*), *śemī* for *śemḍṇī* (name of a plant); P. R. Bhandarkar observes that the group *ll* is pronounced in a manner, which is almost similar to that of *ll*.

There is no need for citing, among the consequences of the contact of consonants in Marathi, the insertion of *d* between *n* and *r* in contact in *vāndar* (*vānara-*) and *pandhrā* (Pkt. *paṇnaraḥa-*, Skr. *pañcadaśa*); because the concordance with other languages shows that these forms are anterior to Marathi.

Vowels and Consonants in Contact

§ 165. In Marathi, as in all the Indo-Aryan languages (except Kashmiri, see Grierson, *Man. Kaśm.*, § 8) vowels and consonants very rarely react upon one another. The most interesting case of this type is that of the palatals and the sifflant, whose pronunciation is dental before *a*, *u*, *o*, palatal before *i* and partially *e*. Dialectally the gutturals are susceptible of being palatalised before *ye* (=Common Mar. *e*). Thus we find in the Konkani *jelā* beside *gyelā*, *gelā* “he is gone”, *jheūn* beside *gheūn* “having taken”, *celām* beside *kelām* “done” (see LSI, *Mar.*, p. 65). On this point, as on many others, Konkani is in agreement with Gujarati (LSI, *Rāj.*, p. 330). The nasalisation of *l* following a nasal vowel

in the termination *-nā* of the dative plural and *-n* of the 1st sing. fut. has already been noted.

We also find traces, chiefly in the dialects, of the coloration of a vowel by the neighbouring consonant : *a* becomes a surd when in contact with a labial or the cerebral *l* (§ 79). In the poetic language, the timbre of the vowel inserted between two consonants depends on the articulation of these consonants. In a word whose last consonant is *r*, *l*, *ḷ* or a cerebral occlusive, the penultimate inserted vowel is *i*, if the preceding consonant is a palatal and *u* after all the other consonants, (*āpula*, *baguḷā*, *bāpuḍā*, *mehuḍā* but *sājirā*, etc.). The vowel to be inserted after *r* is always *u* (*darúsan*, *mārūg*, for *darśan*, *mārg*); see Joshi, § 175. On the gradation of *u* with *a* before a cerebral, see § 76.

II. Distant Action

Vocalic Infection

§ 166. In certain words are found traces of the changes in the articulation of vowels under the influence of elements belonging to the syllable that follows. These cases have already been pointed out : *a* becomes *i* in *mañjirī* (*mañjarī*), *mirī* (*marica-*), *vel* (*vallī*); *ai* in *aiśīm* (*aśīti*); *e* before a consonant followed by *y* : *mer* (*maryā-dā*), *śej* (*śayyā*) *uwer*, conc. *verīm* "upto", for *var*, *varī* (*upari*); *i* is assimilated to *u* in *susar* (*śiśumāra-*), *bund* beside *bind* (*bindu-*), etc., see § 75 ff. These cases are isolated and seem, in their majority, to be anterior to Marathi. However, in the Konkan, the phenomena of the same type seem to be quite frequent : *korn*, Common Mar. *karūn* "having done", *ger* for *gari* "in the house" (LSI, Mar., p. 167). Outside Marathi, also, these facts are rare. The best known case of this type is of the word *kerā* which is used to form the relative adjective in the central languages and seems to go back to Skr. *kārya-* (Beames, II, p. 281 ff). But this word is already noted in the Sanskrit period (see Pischel, § 176; cf. Grammont, *Mél. S. Lévi*, p. 76) and contradicts the totality of the phonetics of the Indo-Aryan languages (see Beames, I, p. 134 ff.). The only exception seems to be Kashmiri which has developed a

system of vocalic harmony, altogether abnormal in India (Grierson, *Man. Kaśm.*, § 6).

Metathesis

§ 167. Cases of metathesis are particularly frequent in Gujarati, if we have to judge by the documents of the *Linguistic Survey* (*Raj.*, p. 331). But according to Beames (I, p. 271) they are current throughout India, at least among the lower classes and they are not generally speaking taken into consideration because they are thought to be the "result of ignorance or caprice." However, the examination of the dictionary of Marathi leads us to isolate a certain number among them, which are admitted in the common language. Some of them even go quite far back, as for example, the word *haḷū* (Skt. *laghu-*), given as *halua*, by Hemacandra (Pischel, § 354). Also found in Prakrit are *bahīṇ* (*bhagini*), *marāṭhā* (Skr. *mahārāṣṭra-*); *niḍāl* goes back to the oldest periods of Prakrit (Skr. *lalāṭa-*, Pali *nalāṭa-*, Pkt. *niḍāla-*). Similarly, *rahāṇ* (Skr. *upānah-*, Pali *upāhanā*) and *kurhāḍ* (*kuṭhāra*) is anterior to the dissimilated form of Prakrit, *kuhāḍa-*. Pischel is certainly not right in equating with the preceding examples Pkt. **dīraha-*, which he supposes to be found nowhere. But the Marathi word *der* "delay" goes to an old form **derī* attested by Sindhi *deri* and derived from the word borrowed from Pehlavi or Persian *der* "a long time". The Pkt. form *dīhara-* is only an interpretation of this Iranian word. On the other hand, *sūn* (*snuṣā*) is based on an equally old metathesis (*snuṣā* > **hnuṣā* > *suṇha*: the interpretation of Pischel, § 139, should be rejected).

Metathesis is found at a recent date only in certain words. We can cite with certainty : *kothrīb*, the doublet of *kothambīr* (*kustumbārī*), *pharaḷ*, the doublet of *phaḷār* (*phalāhāra-*), *khaṭraḍ* beside *khaḍtar*, the form in other languages. As regards *pehraṇ*, it seems to clearly join, through D. *parihaṇa-*, Skr. *paridhāna-*. But this could also be a Persian word, which could have been merely interpreted by Hemacandra in Sanskrit. Outside the aspiration and the continuants, metathesis seems to be altogether rare : *kekat* for *ketak*, though current (cf. *kekatpan* "ornament of gold for the hair") is only a learned

word, that is badly pronounced : it is the corresponding *tad-bhava kevdā*. The word *nuskan* (Arab *nuqṣān*) is a tentative adaptation to the ordinary system of Sanskrit (cf. *skandha*-, etc.). Extremely rare are also cases of vocalic metathesis : *osag* for (*aśoka*-), *aḍuṣā* (Skr. *ataruṣa*-) are the names of plants; *nedṇem* for *na deṇem* "not to give" is not to be cited here : in reality it is made after the model of *neṇṇem* (*na jānāti*) which is regular.

A curious case is that of the name of the festival, *ṣimṅā* : it seems to be derived from Deśī *sugimhao* (*sugriṣmaka*-). Therefore, it all seems as if the elements *-ug-* and *-imh-* had been entirely interverted and the exchange of consonants is particularly strange.

§ 168. We should distinguish from metathesis the frequent anticipation of aspiration, undoubtedly due to the sentiment of its instability (see § 161, 169; cf. Grammont, *l. l.*, p. 66).

In the final position, *h* is incorporated into the word for subsisting : this appears in loan-words like *rāhā* for Pers. *rāh*, *tarhā* for P. *tarah* (Molesworth, *Pref.*, obs. 8). Thence also partially the fact that the old final vowel has been preserved in the nominatives of nouns with *h* as *lāho*, *moho*, see § 78. It is undoubtedly again for the same reason that aspiration has not been shifted during the metathesis of *kudhāra*- into *kurhād*.

As has been seen, this metathesis is old and in fact a certain number of cases regarding the shifting of aspiration are anterior to Marathi. Among the monosyllables, this is the case with *hād* (*asthi*-; cf. *aṭhi*), found in Deśī and in several Indo-Aryan languages; certainly also that of *homṭ*, the doublet of *omṭh* (*oṣṭha*-). The Marathi form is common to all the western languages. Besides, Beng. *ṭhomṭ* seems to indicate that the phenomenon has not, surely, been simple in this word. Similarly *khāmṭ* (*kakṣa*-) can surely result from the shifting of aspiration of *kāmṭh*, as a result of the dissimilation of aspiration following an assimilation. The intermediary degree **khāmṭh* will have been obtained like *jhumṭ* (*judhya*-), where assimilation is evident. Moreover, the form *jhumṭṭem* of the latter word enables us to suspect that probably assimilation has been the normal stage of the anticipation of aspiration.

Inside the polysyllables, the tendency of aspiration to be grouped with a preceding occlusive has been noted several times here (§ 163). Moreover, it is frequent in other languages (Beames I, p. 191-192). In *gheṇem* (*grahi-*), the fact goes back to Prakrit. It is found again in *jhaṇem* (*yabh-*) *mhaiṣ* (*mahiṣī*), *mhātārā* (*mahattara-* and in a general way in all these words where *mha-* comes from Skr. *mahā*), *mhetar* (Pers. *mihtar*) : *phattar* seems to be altogether recent, because *patthar*, wherefrom it is derived, is a loan, this being the result of a geminated consonant. To the same tendency is due the form *kaḍhai* (*kaṭāha-*) which can have been influenced by the root of *kaḍhṇem* (*kvath-*). We should also recall here the inversion of the groups of the continuant + *h*, mentioned by Molesworth (type *vivhal*; see observation 14, Preface. p. XV).

Dissimilation

1. *Dissimilation affecting aspiration*

§ 169. The examples are quite numerous : *khād* (Pkt. *khaddha-*), *khāṇḍ* (*skandha-*), *khubaṇem* (*kṣubh-*), *jhāṇkar* (D. *jhaṇkara-*), *jhāṇj*, *jhaṇjri* (*jhaṇjhā*, *jharjharī*), *jhaṇjṇem* (cf. *jhuṇjhṇem*, Skr. *yudhy-*), *thāḍā* (Pkt. *thaḍḍha:*), Skr. *stabdha-*), *thāṇg* (D. *thagga-*; cf. *thā* : Skr. *sthāgha-*) *thāṇbṇem* (*stambha-*), *dhīt*, *dhāt* (*dhṛṣṭa-*), *bhaṭṭā* (no doubt borrowed in the form *bhaṭṭhā* cf. however *bhaṭakṇem*; Skr. *bhraṣṭa-*), *bhik* (*bhikṣā*), *bhūk* (*bubhukṣā*, D. *bhukkha*), *haḍakṇem* (*haṭh-*), *kambā*, *hambarnem* (*hambhā*), *hāt*, *hattī* (*hasta-*, *hastin-*). In all these cases, the dissimilation is progressive contrary to the three firstly laws proposed by Grammont in his *Dissimilation consonantique* (p. 103); cf. the Skr. examples given by him on p. 106. In all these words, or in the stems on which they are based, the second aspirate had been final. Now it is in the final position that aspiration is most easily lost (cf. § 88). In a true dissyllable as in *lokhaṇḍ* (*loha-khaṇḍa*), dissimilation is regressive according to rule and similarly in *garat* which goes back to **garath* arisen out of **garhath* (*grhastha-*). The form *gharat* has, no doubt, been contaminated by *ghar* "house". The case of *paḷhem* "cotton-

plant" is obscure : Deśi has both the forms, *palahī* and *ḥalahī*; the second is perhaps primitive, but can equally be derived from the first by the contamination of *phaḷa-*.

2. Dissimilation affecting the mode of articulation

§ 170. A certain number of cases are found since Prakrit. Thus for *limb* (cf. tats. *nimb-*, see Grammont., op. cit., law VIII, p. 44); of *nāṃgar*, *nāṃglī* and perhaps *nāṃgoḍā* (*lāṅgala-*, etc.; Grammont, ibid., law XVII, p. 84), *kaṇer* (*karavīra-*), *niḍāl* (*lalāṭa-*), perhaps also *bail* (Pkt. *bailla-* for *bal-illa-*?). Under the same conditions the cerebral of Pkt. *baḍi* (*prati-*) is lost quite early before a cerebral, and in Marathi, whereas we find *paḍ-* and *pai-* in competition before other consonants, *pai-* is found alone before the cerebrals (J. Bloch, *Mél. S. Lévi*, p. 9). The Prakrit prototype of *kohlem* seems also to come from dissimilation (*kuṣmāṇḍa-*— **kumhāṇḍa-*— *kūhaṇḍa*, Grammont, op. cit. law XVIII, l. l., p. 86).

Under the action of the law XVIII of Grammont, more recent changes have occurred : *darodā* (D. *daḍavaḍa-*), *lavṇem*, the vulgar doublet of *navṇem* (*nam-*); *luksān* (Arab. *nuqsān*), *lonī* (*navanīla-*); perhaps also *ṭomc* for *comc* (*cañcu-*). But the form of eastern dialects *comṭ* contradicts this explanation and makes one suspect reciprocal influences between the word for 'beck' and that of the "tip", *omṭh*, *homṭ*, Beng. *thomṭ* (*oṣṭha-*).

The consonant of the word for the number "eight", which preserves the form *aṭh-* (*aṣṭa-*) before seven of the words for the tens (*aṭhrā*, *aṭṭhāvis*, etc.) has become a sonant where it had been in immediate contact with a surd : thence *aḍṭis* "38", *aḍsaṣ* "68" (law XI of Grammont). This relates not to dissimilation but to the differentiation of phonemes in contact.

The popular form *khaḍṇem* "to dig" should not be regarded as being due to the dissimilation of the nasals of *khaṇṇem* (*khan-*). This is a word of the same family to which belongs *khāḍā* (D. *khaḍḍa-*) "hole". The word *gadhā* is regularly derived from Skr. *gardabha-* and is independent of *gāḍhav*. Dissimilation is equally improbable in *kumḍal* for *kumḍaḷ*.

(form found in Gujarati and Panjabi), where it is legitimate (law XIV) : *kumḍal* is, no doubt, a simple tatsama.

On certain dissimilations anterior to Marathi, attested by the words for number, see § 217, 221, 223.

3. Dissimilation of Vowels

§ 171. When two *us* or *os* are successively found in the same word, the first generally is open : *kamod* tats. (*kumuda-*), *gamūtr* tats. (*gomūtra-*), *gahūṃ* (*godhūma-*); *catkor* or *colkar* for *colkor* (*cautha+kor*); *kaḷūt* (*kuputra-*) seems to be similarly made, although one may suspect here the pejorative Skr. prefix *kā-*; *garodar* (*guru-udara-*) probably contains the representative of Pkt. *garu-*. We may include here the probable case of the differentiation in *gaḷi* (*gopāla-*). Two *is* seem to be dissimilated in *vejit* tats. for *vijit*, *vehlā* (*vibhī-taka-*). In *niḍāl*, Pkt. *niḍāla* for *naḍāla-*, one should, no doubt, see therein an abusive insertion, besides old, of the preverb *ni-*.

Syllabic Superposition.

§ 172. The cases arising in the wake of the definition given by Grammont (*ibid.*, p. 147), at the contact of two morphologically different elements, of whom the latter recovers the former:

avakṇem, *avikṇem* for *ava-vikṇem* (of *pikṇem* "to mature"); *ekāmim* "in one turn", of *ek-kām-*, cf. *du-kām-* "in two turns";

kāmphaḷ "fruit of *kumbhā*", therefore : **kumbha-phala-*; *ketāḍ* "a type of palm" for *kekat-tāḍ* (according to Navalkar, p. 256).

gurākhyā "shepherd" from *gureṃ* "cattle" + *rākhyā* "guardian" (*ibid.*);

jānivasā "sojourn" (or "habitation") in the betrothed's house (or "the betrothed") : *janya-nivāsa*;

divāḷi "festival of lamps", from *divā* (Skr. *dīpa*) + *āvaḷi*;

dhuvaṇ "dirty water left after washing" beside *dhuvaṇi* (*dhuva+pāṇi*);

navrā "betrothed", from *nava+vara*;

nākāṭī, nākāṭṇī "action of lengthening (litt. cutting) the nose out of spite"; from *nāk + kāt-*;

nāṭem "relationship" from *jñāti-tva-*; anterior to Marathi;

pathvar "betrothed for the first time", popular for *prathama-var-* tats.;

rikāmā "empty, vain" from *rikā + kām* (*rikta-karma-*);

lakārī "polisher" from *lākh* (Skṛ. *lākṣā*) + *kār-*;

The abnormal instr. sing. of the pronominal Mar. word, *eṇem* "by him", arisen from *etena + anena* should, no doubt, be similarly interpreted.

III. The End and the Initial of the Word

§ 173. During the period of the formation of Marathi, the place of phonemes in the word has had a major influence on their evolution. As regards notably the end of the word, the fact has been noted à propos of the loss of old finals (§ 37 and ff.), of the quantity of the penultimate vowel (§ 40 ff.), of the formulae of contraction particular to the final consonants (§ 14), of the fate of the penultimate nasals (§ 66) and of the deaspiration of the finals (§ 88). But except in the case of adaptations of loan words to the system of the language (for ex. *rahā* < Pers. *rāh*; *ṭikīṭ* beside *ṭikaṭ* < Eng. *ticket*, see Navalkar, p. 59), in modern Marathi no phonetic change exclusive to the final is noticed. Similarly, the loss of aspiration, which is particularly frequent therein, does not uniquely depend on this place.

§ 174. The consonantal initial has remained free from change during all the periods (concerning the general history of *n* and *l* in the initial position, see § 132, 144).

The vocalic initial, on the contrary, has undergone a number of changes :

1. *e* and *o*, in the initial position, become diphthongs : *yeṇem* (*eti*), *yer* (*itara*) are generally written in this manner due to an orthographic caprice, but ordinarily the writing does not betray the diphthongisation, though recognised as being general (Molesworth, see under *yek* and *vo-*; cf. LSI, *Mar.*, p. 21, 168). According to a remark generally made, this is one of the traits by which Marathi recalls the Dravidian languages (Caldwell, *Comp. Gramm. of the Dravidian Langs.*, 2nd edn., p. 4).

2. During different periods, a brief initial vowel gets elided (cf. Beames, I, p. 176-180). In Sanskrit *pi-* beside *api* is an Indo-European doublet, on which is modelled *va* for *ava-* (Wackernagel, II § 29, *y*, *d*). It is possible that in Marathi the equivalence *o-* : *va-* in the initial position had something to do with the phenomenon in Sanskrit. Elsewhere the vocalic initial has dropped in Sanskrit in very few words (ibid, I, § 53, *c*, *d*). The origin of the word *apūpa*:- *pūpa* is not known. It should be noted that Marathi *puvā* and the corresponding words of other languages are derived from the shortest form. But the existence of the *saṃdhi* in Sanskrit and the change of initial vowels resulting therefrom show that the vocalic attack of the words does not show especial resistance in India. Thus the frequency of elision in Prakrit is explained without having recourse, with Wackernagel (*l. l.* and § 254), to the accent of intensity. The same frequency is found in the modern languages. Thus *l*, *a* is missing before a liquid in : *rahāṭ* (*araghaṭṭa*), *rān-* (*aranya-*), *riṭhā* (*aristaka-*), *lavḍā* (*alābu-*); 2, *u* has been lost during different periods in the prefix *upa-* : *pākhar* (*upaskara-*) is common to all the languages and attested since Deśī; but *baisṇem* (*upaviś-*) is a word fixed earlier to *vaṭhāṇ* (*upasthāna-* or *avasthāna-* ?) in, any case to *vahāṇ* (*upānah-*), *var* (*upari*). These words have, moreover, different aspects according to languages; 3, more recent are *bhitar* (*abhyantara-*), *hīlagṇem* (*abhi-lag-*); but these words are found in Hindi, and the dental *l* of the second is not regular. We have, thus, to do with loan words; but does *ṭhī*, attested in the *Ĵñāneśvarī*, come directly from *strī* (cf. Pkt. *thī*) or from Pkt. *iṭṭhī* ? In any case a popular form like *mop* for *amop* “much” (*māp-*) is certainly recent. Recent also are the *tat-samas* *nantar* “after” for *anantar*, *peksām* “in comparison with” for *apekṣām* : but it is, probably, not a true case of an apocope. These words have in reality, postpositions and *tyānantar*, *tyā-peksām*, the inevitable pronunciation of *tyāanantar*, *tyā-apekṣām* are naturally cut into *tyā+peksām*, *tya+nantar*.

There remain a number of changes, altogether isolated, like the loss of *y-* of the Skr. *yūkā*, M. *ū*, which is proper to Marathi today, but is found as far as Pali (Pischel, § 335) and the unexpected abbreviation and the decoloration of *ek* “one” in the compound *akrā* “eleven”, which is found under

variable forms in other languages of the family.

§ 175. Except for some irregularities, for which Marathi seems only exceptionally responsible, the Marathi word remains intact, at its two ends. It is, therefore, as a whole, independent in the sentence. Thereby is undoubtedly explained in part the relative archaism of its morphology and even the constitution of its sentence.

MORPHOLOGY

Generalities

§ 176. India has been a terrain particularly favourable for the general tendencies which have, in the majority of the Indo-European languages, led to the reduction and the normalisation of the grammatical forms (cf. Meillet, *Introduction* p. 410 ff.).

The prehistoric system of sonants, already altered a great deal during the Vedic epoch, is completely ruined today when *r* is lost. Later, the quantity and even the timbre of the vowels depend on their place in the word and lose all grammatical value. Since then the play of ancient vocal gradations has become impossible. Nothing comes to replace it. Because if, during any period, some accent of intensity has existed, in no case has it provoked in the stems new gradations like the French type *sire* : *sieur*, *seigneur* or *meurs* : *mourons*. As regards inflexion, the loss of final consonants, then the effacement of final vowels and the disappearance of intercalic consonants ruin the opposition between the stem and termination, and necessitate the establishment of a new inflexional system, with single stems and relatively much less numerous types of terminations (cf. Meillet, *ibid.*, p. 413-419).

§ 177. The grammatical category common to the noun and the verb, that of the number, has been affected, besides its conformity with the general march of the Indo-European dialects (Meillet, *ibid.*, p. 412). The dual disappeared very early. Undoubtedly classical Sanskrit preserves this number as it had been received from the Vedic and seems to have developed its use (Cuny, *Le nombre duel en grec*, p. 68). In all the texts written in the dialects near the real spoken language, however, this number is ignored. Since the epoch of Aśoka, the word for the number "two" has a form of the dual fixed in the nominative, but in the oblique cases it has the terminations of the plural (for ex. instr. *duvehi*) and the noun to which it refers is in the plural (for ex. *duve morā* "two peacocks", Girnar).

4). The same is exactly the case in Pali (Müller, *Pali Gram.*, 61-2) and in Prakrit (Pischel, § 360). It is, therefore, certain that since the 3rd century B.C. Indo-Aryan had lost the dual number in current usage.

On the contrary, the two subsisting numbers, singular and plural, are still clearly distinguished in Marathi. In one single case, that of the nominative masculine of the type *dev*, the singular is similar to the plural : M. *dev* represents simultaneously Skr. *devaḥ* and *devāḥ*. All the other nominal or verbal forms have remained distinct in the singular and in the plural.

DECLENSION

§ 178. Marathi has preserved, but by reducing and simplifying them to the utmost, the inflexional system of the Prakrit. Moreover, whether it is a question of the formation of the stems or of the grammatical categories, the old system had already been strongly reduced in the Middle-Indian.

Stems

§ 179. Sanskrit had preserved the gradations of the old sonants $y, v, r : i : u : r$; but the day r got mixed with a, i or u the declension of the old stems in $-r-$ must have been brought to that of the subsisting vocalic stems. This is the state shown by all the inscriptions of Aśoka, except that of Girnar (Senart, *Inscrip. de Piyadasi*, II, p. 338, 358, 389) and which is noted, including some archaisms, by the Prakrit literature (Pischel, § 389 ff.). As regards the declension of the stems in $-i-$ and $-u-$ which has continued longer (ibid, § 377 ff.), it has been, as will be seen, brought to that of the stems in $-ī$ and $-ū$ and brought to that of the feminines in $-ā$.

On the other hand, the loss of final consonants, combined with the opening of the intervocalic ones, has provoked in Prakrit the almost total disappearance of consonantal stems. Undoubtedly, in the declension of nouns in $-t$, $-n$ and $-s$, Prakrit texts still preserve, probably under the influence of the literary traditions, a large number of old forms, but the adaptations to the vocalic declension is, since Aśoka, the most frequent thing (Senart, op. cit., Müller, op. cit., p. 64-65, Pischel, § 355, 395 404-406, 409).

It is, therefore, the vocalic declension of Prakrit that is found to be the cause of the Marathi declension of all the nouns and adjectives and of all the pronouns other than the personal pronouns. In fact, Marathi knows of only two types of inflexion : 1, that of the nouns ending in a consonant, which go back to old stems in $-a-$ (fem. $-ā$), $-i-$ and $-ī-$, $-u-$ and $-ū-$; 2, that of the nouns ending in a long vowel resulting from a

contraction, notably in the enlarged stems where the vowels *-a-*, *-i-*, *-u-* had been followed by the suffix *-ka-* (on this see Pischel, § 598; Beames, II, p. 29 ff.; Grierson, I, § 13, 30, 37; Joshi, p. 17 ff.).

In all the cases, the radical is fixed and admits of only slight gradations consisting of quantitative variations depending on the place of the vowels in the word, and bereft of grammatical value. It is only the terminations which express the categories characteristic of declension.

Gender

§ 180. Prakrit has preserved, and Marathi has preserved in its turn, the distinction of three genders, which has been obliterated in most of the modern languages. Moreover, Marathi is not the only one to still possess the three genders; the same is true of Gujarati (and the dialects joined to it; see LSI, *Bhil Lang.*, p. 12; *Raj.*, p. 5, 331) and Sindhi. Except in these three languages, which constitute a continental group in the south-west, the neuter gender has disappeared everywhere in Aryan India, even in a speech with as many inflections in aspect as Sindhi. Elsewhere only isolated traces of grammatical gender remain: such as, in Hindi and no doubt in Panjabi, the termination of the nom.—acc. pl., which has been utilized for the declension of feminine nouns (Beames, II, p. 206 and § 187). Even at the eastern end of the domain, an entire group of dialects totally ignores the grammatical gender; it has disappeared from Bengali and Oriya since the earliest texts (Beames, II, p. 178, cf. p. 147); it is unknown in Assamese; its usage is restricted in Nepali and in the northern part of Bihar (LSI, *Bihari*, p. 38, 50) where the adjectives are invariable. We should, no doubt, see therein an inheritance of the languages spoken by the populations of these regions before their apprenticeship of the Indo-European. In fact, it is known that the Tibeto-Burmese does not have the grammatical gender (LSI, *Tibeto-Burman*, vol. I, p. 6; cf. the observations of Meillet concerning Armenian and I. *Gram. Comp. de l'arm. class.*, § 60). In any case the tendency to reduce the number of genders must have made its appearance very early in the eastern speeches. Pischel notes that

passage of the neuter nouns in *-a-* to masculine declension is very frequent in Māgadhī and altogether rare in other dialects (§ 357) : the nominative singular neuters in *-e* of the Aśokan inscriptions are witness to the passage to masculine declension (Senart, *Inscrip de Piyadasi*, II, p. 339).

Moreover, if Marathi preserves unchanged in its terminations the Indo-European distinction of genders, the use of forms therein also shows another influence. The distinction into animate and inanimate ones, appears at two points of Marathi syntax (LSI, *Munda and Drav. Lang.*, p. 280, 289). Firstly, the direct complementary noun of a verb is in the direct case, if it denotes a thing and in the oblique one followed by *s* or *lā* if it denotes a person. The animate beings other than men are included in either of these two categories (Joshi, § 458; Navalkar, § 490, 491). Secondly, the accord of the verb or of the predicative adjective, as will be seen, varies according to the nature of the beings designated by the substantives. Whatever be, besides, the origin of this distinction, Marathi is not the only language to apply it. We will see that in Sindhi the accord of the predicate is done more or less like Marathi. The rule regarding postpositions is found in other languages also : in Gujarati, (Tisdall, p. 33), Sindhi (Trumpp, p. 455 ff.) and Hindi (Kellogg, § 678), etc.

Cases

§ 181. The same languages, that have lost the category of the gender, have also, more or less, lost all causative terminations (Beames, II, p. 227 ff). Marathi, on the contrary, like the majority of the languages of the family, has preserved a part of the old inflexion and has used it for constructing a new system.

From the moment when the final vowels lost their quantity and then their characteristic timbre a progressive confusion of the monosyllabic finals was bound to follow. The fact is chiefly apparent in the declension of masc.-neutre nouns in *-a-* and fem. in *-ā*, that is precisely in the type of declension which has, little by little, supplanted all other types. Hence the need felt by Prakrit for new differentiations : the abl. sing. *-āt*, which disappeared quite early, is enlarged to *-ādo*,

āo by the use of the old adverbial Skr. termination *-taḥ*; the accusative plural in *-ān* is replaced by the pronominal accusative in *-e* (Pkt. *te*; cf. the acc. in *-āni*, Asokan East., etc.) and the nominative-accusative plural of feminine nouns in *-āḥ*, which became similar to the nominative singular when the final aspiration was lost, is enlarged to *-āo* by the cumulation or assimilation of the terminations. Imitating the same the nominative masc. plural undergoes similar changes, etc. Of all these adaptations tried by literary Prakrit, very few have survived, but they show a moving state of the language, where with the old terminations getting disintegrated, it became necessary to reduce their number or to make them more consistent. This second tendency is that of literature, which is naturally conservative. It is the first one that has prevailed in the real speeches, which have developed into modern languages.

§ 182. First of all, the nominative, the vocative and the accusative have got mixed in one single case, the direct one. The vocative singular subsists in the nouns in *-a-* only with an artificial lengthening of the final vowel or gets mixed with the nominative (Pischel, § 366 b). In the feminines in *-ā*, the vocative in *-e*, the only one known to Vararuci, also quickly enough cedes the place to the nominative (Pischel, § 375). As regards the nominative-accusative group, there subsists almost no distinction the moment the vowels are so abridged that nasality is no longer marked therein; only in the masculine singular *devu* has, perhaps, been distinct from *deva(m)* for the longest period. But whether this nasality had brought in a slight closing of the vowel (this fact is surely known only for the languages of the type of Apabhramśa see § 39) or whether the group has undergone the effect of the analogy of others, the general result is a unique form of the nom.-acc.-voc. for each number :

	sing.	pl.
masc.	<i>deva- devaṃ</i>	<i>devāḥ-devān</i>
neut.	<i>sūtraṃ</i>	<i>sūtrāṇi</i>
fem.	<i>mālā-mālāṃ</i>	<i>mālāḥ (mālāo)</i>

These considerations, which would find their counterparts, if the stems in *-i* and *-u* were to be examined, explain the formation in Marathi and in a general manner in the modern

languages of a direct case, which at least in the nouns ending in a consonant, is finally felt as the form itself of the word (cf. Meillet, *Introduction*, p. 413).

This case designates the subject and the object of the verb, irrespective of the nature of this object (Laddu, JRAS, 1910, p. 871).

§ 183. Among other cases, those expressing concrete relationships have, in conformity with a general tendency common to the Indo-European languages, progressively disappeared from usage (Meillet, *ibid.*, p. 425). Since Sanskrit, are established various equivalences in the use of different cases (Speyer, *Ved. u. Sanskr. Syntax*, § 53-5, 73-4, 82, 84). This is the first stage in the history of the mixing of the indirect cases, for which so very frequent examples are offered by a text like the *Mahāvastu* (see the notes of the Senart edn., *passim*). In Marathi, remain only traces of the old instrumental, of the locative and of the ablative. The real relationships are expressed during the modern period by the postpositions fixed to an unique oblique case, the substitute of the old genitive and dative cases.

These two cases were frequently used with the same value in Sanskrit (Speyer, *ibid.*, § 43, 71, 72). Even in the language of the Brahmins, the termination of the genitive-ablative fem. sing. (class. Skr. *-āḥ*) got mixed up in all the cases with the termination of the dative in *-ai* (Whitney, § 365 d). In Buddhist Sanskrit, we find in a text as old as the *Dīpāvadāna* constructions as given below : *tasya tatvārāṇa-
jijāmi* "I will put this *on* him" (p. 510) and *bahir vihāra-
ya* "out side the monastery" (p. 490). Confusions of the same type are, for still stronger reasons, more numerous in the *Mahāvastu* (see the notes to I, 123, 130; 309, 10, etc.). In Pali and in Prakrit the unification is almost complete and the genitive generally replaces the dative (Müller, *Pali Gram.*, p. 67, Pischel, § 361). It is, therefore, the genitive alone or joined to a word determining the special shade of the meaning to be expressed, which we expect at the base of the modern oblique case.

The same is definitely the case, atleast in the plural. All the Indo-Aryan languages, not only of Gangetic India or of the Indus (Beames, II, p. 218 ff.), but also the speeches

of the N.W. mountains (Grierson, *Pis. Lang.*, p. 33) and Romany (the hypothesis of Miklosich, XI, p. 4 does not take into account the parallelism with the singular, nor the uniformity of the termination across different types of inflexion), as also Simhalese (Geiger, § 34, IV, § 36, IV) present an oblique plural going back to the old genitive.

In the singular, the accord is far from being the same. No doubt, it is still the genitive which is found in the oblique of certain speeches of the far N.W., notably Kashmiri (see Grierson, *l. l.*) and probably Romany, if we have to decide from the opposition of the masc. *rakles* : fem. *rakl'a*, which recalls, very closely, the Sanskrit *-asya:-yāḥ* (Miklosich puts forward this interpretation very timidly in so far as it concerns the masculine and leaves the termination of the feminine completely unexplained, *ibid.*, p. 3, 12). It is not impossible that the same may be the case in Simhalese although Geiger explains in this manner only the masculine (§ 34, II) and for the feminine appeals to the termination of the accusative (§ 36, II; however, it is, at best, possible that *-a* goes back to Skr. *-āyāḥ*; cf. *kā < kāya-*, § 3, 1). But in the central languages, the explanation meets with serious difficulties. The passage of *-s-* to *-h-* which is to be invoked for explaining the termination of the oblique masculine, is in-admissible in the majority of cases. Among modern languages, Simhalese—where moreover the form *-asa* is preserved in the old inscriptions—and on the continent Sindhi and Panjabi alone admit this change. Prakrit also does not allow it : the *-aha*, *-āho* of Apabhramśa could only be the transcription of a modern form, probably western. In the ancient period, the termination *-aha* is exclusive to Māgadhī and besides obscure (Pischel, § 366, cf. § 264). Moreover, the survival of the old *s* in the pronominal oblique cases of Hindi *kis*, *tis*, cf. Pkt. *kissa*, does not allow us to admit its disappearance in other cases.—One may be even led to suppose a number of abnormal phonetic developments in the terminations of the feminine gender.

Only the old terminations of the dative enable us to render account of the forms of the oblique singular in Marathi and in the Gangetic group, without making an appeal to accessory hypotheses. Despite the general tendency of Prākṛit to help

the genitive triumph over the dative, the survival of this case in the singular is not impossible to admit. First of all, normal Prākṛit itself offers a striking example of the opposition of the *dative sing.*; *genitive pl.* in the pronominal declension : with regard to the plural *amhāṇam*, it preserves in the singular, beside *mama*, the form *majjham*, arisen from the old dative *mahyam*. Now it is this last form which has proved to be imbued with the greatest amount of vitality, because it furnishes the oblique of the personal pronouns in a large number of modern central languages (M. *majh-*, H. *mujh*, etc., see Beames, II, 304 ff.; in the group of the North-West,—see Grierson, op. cit., p. 45; Miklosich, op. cit., p. 22—and in Sinhalese,—see Geiger, § 47, 1—the pronominal declension is formed according to other principles. On the other hand, the fact that Vararuci, in agreement in this matter with the oldest Prakrit texts, completely prohibits the usage of the dative, whereas Hemacandra admits the same precisely in the singular (III, 132), as was the case with Pali for expressing the intention, seems to prove that there had existed in real usage, a tradition which had been, at first, resisted by literature but to which it had finally to adapt itself. Since then the replacement, pointed out above, of the termination of the fem. gen.—abl. by that of the dative in the language of the Brahmins seems to be the first manifestation of a more general evolution, dissimulated by mediaeval literary tradition.

This origin of the oblique case explains its use : in the oldest texts, it acts, simultaneously, as the genitive (examples in the preface of *Māḍgāṃvkar* in the edition of the *Jñāneśvarī*, p. 14-15) and as the dative (ibid., p. 11; cf. *Jñān.*, III, 67; X, 91, 106; XIII 453, 505; XIV, 44; XV, 193; XVI, 471-72-3; XVIII, 1289, 1327, 1331, etc.; the Patan inscription, : *maḍhā dinhalā* “given to the temple”. The oblique has taken the value of the universal indirect case only later on, when the usage of the postposition had spread and when the old indirect cases had totally disappeared. During the old period it is the direct case, the veritable accusative, which accompanies *vāṃcūṇī* “except” (*hem-iśvaru*, etc., *Jñān.*, edn. of *Māḍgāṃvkar*, p. 15-16), and the instrumental which is formed with *sim* “with”, p. 14) and *vīṇa* “without” (ibid., p. 16).

§ 184. The group of two cases, direct and oblique, thus

constitutes the essential of Marathi inflexion. We have still to study, however, its different types.

1. *The Group : direct case, oblique case*

I

§ 185. The declension of Marathi nouns ending in a consonant goes back to that of the masc. and neuter nouns in *-a-*, and that of the feminines in *-ā* and *-ī* of Sanskrit.

§ 186. The prototype of the declension of the masculines in *-a-* is constituted in Sanskrit as given below :

	Sing.		Pl.
nom.	<i>devaḥ</i> (<i>devo</i>)	nom.	<i>devāḥ</i>
dat.	<i>devāya</i>	gen.	<i>devānām</i>
from there in Prākṛit :			
	<i>deva</i>		<i>devā</i>
	<i>devāa</i>		<i>devāṇaṃ</i>

The development in Marathi :

Direct case	<i>dev</i>	<i>dev</i>
Oblique case	<i>devā</i>	<i>devāṃ</i>

The old nominative singular in *-o* is preserved in the pronominal adjectives *jo*, *to* : these are then the archaisms common to all the cognate languages (Beames, II, p. 315) and are due to the monosyllabic character of these words. The same nominative is found, no doubt under the influence of pronouns, in the present participles adapted to conjugation and finally in the words wherein the last consonant is *h*. This final *-o* has been preserved for protecting the aspiration (*loho*, *lāho*, etc.). The intermediary stage of *devu* type is noted in the Apbhramśa and is in current use in old Marathi, as in the majority of related languages during the old epoch. This is the form noted by Al-biruni towards 1000 A. D. (cf. Al-biruni, *India*, transln. of Sachau, II, p. 258-59). Today it is preserved only in Sindhi : in this language where the final vowels are still showing resistance, the distinction of the nominative sing. and plural is still clear (*devu* : *deva*). Similarly Romany has lost the final in the singular but has preserved it in the plural (*cor* : *cora*). Western Panjabi has preserved a trace of the old opposition in the gradation of the

type *kukkur* - *kukkar* (Pkt. *kukkuḍo* : *kukkuḍā*). Except these languages, the differentiation between the singular and plural has been everywhere effaced as in Marathi.

The contraction of the group *-āya* of the oblique singular has resulted in *-ā* as in Marathi, Sindhi, Western Panjabi (where is found the form *kukkur* < **kukkurā*) and Maithili. Except in these dialects, the oblique is similar to the direct case in all the languages which have not preserved the old genitive.

§ 187. The declension of neuter nouns in *-a-* is in Sanskrit identical to that of the masculines, except in nom.-acc., which have the forms given below :

singular	Skr. <i>sūtram</i>	>	Pkt. <i>sullam</i>
plural.	Skr. <i>sūtrāṇi</i>	>	Pkt. <i>suttāiṃ</i>

From where in Marathi we have,

singular	<i>sūt</i>
plural	<i>suteṃ</i>

In Gujarati, as in Marathi, the form of neuter nouns is similar to that of the masculines (this explains the confusion of *devo* and *devam*, cf. § 182). Sinhalese, on the contrary, opposes the masc. *-ā* to neut. *-a* (the termination of the masc. is obscure; see Geiger, § 33, I, § 36).

In the plural contraction has occurred differently at Goa, where the termination of the neut. pl. is *-āṃ*. The termination of common Marathi is found in that of Hindi fem. pl. *-eṃ*; that of Goanese in the same termination of the Panjabi fem. pl. *-āṃ*. Gujarati has no trace of the old termination of the neut. plural. It is replaced by the termination *-o*, which is found in this language, optionally, in all the genders. It should be understood that Gujarati has enlarged a zero termination found for example in the *Mugdhātābodhamauktika* (written in 1394, see LSI, Guj., 4 .354). Like Gujarati, Sinhalese has eliminated the old termination of the plural and has had to take recourse to new methods (Geiger, § 38, II).

§ 188. Most of the masc. and neut. nouns in *-i* and *-u* have been enlarged into *-ika-*, *-uka-*. Among those that have subsisted, those in *-u-* are declined like the ones in *-a-* : *ūs* (*ikṣu-*) and *bund* (*bindu-*), *moh* (*madhu-*) are declined as *dev*, *cor* or *sūt*. Those in *-i* have had a different fate (we can

not identify M. *hād*, neut. and Skr. *asthi*-; neither M. *laṭh* masc. and Skr. *yaṣṭi*-). They have been assimilated with the feminines in *-i*; thus we have M. *āg* fem. < Skr. *agni*- masc.

§ 189. The prototype of the declension of the fem. nouns in *-ā* is constituted by the following forms of Sanskrit :

	Singular	Plural
nom.	<i>iṣṭā</i>	<i>iṣṭāḥ</i>
dat.	<i>iṣṭāyai</i>	gen. <i>iṣṭāṇam</i>

On examining this table it becomes immediately clear that at the loss of final aspiration, there remained nothing to distinguish the nominative plural from the nominative singular. This led in Prākṛit to the development of a declension where the totality of the nominatives of the three genders appeared as follows :

	Singular	Plural
masc.	<i>devo</i>	<i>devā</i>
fem.	<i>iṣṭā</i>	<i>iṣṭā</i>
neut.	<i>suttam</i>	<i>suttāim</i>

Thus the feminine nominative plural no longer remained distinct, neither from the nominative singular of the same gender, nor from the masculine nominative plural. This was a paradoxical state which could not have endured. Therefore, when the reduction of the genders in the dialects of the Māgadhi type took place, the termination of the nominative plural neuter was adapted for the paradigm of the feminine nouns, to which even today Hindi and Panjabi bear witness.¹ From there also we have the enlargements in *-āyo* and *-āo*. The former, exceptional in Aśoka and usual in Pali, seems to have been formed in imitation of the feminine nominatives in *-īyo* (this was the only form which was not the same in the two inflexions; cf. Johansson, *Der Dial. der Shāhbazgarhi-redaktion*, II, p. 55; V. Henry, *Gram. pālie*, § 160). The second, common in Prākṛit, is the culmination of the former, rather than the result of a cumulation of the terminations as is suggested by Pischel (§ 367, 376; cf. *-āyai* > *-āe*). We have, therefore, to propose as the origin of the Marathi inflexion the following forms of Prākṛit :

1. In these languages, substitution could have been favoured by the honorific use of the neuter in place of the feminine, as is found in Marathi and Gujarati; cf. *infra*.

Singular	Plural
<i>iṭṭā</i>	<i>iṭṭāo</i>
<i>iṭṭāe</i>	<i>iṭṭāṇam</i>

Thence in Marathi :

	Singular	Plural
Direct case	<i>iṭ</i>	<i>iṭā</i>
Oblique case	<i>iṭe</i>	<i>iṭām</i>

The plural of Kashmiri *māla* (Sim. *māl*) and that of Romany (-*ya*, that is to say, -*i* -*a*) agrees with the Marathi form.

Here again we find in Goanese and in Gujarati another culmination of the contraction : the nom. pl. herein is in -*o*; in Sindhi both the forms are found : *ā* and *ū* according to the dialects (Trumpp., p. 109). Nowhere except in Marathi has been preserved the form of the oblique sing. distinctly from that of the direct case in the central languages. Kashm. *māli* (Pkt. *mālāe* ?) seems to be related to the Marathi form ; cf. Romany -*ya*.

§ 190. The prototype of the declension of the feminine nouns in -*ī* is constituted by the following forms of Sanskrit :

	Singular		Plural
nom.	<i>rātri</i>	nom.	<i>rātryo</i>
dat.	<i>rātryai</i>	gen.	<i>rātriṇām</i>

When *y* in a group with an occlusive lost its articulation, in place of the old *y*, *i* was established everywhere. This gave the Prākṛit forms :

<i>rattī</i>	<i>rattio</i>
<i>rattīe</i>	<i>rattīṇam</i>

These forms culminate in Marathi in the paradigm given below :

<i>rāt</i>	<i>rattio</i>
<i>rattīe</i>	<i>rattīṇam</i>

Sindhi presents a comparable declension: the nom.sing. *bhitē*, pl. *bhitēū*; obl. sing. *bhitē*, pl. *bhit (i)ē* (Trumpp. ibid., p. 110, 128). Cf. the plural of West. Panjabi in -*im* (*akkhi*, etc.). Kashmiri offers a striking parallelism with Marathi, that is the nom. sing. *rāth*, dative sing. and nom. pl. *rōṭṣū*, dat. pl. *roṭṣūn* (Grierson, *Manual of the Kashmiri Lang.*, p. 32).

II

§ 191. The declension of Marathi nouns in *-ā, ī, -ū*, *o* is based on the same principles as the consonantal declension. These nouns come from Sanskrit nouns where the penultimate vowel being *a, i, u*, the last consonant of the stem is lost. The final vowels then get contracted according to the rules set out in § 60. To this declension belong in particular the nouns and adjectives with enlargement of the types *-a-ka-*, *-i-ka-*, *-u-ka-*, which are extremely frequent and always have a living formation.

The terminations then take on the following aspect :

1. Nouns in *-a*.

Masculines in Prākṛit : *-ayo* *ayā > -aya*
-ayāya *-ayāṇam*

From where, in Marathi, the terminations :

-ā *-e*
-eā, yā *eām, yām*

Neuters : only the nominatives differ. In Prākṛit they are :

-ayam *-ayāim*

whence in Marathi :

-em *īm.*

The feminine nouns in *-ā* are all borrowed. They are declined as the nouns ending in a consonant, derived from old nouns in *-ā*.

2. Nouns in *-i*. Masculines :

In Prākṛit : *iyō* *-iyā*
-iyāya *-iyāṇam*

whence in Marathi :

-ī *-ī*
yā *yām*

The nominative neuters are :

Pkt. *-iyam > Mar. -īm*

Pkt. *-iyāim > Mar. -yem.*

Feminines.—The final feminine in Skt. *-ikā*, rare in Vedic (F. Edgerton, *The k-Suffixes of Indo-Iranian*, I, p. 58, cited by Meillet, *Bul. Soc. Ling.*, 59, p. LIV), has had in Sanskrit (specially in western Sanskrit, see S. Lévi, *Īrtakā* 1012 n. 513) as in Iranian a greater develop-

ment in course of time and is used as the normal termination of the feminine gender in the enlarged nouns and adjectives of modern Indo-Aryan. Its forms in Prākṛit are :

<i>iyā</i>	<i>-iyāo</i>
<i>iyāe</i>	<i>-iyāṇam</i>

Whence in Marathi :

<i>-ī</i>	<i>-yā</i>
<i>-ie, -ī</i>	<i>-yām</i>

The nom. sing. in *-e* has been preserved in the pronouns of poetic language : *te* or *tī* "she".

The oblique sing. *-ie*, common also in the poetic language, is preserved only for the words, *strī* (tats.) and *bī* (*bīja-*).

3. The etymologically regular paradigms of the nouns in *-u-*, obtained according to the same principles as those of the nouns in *-i-*, are as given below :

Singular	Plural
m. <i>-ū</i> , n. <i>-ūṁ</i> , f. <i>-ū</i>	m. <i>-ū</i> , n. <i>-veṁ</i> , f. <i>-vā</i>
m. n. <i>-vā</i> , f. <i>-ve</i>	m.f.n. <i>-vām</i> .

These forms are all partially preserved, but several analogies have disturbed the regularity of the system. Firstly, the oblique sing. fem. has as the oblique sing. of the feminines in *-ī*, become similar to the direct case. On the other hand, the plural direct case of the feminines is reduced to *-ū*, no doubt in imitation of the masculines, whereas the oblique case sing. masc. became, in its turn, similar to the direct case as that of the feminines. Thence as inflexion of the masc.—fem. constituted as follows : direct case sing. and plural *-ū*; oblique case, sing. *-ū*, pl. *-vām*. It can be easily explained that the last stage of levelling, marked by the oblique pl. *-ūṁ* (obtained according to the types in masc. neut. sing. *-ā*, pl. *-ām*, fem. sing. *-ī*, pl. *-īm* or sing. *-yā*, pl. *-yām*) be affected in a large number of cases.

The old declension in masculine is preserved only in a small number of cases (whose list, besides, differs according to the grammarians; see for ex. Joshi, p. 98-77; Navalkar, p. 65). In the feminines, the old inflexion is legitimate only in the Konkan. Finally in the neuters is observed a growing interference of the terminations coming from the terminations in *-a-* : the commonest result is as given below :

<i>-ūṁ</i>	<i>-eṁ</i>
<i>-ū</i> or <i>-ā</i>	<i>-yām</i>

In the present state of research, it is impossible to follow the detailed history of these changes.

2. *Traces of other old terminations*

§ 192. In addition to the terminations preserved in living inflexion, and examined upto here, Marathi has preserved certain traces of old indirect cases, beside the genitive and the dative.

Instrumental

§ 193. In various languages, there seem to exist certain forms of the instrumental, whose origin is doubtful (Beames, II, p. 224, Grierson, *Intr. to Maith. Lang.*, p. 44-45). Only in the group of the South-West, there remain certain surely old traces thereof. In Simhalese only the termination *--ena* has remained, which under the form *-en*, *-in* is found in the sing. neut. of the nouns and in the word *visin* (*vaśēna*) used as a postposition. It is this very termination which one is tempted to recognise in old Gujarati sing. *-im*, *ūm*, and in modern forms like *śem* "by whom?". Lastly, in Marathi the instrumental has been a living case in the old period of the language, and there remain certain fixed forms during the modern period. The terminations of old Marathi also belong to the declension of the nouns in *-a*; but they include those of the singular and plural masc.-neut. and of singular feminine.

1. The termination of the instr. sing. masc.-neut. is *-em* < Skr. *-ena*. In the *Ĵñāneśvari*, its examples are numerous. In the old inscriptions are found *Cāvuṇḍarājem* "by the king Cāvuṇḍa" (Śravaṇa Belgola), *gādhvem* "by an ass" (Parel), *bāyakem* "by a woman", *senavaiem* "by the general", *devem* "by the god", *rāem* "by the king", etc. (Pandharpur); *māpem* "according to (with ?) the measure" (Patan).

This termination, in Marathi as everywhere, is almost the only one whose notable traces have survived in the modern period. It is found in the words used as postpositions like *pramāṇem* "the manner of", *mūlem* "because of", *saṃgem* "in the company of, with", probably *nem* "by means of" (*naya-?*), *savem* and *śim* "with" (Skr. *samam*, *sahitam* with the termination

of the instrumental, due to the influence of meaning) and in the forms joined to the post-position *karūṇ* "thanks to that", for ex. *teṇem karūṇ* "thanks to that" (the termination *-em* has been extended to other types of inflexion; *aplyā kṛpeṇ karūṇ* "by your favour" (see Navalkar, § 353, note).

2. In the plural, the termination is *-īm* (Pkt. *-ehim*, Skr. *-ebhiḥ*). Its examples are rare since the oldest texts : *Jñāneśvarī* : *donhīm* "by both" (XVIII, 245, cited by Māḍgāṃvkar), *cinhīm* "by the signs" (XVI, 14); inscrip of Pandharpur: *bhaṭīm*, *paṇḍitīm*. In the modern language *nīm*, postposition of the instrumental plural, is the plural form of *neṇ*.

3. In the feminine singular, the termination is *-ā*. Māḍgāṃvkar has given numerous examples thereof in his edition of the *Jñāneśvarī*, p. 12-13. It will suffice to cite here *voja* "by honour", *ātmasukhāciyā goḍiyā* "due to the taste of the egoist pleasure"; similarly, in the inscription of Pandharpur, *deviā* "by the goddess". Probably it is this termination, which is found again in the adverb *heḷā* (Skr. *helayā*) "easily".

The origin of this form is less clear than that of the masculine terminations. There is in Prākṛit, beside the oblique in *-ae*, a termination of the instr.-gen.-loc. in *-āa*, which Vararuci does not accept, but which is preserved in the texts and to which Hemacandra is finally led to lend his authority (Pischel, § 375). It is probably the same termination as the Pali *-āya*, which has the values of instrumental, genitive, ablative and dative. This termination has most probably its origin in the contamination of gen. -abl. *-ayāḥ*, loc. *-āyām* and instr. *-ayā*, where the first vowel has been lengthened by analogy with other cases, as has been lengthened the *-i* of the fem. pl. Pkt. termination *-īo*. It is this Pali termination *-āya*, Pkt. *-āa*, which we should undoubtedly recognise in the instr. fem. in *-ā*.

Since the oldest period, the instrumental plural is missing for the feminine. It is the oblique which replaces the same (*vividhām pūjām* "by different homages"). It is again the oblique which is used in the plural for the enlarged masculine and neuter nouns and adjectives in *-ā*: *-em* (*śrotām* "by the listeners"; *aīsām cinhīm* "by such signs").

In the masc. neut. nouns and adjectives in *-ā* : *-em*, the instrumental singular in old Marathi takes a particular form, which at first view looks to be a tatsama. Thus in the

Pāṭan inscription we have : *mādhīcena māpem* "according to the measure used in the temple" and in the Jñāneśvarī *vārena* (= *vāryā nem* "by wind", XIII, 24). But in reality the termination is *-nī*. The form *-na* is only a variant, though a rare one thereof. Besides the constancy of the groups of the type of *mohem mājireni* ("due to bewilderment and folly", XIV, 253), *taisenī jñānem* ("by this knowledge", XVIII, 1100) does not lend much of probability to the á priori restitution of the Sanskrit termination in cases, that are so clearly defined. We have to recognise here the oblique in *-e*, constant in the old texts, followed by a postposition with *n* as initial, no doubt precisely the one that has taken the extension, known to us, in the modern language under the form *nem* : *nīm*. Thence the confusion that has occurred in certain editions : thus in place of *jānateni* "by one who knows", I, 25, the popular editions have *jānate nem*. It is the same postposition which is used, since the oldest texts, with the nouns in *-u*, that is to say, with the enlarged nouns in *-ū*, ex. *vāyūni*.

Locative

§ 194. There are in old Marathi two terminations for the locative, both in the singular : one is *īm* and is used with nouns ending in consonants, ex. *pāsīm*, masc. "on the coast, near", *velīm*, fem. "at the time of, in time", *gharīm*, neuter "in the house". The other is used with the masc.-neut. in *-ā*, *-em* : ex. *gaḷām*, masc. "in the throat", *cāndinām* "in the moonlight", and for adjectives of the same type; ex. *āṃgīm mājhyām* "in my body" (Jñān., VI, 139), *prathamīm*, *dujām*, *cauthīm* (ib., X, 24; cf. the examples cited by Māḍgāṃdkar, p. 15), *īyām pāṭanīm* "in this town of Patan" (inscrip. of 1128 śaka). It will suffice to recall here the principles for the declension of nouns ending in a consonant and those ending in a long vowel for putting aside the hypothesis of the identity of the two terminations : the two have different origins and have been adapted to two types of inflexion.

Simhalese also has two terminations for the locative, both used with neuter nouns and arbitrarily distributed. According to Geiger, one goes back to Skr. *-e* and the other to Pali *-amhi* (Geiger, § 38, I, 3). And in fact, in the Prākṛit usage

the two terminations in *-e* and *-mmi* co-exist in the texts without any possibility of any principle of distribution being recognised therein (Pischel, § 366a). If these are the terminations that are found in Marathi, it should be admitted that as regards the former, during the period when final *-e* became *-i* (cf. Pkt. *ahme*, M. *āhmī*), this *i* has, probably, been nasalised under the influence of other terminations, like that of the instrumental in *-em* or of the neighbouring locative in *-ām*, which has enabled it to subsist.

On the other hand, the identification of the termination *-ām* with Pkt. *-ammi* creates phonetic difficulties. The reduction of *-mm-* to *-m-*, itself declining, is altogether abnormal. Should we see herein a special treatment for the end of the word? Even in this case, it is difficult to understand as to why the final *-i* has not tinged the preceding vowel as in *-em*, the termination of the neut. pl. (Skr. *-āmi*) or of the first pers. sing. (Skr. *-āni*).

Other languages do not present any element for solving this problem. In Panjabi, we find a sing. term. *-om* and pl. *-im*. Beames sees in the form of the singular an ablative. In this case the nasality herein would have come from the plural termination which would have been, not the equivalent of the Marathi locative singular, but an instrumental (Pkt. *-ehim*, M. *-īm*; in the text of Beames, II, p. 223, line 6 from below, read *is now...* in place of *is not restricted*.)

The locative singular in *-i*, on the contrary, is found in many places. Sindhi has preserved it in the masculine nouns in *-u* (Trumpp, p. 120) and the same is the case in Gujarati (LSI, *Guj.*, p. 354). This *-i* had normally been destined to be everywhere dropped. This is why the poems of Tulsi Das abound in locatives without terminations. In the nouns enlarged into *-au* (Pkt. *ao*, M. *-ā*), the locative regularly takes in old Gujarati the form *-ai* (LSI, *Guj.*, p. 356). The form in *-e*, which in modern Gujarati has the value of the instrumental and of the locative (*ghode* beside *ghodā-e*) undoubtedly represents this termination contaminated with that of the Pkt. ablative in *-āhi*. It is legitimate to suppose that this very confusion explains the Apabhramśa termination in *-ahim* like the terminations of old Maithilī in *ahi*, *-ahim* (> *e*, *em*; Grierson, *Introduction to the Maithilī Dial.*, § 73). Or. and Beng. *-e* go

go back to this termination and not to the Skr. *-e* (Beames, II, p. 223). The Marathi form in *-īm* is independent thereof.

The terminations of the locative as such are dead in modern Marathi. The termination *-īm* is, however, retained in a fixed form in words like *gharīm*, *pāṣīm*, *veḷīm*. The form in *-ām* furnishes the forms derived from present participles of the type *pāhtām* "on seeing", *kāritām* "for". The distinction of stems is not clearly felt in the Konkan, where one says *śetām* (from *śet*, Skr. *kṣetra-*), *garām* (M. *gharīm*), see LSI, Marathi, p. 174.

Ablative

§ 195. The ablative masc.-neut. singular in *-āt* has disappeared from India and Ceylon. It seems to subsist only in Romany *-al* (Miklosich, XI, p. 5). The Prakrit *-āo*, which has replaced it, is the base of Sindhi *-āu* (Trumpp., p. 118; according to Beames II, p. 225, the modern termination *-ām* is identical to the same. In the case, it would have been felt like a postposition as it is added to the oblique plural), probably also of Panjabi loc. sing. *-om* cited above and postpositions of the type, Hindi *ko*, Sindhi *khaum*, *khām*, etc. (Grierson, KZ, XXXVIII, p. 476).

It seems clear that it is the same termination, Pkt. *-āo*, combined with the affix-word *-ni*, *-n*, (p. 204, 261) in the ablative singular of old Marathi in *-auni*, *-onī*, (*meghauni* "of the cloud", *divūni* "since the day", etc.), which subsist uniquely in the words of grammatical function like *kaḍūn*, *pāsūn* (see M. *pāsauni*) "on the side (of)", *āmtūn* "from within" (cf. Beng. abl. in *-tun* ?) or the adverbs like *māgūn* "after". The poetry and the texts of the Mānbhāv sect have preserved, for marking the ablative with the value of *pāsūn*, a form *pāsāv* which clearly seems to be the ablative of the word *pās* in the pure state. The absence of all aspiration in these old forms and the rarity in the old texts of the juxtaposition, oblique+gerundive of the verb, "to be" *hoūn* (mod. *hūn*), renders improbable the current explanation whereby old M. *-ūn* would be a form derived from the modern one in *-hūn* (cf. Beames, II, p. 234). As will be seen, on the contrary

the inverse is more probable. Old M. *-āo* normally culminates in modern M. *-ā*. This renders possible the explanation of the postposition *lā* "for" by a word in the ablative; see *infra*. § 200.

§ 196. Thus, except the gen. -dative, old Marathi preserved only some old terminations of indirect cases. Even the little thus left has been reduced to almost nothing during the modern period. The concrete relationships and some of the grammatical relationships must have been then accompanied by affix-words, which we have still to examine.

3. Postpositions

§ 197. The reduction in the number of cases, in conformity with a law, observed more than once (cf. Bréal, *Sémantique*, 3rd edn., p. 14 cited in Meillet, *De quelques innovations...* p. 28), has coincided with an increasingly constant usage of accessory words destined to specify the shades of meaning left in obscurity by the use of an unique indirect case. In classical Sanskrit, the number of old indeclinable prepositions gets restricted, but on the other hand, an ever increasing number of nouns fixed in one of their cases and the gerundives shed off, little by little, their original meaning and are used to explain periphrastically the usual relationships (Speyer, *Ued. u. Sanskr. Syntax*, § 89, 91, 93). This then is the origin of the words or particles fixed to Marathi nouns, which give to modern declension what is incorrectly known as its terminations.

Some of these affixes are clear, such as the word *var* "on", Skr. *upari* : this is the only old indeclinable preserved by the popular language. Similar again are the various forms of the words *-āmt* "inside" (loc. *āmt*, abl. *āmtūn*, Skr. *antah*), *kaḍ* "side" (obl. *kaḍe*, abl. *kaḍūni*, Skr. *kaṭi-*), *ghar* "house" (loc. *ger* "with" in Konkani, LSI, *Mar.*, p. 174), *pās* "side" (loc. *pāsīm*, abl. *pāsūn*, Skr. *pārśva-*), *māg* "route" (instr. *māgem*, abl. *māgūn*, Skr. *mārga-*), or the gerundives like *vāmcun* "except", *hoūn*, *hūn* "from (abl.)". Others like *-si*, *-tem*, *lā* "to, towards", *nem*, pl. *nīm* "by" are obscure. That is why grammarians are in the habit of classifying them differently : "What distinguishes a termination from a postposition, says Joshi, is that

the former is not a word, as it has no meaning by itself. It acquires a meaning only in conjunction with the word to which it is affixed" (*Compreh. Gram.* S 209). He also recognises that some of the postpositions, such as *lāgiṃ*, *sāthiṃ*, have no independent existence during the modern period and have the role of true terminations.

Such is, for example, the case of *-ṃt* "termination" of the modern "locative". In reality, this is the word *-āṃt* "interior", which comes either from Skr. *antram*, which is known in Sanskrit only in the sense of "entrails", cf. *antara-* "interior" or from Skr. *antaḥ* (Pali and Prākṛit *anto*) "inside". In old Marathi this word is still independent. We find in the *Jñāneśvarī*, *gāṃvā āṃtu*, VI, 311; *sarpakuḷā āṃt*, X, 242; *akṣarāṃ āṃt*, X, 269; *guḍhāṃ āṃt*, X, 298 (here the words are separated by the rhythm : *guḍhāṃ* rhymes with *puḍhāṃ*) and even with the intercalation of a particle, *tayā āghaveyāṃ ci āṃt*, XI, 586 (in *varṣāṃtīṃ*, XV, 285, it is the locative of *-anta-* : "at the end of the rains"). Are found in Tukaram and Eknath, *sabhe āṃt* and even in Moropant *tumhāṃ āṃt* (examples cited by Godbole, *A New Gram.*, 3rd edn., p. 131). But since Namdev the affixation is produced in favourable cases : *kṣīrasāgarāṃt* (*Navanīt*, p. 16), similarly in Tukaram : (ibid., p. 48) or Vāman : *tomḍāṃt*, *divasāṃt* (ibid., p. 129). It is generalised in the modern language : thence, for ex., the forms *nadīṃt*, *kathēṃt*.

There is no prohibition against supposing that other postpositions might have had a similar evolution; but notably those which express grammatical relationships are often so changed that it becomes almost impossible to reconstruct their history.

In fact, this interpretation encounters two types of difficulties :

1. The words that are so affixed have, by becoming grammatical tools, possibly undergone a considerable change of meaning beyond the realm of conjecture. Such is the word *mārga-* "path", which has taken on the sense of "behind, after" in Mar. *māgeṃ māgūn*. The same evolution of sense is, no doubt, to be seen in Kash. *path*, *pata*, if this word goes back to Skr. *panthan* (the word denoting "path" in Kashmiri is *wath*, that is to say, Skr. *varlman-*, M. *vāṭ*). Similarly in Pali,

piṭṭhe, whose original sense is “on the back”, comes to denote not only “on” (*sayanpiṭṭhe* “on the bed”, *vālukāpiṭṭhe* “on the sand”) but “in” (*samugggapīṭṭhesu*, lit. “on the backs of boxes”, “in the boxes”; examples taken from the note to *Mahāvastu*, edn., of Senart, I, p. 624). This very word in the form *peṭh*, *peṭhi* in Kashmiri denotes “on” and “in”, and in another case, undoubtedly the ablative, *peṭha* signifies “from above, since, during” (Grierson, *Man. Kashm.*, II, p. 123-4; Grierson gives this etymology only as a possibility in his *Piśāca Lang.*, p. 35).

2. Because of its accessory position and because of their semantic weakness, these words are often subjected to an irregular phonetic evolution. We have seen the loss of the vowel in *āmt*. One of the better-known examples of the same fact is that of Skr. *madhya-*. This word is correctly preserved in Marathi in the form, *māj* “belt” and it is the tatsama *madhyem* (with spontaneous or analogical nasalisation of the postpositions in the instrumental, *māgem* *mūlem*, *kāraṇem*, *nem*, etc.) which is used for constructing the periphrastic locative. But in other languages, where besides, the phonetically correct form often exists in the sense of “circle, belt, etc.” the word has undergone changes, that can not be explained by ordinary phonetic rules. In Sindhi, beside *maṃjhām* “out of”, we find *me* “in”, *mām*, *mom* and above all, *mem* “in”. This example will suffice to show the imprevisible accidents undergone by these accessory words, that mislead the historian. One is thus left, for postpositions whose sense is not immediately apparent, to hypotheses chiefly destined to render, as far as possible, account of the forms assumed by the same word in various languages. Because it is perhaps more urgent to classify the forms than to explain them. The remarks that follow should be read taking these reservations into account.

The postpositions are of two types : the indeclinables are nouns fixed to certain cases or the words originally indeclinable. The most important ones, which are at the same time the most obscure, are those that express, during the various periods of the language, the relations of “dative” and of “instrumental.” Only one postposition is declinable : it is an adjective of belonging, generally designated as a “genitive.”

. *Postpositions of the Dative*

-si, -s

§ 198. This is the only postposition, among others, of the dative which has remained alive during all the periods of the language. If it is missing in the inscription of Patan (it is the oblique above which has the sense of the dative : *madhā dinhalā* "given to the temple"), it is found in that of Pandharpur (*ciṭṭhala-dāra-rājāsī, tejāsī* "to him"). In Jñāneśvar and later poets despite the competition of the independent oblique case and other postpositions, it is frequent. In the form -s, it is current in the Bakhars and even today it is in frequent use in the Deś and in constant use in the Konkan.

Generally this postposition in -s is related to the Skr. genitive in -sya (cf. Grierson, KZ, XXXVIII, p. 981; the latest to write is Lesny, JRAS, 1911, p. 179). If it is admitted that the oblique sing. in -ā is an old dative, then we are no longer obliged to suppose two developments of the same termination in the same language—an improbability that has not stopped any of the learned so far—and the current hypothesis becomes *à priori*, plausible. But then it meets with other difficulties. Without talking of the meaning, which is always that of the direct or indirect object, and never the possessive or partitive one, the form itself interdicts this explanation. On the one hand, as has been remarked by Rajvade (*Śrī Jñāneśvarīmṭil maraṭhī bhāṣecem vyākaraṇ*, p. 11), this explanation does not specifically take into account the old form, -si of whom -s is only a normal alteration; because Skr. -sya > Pkt. -ssa. On the other hand, it will apply, if it must be admitted, only to the gen. sing. of consonantal masc.-neuters. Not only the plural of the same nouns (*meghāmsi*, II, 14), but the forms of other types of inflexion (*dṛṣṭisi, rucisi*, I, 23, 35); *tumhāmsi*, IV, 42) would remain unexplained, except by an improbable analogical extension. In reality, everything happens as if -si, -s had been added to the various forms of the oblique¹—of the substantives and the pronouns.

1. Rajvade (ibid., p. 10) has recognized in -ā of the type *fulās*, old termination of the dative -āya. It is curious that it has not led him to similarly explain the genitive in -ā, i. e., the oblique itself (cf., ibid., p. 13.)

This is what has led Rajvade to the ingenious idea of putting together the adverb, *āspās* "all around", composed of two words in the locative (cf. S. *āsipāsi*, W. Panj. *āsepāse*). The second is *pās* = Skr. *pārśve*, the former, for which Rajvade constructs an etymology that is not acceptable, is probably the locative of the Pkt. word, *assa-*, Skr. *aśra-* "side", still found in independent form in Deśī (*asayaṃ nikaṭam*) and in Sinhalese (*as* "side", "corner", no. 993 in Geiger, *Etym. wōrt.*). If the proposed etymology is exact, we should admit that the initial *ā-* has been reduced in the same way as that of *āmt* later on (cf. § 197).

Whatever be the etymological interpretation of this affix, it should, in any case, be clearly distinguished from another affix with *s-*, that is *śim* "with". This word is undoubtedly related to *sahita-*, of which it is a locative or an instrumental. Whereas *-si* "to" is known only to Marathi, probably also to Bhili, the obl. pl. in *-es*, LSI, *Bhil. Lang.*, p. 3), its role elsewhere being played, above all, by the words in *k-* (exceptional in the Marathi area, traces being found in the coastal dialects, see Joshi, *Comp. Gram.*, p. 142), or in *-r*, the word *śim* "with" is found in almost all the suffixes in *-s* of other dialects : Simhal. *hā ihi* "with", Rom. *sa* "with", Kashm. *sūtin* "by", Sindhi *sā, sāu, sē, senu* "with", Guj. *sum* "with", Konkani *sū* "of (abl.)", *sī* "among", Braj. *so*, Raj. *sai, sū* "of", Hindi *se* "with" (cf. the use with the verbs *milnā* "to meet each other", *bolnā* "to talk" or the expressions like *bahut sāmān se ānā* "coming with a lot of luggage"), "of, by", Nep. *sita* "of", Bhojp. and Magahi *se*, Maith. *sā, sāu* "by". The concordance of meanings and forms shows that this is clearly some other word, common to Marathi and to almost all other related languages (Panjabi in the west and the far eastern group, Oriya, Bengali, Assamese seem to ignore this word. Panjabi *sī* "upto" as Sindhi *sīa*, of the same sense, are taken to, and in all probability Skr. *śimā* by Trumpp, *Sindhi Gram.*, p. 401). This word seems to be found in another case (the instrumental) and with a special use in the dialects of Berar, Konkani and at Bijapur in the forms *-śeni, -śyāni, -sanyā*, with the termination of the gerundive (LSI, *Mar.*, 50, 67, 92, 222).

The question now arises, whether the word *sāṭhīm* (*sāṭim* ?)

should be attached to the suffix *s* indicating direction. According to an hypothesis of Hoernle (*Comp. Gram.*, § 365), this word is composed of *-s* + a case of the word derived from Skr. *artha-*. This explanation, acceptable if *-s* had been the termination of the genitive, becomes more difficult with the interpretation proposed above or some similar one. The word *sāṭhīm* is probably an independent one, related to Gujarati *saṭ* "exchange"; cf. § 89, 114.

The postposition *stav* "for" is also perhaps an independent word. It has been proposed with some degree of probability to recognise therein the tatsama *prastava*, "occasion, circumstance", shortened because of its accessory role. A difficulty, provisionally insoluble, arises, however, from the fact that texts of the *Mānbhāv* sect show a suffix of the ablative *-tao* beside *-stav*. Can we then say that *stav* is a compound of *s-* + *tav*? In that case *tav* would be, either the Skt. word *tāvat*, moreover preserved in Marathi (cf. *ājtaṃ* vulg. "uptill today"), or the ablative of the word whose postposition *tem*, which we will now examine would be the instrumental.

tem

§ 199. This postposition, very liberally used in the oldest literary texts, disappears from usage very early, even in poetry, except with the pronouns of the first and second persons singular, where the monosyllabic forms were avoided (cf. *infra*, § 200). Rajvade (*ibid.*, p. 12) remarks that the *Christian Purāṇ* writes *them*; similar is the case with his manuscript of the *Jñāneśvari*. He brings in, a phonetically correct and semantically probable manner, this *them* to Skr. *arthena*. In fact, the Pandharpur inscription has it with the tatsama as *Śriviṭṭhalarāyā arthe*. This is, then, the *them* from which, according to Rajvade, *-tem* would have developed. But the aspirate-less form is found earlier than the other one and it is known that the *Christian Purāṇ* is written in the Konkani dialect. It seems that we have to distinguish here two series :

1. *them*, probably dialectal and related to the forms of the ablative in Bhili, *tho*, *ho-*, Panj. *tho*, Guj. *thī* "of, with".

In dialectal Gujarati there is even a declinable adjective *tho* "coming from" (Grierson, KZ, XXXVIII p. 476). Despite the deviation in meaning, we can accept that it is the Skr. *artha-* : cf. with the cerebral, the Oriya *thū* "from (abl.)" in relation to Simhalese *aṭ* "for".—Beames, (II, p. 218), would propose for H. *taiṃ* an etymology by Skr. *sthāne*. There is, in fact, a family of postpositions surely linked with the root *sthā* : Beng. *thakeyā*, the gerundive used as the termination for the oblique, *thāne* of ablative or *thāre* "in", *thārū* "of". These words seems to be peculiar to the eastern group.

2. *teṃ*, belonging to a series found everywhere except in Simhalese, Gujarati and in the western part of Rajasthan : *te* "towards, in" (preposition and postposition), Panj. *te* "from (abl.)", western Panj. *to*, *tō*, *tū* "of", *te* "to, in", Sindhi *te* "on", *tō*, *to* "from above", *te*, *tāi*, *toi* "upto", Raj. of the north-east *tai* "of", Braja *te* "of", Hindi *tāi* "upto", to, Bih. *te* "by", Beng. *te* "by" (rare; cf. *hoite*) Or. *te* "in, of" (cf. Beames, II, 222, 273). But how to render account of this particle ? None of the proposed explanations seems to prevail. Bhandarkar sees therein the pronominal for *ehiṃ*, given by Hemacandra as being equivalent in the Apabhraṃśa to Skr. *arthe* (IV, 425). It remains, however, to be known if the Apabhraṃśa forms *tehiṃ* and *kehiṃ* themselves are not transcriptions of **ke(m)* and *te(m)*. Moreover, *-ehiṃ* should yield in Marathi *-iṃ* (cf. § 63) and neither the forms of other languages nor the evolution of meaning is explained thereby. The only thing to remain is the hypothesis of a substantive, besides rendered probable by constructions like Hindi *is ke taiṃ* "to him", *śahr ke taiṃ gayā* "gone to the town", but nothing allows us to decide as to which substantive can this be. Is it the Skr. *nimitta-* "motive, reason", or a word of the *tan-* family (cf. Lat. *tenu* "upto", Avadhi *tan tanā* "towards, to, like", Grierson, KZ, op. cit., p. 484) ? In any case, it is probably not related to *ante*, *antike*, because if the Marathi form would be squarely in accord with this explanation, the languages of the north-west would not have contradicted it, which they do. The consonant therein is a surd and we know that *nt* herein normally becomes *nd* (cf. § 82).

S 200. This affix is missing in the oldest texts and appears only in Namdev, where it is used only with monosyllabic personal pronouns, that is to say, with those in the singular. Thus we have beside *tya*, *maja* and *tutem*, etc., *majlā*, *tylā* and *malā*, *tulā* in relation to *amhāṃsi*, *tyāsi*, *koṇāsi*, *sarvāṅgāsi*. In Tukaram its use spreads and here also it is mostly used with the pronouns. In the one hundred and ninety-four abhangs given in the *Navnīt*, are found *tulā* twice, *malā* once, *tyālā* five times, *kaśālā* and *jyālā* once but a form like *vāthyālā* "in the stomach" is unique.

In the historical texts of the 18th century, its usage seems to be more restricted and the only usual forms are those in *-s*. The Bakhars present more or less the same aspect as the poems of Tukaram. Lastly in the ballads and in the recent texts, *-lā* is constant and almost unique. It is by basing himself on the recent character of the usage of this affix that Rajvade (*l. l.*, p. 12; cf. *Marāṭhyāṃcyā itihāsācīm sādhanem*, VIII, *uṣaprastavanā*, p. 57 ff.) has had the idea of seeing therein a loan and specifically that of the Persian *rā*. In addition to the phonetic absurdity of this *rapprochement*, it should be noted that for Rajvade, *lā* appears only during the time of Shivaji and of Tukaram. In reality it is older, as it is found in Namdev (Rajvade recognises this fact, *l. l.*, p. 57). Moreover, nothing prevents us from supposing that it is still older : because if *lā* appears only in Namdev, the same is the case with *āmt* and *neṃ*, one surely and the other almost surely old. Their appearance in Namdev and Tukaram is due to the popular character of these poets and probably these postpositions are missing in Jñānadev, exactly as they are missing three centuries later in Eknath or later still in Mahīpati, because they are the learned poets. Undoubtedly for the same reason, the official texts of the 18th century are more reserved in the use of *lā* than the popular ballads. Nothing, therefore, prevents, *à priori*, from seeking an etymology for this word in Marathi itself.

The word *lā* dialectally takes the forms *lī*, *le* (LSI, *Mar.* p. 81, 220ff). Similar is the case with the Bhil dialects (*ibid.*, *Bhil Lang.*, p. 95, 158, 205). It is found also, undoubtedly,

in Sindhi *lāe* "because of, for", West. Panj. *lā* "from (abl.)", Panj. and Hindi *lo* "upto", Hindi *le* "with", Nep. *lāi* "to", *le* "by", Bih. *lā* "for."

In the same usage there exists a word which seems to be related to the former and which is found, on the one hand in Gujarati-Rajasthani and in Bengali on the other, where *lā* does not seem to have an equivalent : it is Mar. *lāgīm* "near, towards", Sinhalese *laṅga* "near", Guj. *lāgu* "near", Nep. *lāgi* "for, on account of", beside *lai* "to, for", Sindhi *lāge* "in view of", H. and Bih., old Beng. *lāgi* "for". This word is surely a locative of the past participle in Prākṛit *lagga-* from the root *lag-* "to fall", cf. Mar. *lāgṇam* and related words; *lāgīm* denotes, therefore, "touching" (Beames, II, 26., Hoernle, p. 222).

It is tempting to put together these two words. Bhandarkar also proposes to see in Mar. *lā*, the gerundive of *lāgayati*, Pkt. *lāivi*. The relationship between *lā* and *lāgīm* in that case would be more or less that between *lāṇem* and *lāgṇem*, at least concerning their formation. Truly speaking this hypothesis can clearly explain the forms like Nep. *lāi*, H. *le* and by a deviation (by appealing to the infinitive *lāium*) Panj. *lo* for example. But specifically in Marathi, the gerundive in *-i* has never existed and moreover *-ai* should have been shortened to *-e* and if it concerned **lāium*, the resultant would, undoubtedly, have been similar to the form in Panjabi. The same objections would apply to an interpretation by the root *lā-* "to take" (Pkt. ger. *lai*, Pischel, S 594) which would suggest the form of Sinhalese *lāva* "by, with", the ger. of *lanu* "to take". Moreover, the root *lā-* has been replaced in Prākṛit and in the modern languages by *le-*: Mar. *leṇem*, Hindi *lenā*, whose oblique participle *liye* has, in fact, taken the sense of "in view of, for", etc.

A more satisfactory interpretation has been proposed by Hoernle (*Comp. Gram.*, p. 225), who sees in Mar. *lā*, Sindhi *lāi*, Nep. *lāi*, the Skr. locative *lābhe* "to the profit of." To make this etymology phonetically correct, we have to see in the forms in *-ā* and *-ò* other cases of the same word; Mar. *lā* will be sufficiently well explained by the ablative in Pkt. **lāhā* or **lāhāo*.

In this case we will have to separate the indeclinable *lā*

from the adjective called "genitive" of Konkani *lo, li lom* (Beames, II, p. 276), which seems to be only an abbreviation of the more current form *gelo*. This *gelo* is the past part. of the verb "to go" (Mar. *gelā*) which has taken the sense "belonging to". And in fact all the postposition of the dative in Marathi seem to be the fixed forms of substantives and to no one of them seems to correspond the adjective of belonging. It is known that many other languages have an entirely different aspect (Grierson, KZ, XXXVIII, p. 476).

2. Postposition of the Instrumental

sing. *neṃ*, pl. *nīṃ*

§ 201. This affix, absent from the oldest literary texts, is found in an inscription of 1397 (*daḷavaiyā neṃ*; see Rajavade, *Marāṭhayāṃcyā itihāsācīṃ sādhanēṃ* part 8, Preface, p. 33) and is found in literature among the popular poets, (for ex. Namdev : *tayā neṃ*, *Navanīt*, p. 18, 21, *vālmikā neṃ eva-dhyāneṃ*, *ibid.*, p. 19, *Harīneṃ*, *āvaḍīneṃ*, p. 22, *pakṣīvāpadāṃ nīṃ*, p. 23, *viyogā neṃ*, *cinte neṃ*, p. 24).

In the Konkani, it takes the forms of *n*, *na*, *nī* (LSI, *Mar.*, p. 66, and is dialectally found with the sense of "to" : *manā* "to me", *ibid.*, p. 161). In old Marathi its forms *in- ni* form the termination of the instrumental in the enlarged nouns and adjectives (cf. § 193), and *-ni* or *-niyām* are added to the ablative of the nouns (cf. § 195) and probably to the gerundive of the verbs (*infra*). In *Mavchī ne* expresses the relationship of the ablative, in *Dehvalī* that of the dative (LSI, *Bhil Lang.*, p. 95, 158). These two values of the word are found in other central languages, atleast during modern times: *Guj. ne* "for", *Raj. ne, nai* "for" and "by" (LSI, *Raj.*, p. 7), *Panj. nai* "by", *nū* "to", *Braj n*, *Hindi ne* "by". The same word appears in a declined form, in the use of the adjective of belonging in certain dialects of the Konkani (LSI, *Mar.*, p. 132), in Gujarati (*no, nī, nūṃ*) and dialectally in west. Panjabi (*nām, nīṃ*; see Wilson, *Gram. of Western Panj.*, p. 30). It is missing at the extreme points of the Indo-Aryan domain. It is not found either in the eastern group or in Sinhalese and (in the N-W., *Kashm. nu* is put by Grierson in the same

series, *ibid.*, p. 477; but the form given by him in his *Manual of Kashm. Lang.*, I, p. 34, that is *un-*, does not agree with this interpretation).

Several hypotheses, of whom not one is definitive, have been or can be proposed for rendering account of this affix.—

1. The identification of the suffixes with *l-* and with *n-*, the phoneme *l-* being considered as the original, is admitted by Hoernle (*Comp. Gram.*, § 375, 2), but the passage of *l* to *n*, normal in the eastern dialects, which are cited by him, can not be admitted elsewhere; 2. the Skr. suffix *-lāna-* reported by Beames (II, p. 287 ff.) and Grierson (KZ, XXXVIII, p. 473, 477, 489) should also be probably rejected. In fact the intervocalic *n* is everywhere cerebralised in Prakrit and the Apabhramsa texts give the form in *tāna*. For explaining the dental of Marathi and probably even of Gujarati, regardless of what Beames may think thereof (II, p. 288), it will have to be supposed that the suffix is borrowed from an eastern dialect. This hypothesis, however, is supplementary and can not be verified, all the more so as the word appears late in other dialects like Marathi (Beames, II, p. 267 ff.),
3. a word related to the root *tan-* (wherefrom, besides, is derived the Skr. suffix *-tana-*, originally having a purely temporal sense, see Brugmann, *Grundriss*, 2nd edn., II, 1, § 197) is found in certain modern speeches (Beames II, p. 289; Grierson, *ibid.*, p. 484). Probably this is precisely the word, and not the old Sanskrit suffix, which is transcribed by the Apabhr. *taṇa-* “relative to”, but its initial *t* is kept intact and if it has an equivalent in Marathi, it is improbable that it be *neṃ* : *nīm*; 4. The gradation, sing. *neṃ*, pl. *nīm*, leads us to look for a substantive as the origin of the affix, cf. Pali *piṭṭhe* : *piṭṭhesu*. The question then arises if it is the Skr. *naya* “reason, method, means” (cf. *mahim dharmanayena pālaya*, *Jātakamālā*, Kern edn., p. 17, l. 2) or *nyāya-* “rule, manner” (cf. H. *nāīm* “in the manner of...”) ? The difficulty crops up due to the use of the word as an adjective. It is moreover possible that this usage be due to an extension of analogy; 5. we could think, for explaining this use, of a participle like the Skr. *nī-*, Pkt. *ne*; the word would then signify “led by, resulting from”. In this hypothesis, the difficulty arises due to the use of the indirect cases of the word, the

locative, instrumental sing. and plural. For the time being we should not draw any conclusion : probably the truth lies in a combination of the two last hypotheses set out above.

3. *Adjectives of Belonging, called "genitive"*

cā, cī, cem, etc.

§ 202. This adjective is normally constructed with the oblique of nouns and pronouns; it is also affixed to certain indirect cases (*gharīm-cā* "from inside the house"; cf. *gharīm-hūn*, *gharāmtūn* "outside the house") and in the direct cases of consonantal nouns (*gharcā* "of the house, familiar", *sakālcā* "of yesterday", *Gujrāth cā* "of Gujarat").—Its use is as old as the Marathi language itself; it seems to be already announced in the form of possessive adjectives *amheccaya-*, *tumheccaya-* "ours, yours" noted by Hemacandra in his grammar (II, 149; cited by Hoernle, p. 238).

One or several adjectival affixes of the same type or playing the same role are found in all the languages of the continent. Sinhalese is the only one which differs from the rest on this point; the relation of the genitive herein is expressed by an indeclinable word *ge* (Skr. *grhe*) which originally denotes "at the house of". The eastern group also seems to be an exception; but this exception is only apparent, because the affixes in *-r* are really the adjectives that are normally invariable in the languages wherefrom the inflexion has disappeared (cf. Grierson, KZ, 38, p. 487).

But if the adjectives in use like *cā* are common, the Marathi word itself remains remarkably isolated and that in two ways. Firstly, it will suffice to refer to the tables given by Grierson in his article on case-suffixes (*ibid.*, p. 474-5) to observe that no other language has a declinable affix with a palatal surd as initial, playing the role of the adjective of belonging. Moreover, there is nowhere in Marathi, a fixed form of the same word used as a postposition. Now these forms coexist with all the other adjectives, either in the same language or in another. Grierson has given numerous examples thereof in the article cited above (p. 476 ff). To the examples of words with *k-* as initial cited by him, we can also add *kā*,

the suffix of the dative in Konkani (LSI, *Mar.*, p. 172) and *kerehi* which is used for forming the locative in Sinhalese (Geiger, § 30, A b, 7). Similarly with reference to Panj. *dā : dī* are found *de, do* used along with *te* and *lā* to express the relations of the instrumental and of dative in Sāmvedi (LSI, *Mar.*, p. 148). We can also compare the instr. in *he, e* of the same dialect and the declinable suffix in *tho, ho* of Gujarati and of the neighbouring dialects (LSI, *Bhil Lang.*, p. 3), of whom one case-form *thī* is used as the termination of the ablative in Gujarati. The Sindhi form *jo* alone seems to be isolated as the Marathi one. There is also in the same language a termination of the gerundive *-ije* which Grierson reports (ibid., p. 483). In any case the Konkani form *jūn*, the termination of the ablative should be separated therefrom (LSI, *Mar.*, p. 66), as it is in reality the gerundive of *jā-* 'to be' (past part. of M. word *jālā*, mod. M, *jhālā*) and thus exactly corresponds to the Marathi termination *hūn, ūn*, which is the gerundive of *ho-* 'to become', 'to be'. The absence of the fixed case-form of *cā* in Marathi seems to be the correlative of the isolation of the suffixes of the dative, which in Marathi have no longer any declinable equivalent (on the possible relationship, but with little probability, of *lā* with Konkani *lo (gelo)*, see § 200).

This isolation of the Marathi word makes it difficult to find out its origin. The most satisfying explanation has been proposed by Grierson, on the suggestion of Sten Konow (ibid., p. 490). A large number of similar suffixes can be explained as being the participles, drawn notably from the verbs "to make", "to be", "to give" (the etymology of Panj. *dā : dī* given by Hoernle, refuted by Grierson, is more acceptable than the altogether abnormal archaism proposed by the latter. In view of the geographical proximity of Kashm. *handu* on the one hand and Sindhi and Marwari *hando* on the other, one could also think of the present part. of the verb "to be"); cf. the interpretations pointed out above of Mar. *neṃ* and *lā*. That would be the participle of obligation *kṛtya-* found in the *Mahāvastu* in a role already near that of the modern adjectival affixes (see the examples cited, ibid., p. 486) to be derived by Mar. *cā*. In that case, the word would not be completely isolated. Kashmiri possesses an adjective *kyutu*

(fem. *kits-ū*) which is constructed with the dative of the nouns and takes the sense of "for" : now *kyut-* comes from Skr, *krtya-* as the suffix of the gerundive *-ith* comes from *-tya* (Grierson, *ibid.*, p. 480).

Grierson seems to personally prefer another explanation to this one, which he has borrowed from Beames, and which is also supported by Bhandarkar (see Joshi, p. 144). According to these authors, M. *cā* would go back to a suffix of the Skr. adjective *-tya-*. Grierson even believes himself to be able to recognise the distribution of the uses of *-tya-* on the one hand with an indeclinable of the type of *ihatya*, *tatratya* and on the other with a word fixed in an oblique case of the type of *dakṣiṇātya*, *pāścātya*, *dūretya* in the two uses of M. *cā* on the one hand with the stem (*gharcā*) and on the other with the oblique (*gharācā*). It is no use showing as to how much this interpretation is forced. But the Skr. suffix *-tya-* can be usefully invoked to explain the type *gharcā*. On the model of *dūretya*, etc., it has been possible to form a series of the type **ghetya*, **arātya*, of whom the Marathi *gharcā*, *rārcā* would be the normal development, not only from the point of view of phonetics, but also from the point of view of sense, because this derivation also takes into account the difference existing between *gharācā* "of the house", cf. Eng. *of the house*, and *gharcā* "relating to the house, familiar", Eng. *household* (cf. Navalkar, § 104 note).

Relatives, Demonstratives, Interrogatives, etc.

§ 203. The relative pronoun *jo* (Skr. *ya-*) has only one stem, and is declined as an adjective with a normal enlargement.

		Masc.	Fem.	Neut.
Sing.	dir.	<i>jo</i>	<i>jī</i> (M. verb <i>je</i>)	<i>jem</i>
	obl.	<i>jā</i>	<i>jī</i> („ „ <i>jiye</i>)	<i>jā-</i>
Pl.	dir.	<i>je</i>	<i>jā</i>	<i>jim</i>
	obl.	<i>jām</i>	<i>jām</i>	<i>jām</i>

Its correlative *to*, *tī* (*te*), *tem*, which is also used as the demonstrative of the distant object, is similarly declined.

The demonstrative of the near-by objects is *hā*, *hī*, *hem*, obl. sing. *hyā* (*yā*), *hī* (*ī*), obl. pl. *hyām* (*yām*), etc.

In the demonstratives, *j* is frequently inserted in the wake of the oblique ex. *tyājlā*. This morpheme has no etymological value and is derived from personal pronouns like *maj-lā*, *tuj-lā* “to me, to you.”

The characteristic principle of these forms is to have pushed as far as possible the tendency, already notable in Prākṛit (Pischel, § 524) of identification with the nominal inflection. Without talking about the demonstrative *hā*, which betrays itself as being recent because of the absence of a sure etymology and because of its absolutely identical form with that of any adjective (cf. § 160), the demonstrative *te* has the trace of an extension of the oblique stem, of whom another example is furnished by Gujarati *te* alone. The Romany, Kashmiri, Sindhi and the central and eastern languages have preserved the gradation of the type *sa: s tad: tasya*, etc. (Beames, II, p. 315; Miklosich, XI, p. 16; Grierson, *Kashm. Lang.*, § 32, p. 40; Sinhalese has *lo* this pronoun, see Geiger, § 47, II, § 48).

Like the stems, the terminations have been assimilated to those of the nominal declension. Marathi, like Jaipuri and Marwari have preserved, in the correlatives, the distinction of the masculine and feminine, lost elsewhere (Grierson *Ind. Ant.*, XXX, p. 554). Among these terminations, on the pronominal termination, in masc. sing. in *-o* remain this is archaic.

same is the case with Bengali (*āpni*) and Oriya (*āpaṇ* beside *āpe*) on the one hand and in the entire N.W. on the other, : S. *pānu*, Kashm. *pāna*, etc. (Grierson, *Pis. Lang.*, p. 76, see the word *self*). Elsewhere the form is that of the nominative *ātmā* : H., Panj., Guj. *āp*, Nep. *āphu*, etc. The stem of other cases has been used to form the possessive adjective : H. *āpnā*, Panj. *āpnā*, Guj. *āpno*, Nep. *āphnu*. The distribution has been disturbed in Rajasthani because there *āp* often takes the sense "ourselves" inclusive (cf. LSI, *Raj.*, p. 9, 23, 38, 46, 56). Similarly in Simahlese, *api* is used as a personal pronoun of the first pers. plural, *amā* of the reflexive (Geiger, § 37, 51). In Marathi and Sindhi, the distribution is inversely to other central languages : it is *āp*- which has provided the possessive : S. *pāham jo*, *jī*, etc., *Māplā* (later Pkt. *appulla*-).

§ 206. Marathi possesses a sufficiently large number of adjectives and adverbs drawn from pronominal stems. Some are old, as *jaisā* "such as" (*yādṛśa*-), *jai*, *jaim* "if, when" (*yadi*) *jaum* "till", (*yāvat*). Most of them go back at the most to Prākṛit, as the Mar. word *jetī* "as much as", *itkā*, *titkā* "as much" (Pkt. *ettia*-, *tettia*-, see Pischel, § 153), *ethem*, see M. *eth* (Pkt. *ettha*, arisen according to Pischel, § 107, from Vedic *itthā*), *edhvām* "then", (Pkt. *eddaha*-) and are no less obscure. Lastly, certain adverbs or conjunctions are the fixed pronominal forms like *kām* (loc.) "why", *jem* (nom. -acc. neut., like Skr. *yat*) "that". It need not be pointed out that here analogy has multiplied and normalised the forms and this since a very old period; thence probably their etymological obscurity.

Personal Pronouns

§ 207. The pronouns of the first and second persons present a large variety of aspects in the Prakrit texts and a still larger variety among the grammarians (Pischel, § 416). However, the modern forms, despite the obscurity of some among them, can be brought to forms that are easy to analyse and neighbour the nominal declension. It is difficult to decide if the complication of Prakrit is due to a disequilibrium, real and prolonged in usage, or whether on the contrary the

new forms having been established sufficiently early, and having appeared since then to be out of harmony with the literary tradition, learned reconstructions could be made in diverse arbitrary ways.

1. *Direct and Oblique Cases*

§ 208. The clearest forms are those of the plural. Those of the nominative *āhmī*, *tuhmī* go back to Pkt. *amhe*, *tumhe* which are, by their origin, forms of the indirect case (Ved. *asmé*, *yuṣmé*, cf. Skr. Ved. and class. *asmān*, *asmābhiḥ*, etc.). The stem of the nominatives has thus disappeared, here as in the case of the pronominal adjectives, before those of other cases.—The forms of the oblique *āhmām*, *tuhmām* represent Pkt. *amhāṇam*, *tumhāṇam*, whose termination is borrowed from the nominal declension. Besides all the languages are here in agreement with Marathi, with slight variations (Beames, II, p. 307-8, 310-11).

In the singular, only the oblique is fully clear. From the Skr. dative, Ved. *māhya*, classical *māhyam*, become in Prākṛit gen. *majjham*, comes the stem of the first person *majh-*, *maj-*, which is found only in Marathi, Gujarati and Hindi (in Hindi and in Mevati—the dialect of Rajasthan that is contiguous to Hindi—the vowel has become *u* under the influence of *tujh-*). Similarly Skr. *tubhyam*, adapted to the form of the first person, becomes Pkt. *tujjham*, from where comes the Marathi, Gujarati and Hindi forms *tujh*, *tuj*. The oblique forms *mā*, *tu-* (for ex. *mā tem*, *Jñāneś.*, XII, 233=mod. *malā* “to me”) are still found, of whom at least the first is more difficult to explain. It is not possible to agree with Pischel and take Pkt. *maha* back to *māhya* or *māhyam*, like the Pkt. *majjha* (see § 418). Perhaps *maha* comes from a contamination of the stem of the indirect cases *ma-* with the nominative *aham*.

In the nominative, the pronoun of the second person, *tūm*, goes back to Pkt. *tumam*. The Prākṛit form is, besides, quite obscure and seems difficult to explain except as a transcription of the modern form, which then would be the Vedic *t(u)ṛām*, whose nasality would have reached the first vowel. In fact it is known that the penultimate *m* before a nasal vowel has lost its own articulation in the terminations like *-āmi*

(see § 67). For all the more reason, should it not represent some articulation defined between a labial vowel and a nasalised one. The nasalisation is missing in this pronoun in Romany, and in a group including Hindi, Nepali and the languages situated to the east of these three.

The form of the first person, *mī* is much more obscure. It has a recent doublet *mīm*, which is used simultaneously as a subject and the instrumental. The nasalisation therein is perhaps similar to that of *tūm*. Perhaps it also comes from the form of the instrumental. To M. *mī*, undoubtedly corresponds the form *mmi*, *mī* being found only in Hemacandra, but this is a form, which given its late appearance in Prakrit, itself requires to be specially explained. For Pischel, it is the first person sing. of the verb "to be", *asmi* (§ 417). It is more probable that we should see a pronominal form herein. We have seen that Skr. *asme*, *mama* had been able to take on the value of the subject case. This authorises us undoubtedly to see in *mī* (dialectally *me*, LSI, Mar., p. 211) either Skr. Pkt. *me* or Pkt. *mai* (found only in Śauraseni) coming from Skr. *mayi*. The evidence of other languages is of no help here. An important group consisting of principal western languages (Kashmiri, Sindhi, Gujarati, Goanese Konkani, Marwari and Braj.) has preserved the representatives of *aham* uptill today.. In Panjabi, Rajasthani, Hindi the instrumental *maiṃ* has taken the place of the nominative. The Romany *me*, Nepalese *ma* are obscure and the Simhalese aberrant.

In the eastern group, Beng. *mui*, *tui*, Or. *mu*, *tu* seem definitely to go back to the locatives of the type *mayi*, *tvayi* (Ved. *tve*) and yield singulars corresponding to Skr. *asme*, *yaṣme* and of whom the Mar. *mī* could be an isolated representative.

2. Instrumental

§ 209. This case has several forms still living today and the postposition *neṃ* : *nīm* does not apply to the personal pronouns.

Here again the plural alone is clear. From the Pkt *aṃhehiṃ*, *tumhehiṃ*, where the old oblique arisen from the

Vedic *asmé*, *yusmé* serves as the stem and has got co-agulated with the traditional termination, are regularly derived *āhmīm*, *tumhīm*.

In the singular, the old and always alive forms are *miyām*, *myām*; *tām*, *tuvām*, *tvām*. Skr. *mayā*, *tvayā* have furnished the forms of the oblique case in Simhalese (Geiger, § 47, I, 1), but *mae*, *tae*, which represent in classical Prākṛit Skr. *mayā*, *tvayā* could not be at the origin of the Marathi forms. It should be supposed that the Sanskrit pronouns have been enlarged in very old times with the termination of the instrumental case of the nouns : **mayāṇa* or **māyāṇam*, **tvayāṇa* or **tvayāṇam* (§ 66) are the probable prototypes of M. *myām*, *tām* or *tvām* in the Middle-Indian.

3. Possessive Adjective

§ 210. In the plural of the pronouns, the relation of the genitive is noted as in the nouns by *cā*, which is added, not to the oblique, but to the stem of the oblique : *āum*, *tum-*, that is to say Pkt. *amha-*, *tumha-*. The adjectives *ām̐cā* (*āmucā*), *tumcā* are found from the oldest texts upto our time.

In the singular, Marathi has formed an adjective on the oblique; *mājhā*, *tujhā* are, therefore, like the Skr. *māmaka-*, *tāvaka-*. This creation isolates Marathi from all the related languages. Simhalese has no possessive, Sindhi forms its possessive like that of the nouns in the singular as also in the plural number and the group of the N.W seems to do the same where it shows an adjective (Grierson, *Pis. Lang.*, p. 45, 47; *Manual of Kashm. Lang.*..., § 30). Everywhere else, there exists in the singular as also in the plural an adjective of the Apabh. type *mahāra*, *tuhāra*, *amhāra* *tumhāra* (Pischel, § 434; to the examples given by Beames, II, p. 312, should be added the forms of Rajasthani given by in LSI, *Raj.*, p. 8, the Armenian Romany *merav*, *terav* and European Romany *minro*, *timro*, pl. *amaro*, *tumaro*).

APPENDIX

Numerals

§ 211. The series of numerals shows particularly the disparate origin of the elements of Marathi vocabulary. It also enables us to observe us to how a good number of its elements had already been juxtaposed in the vocabulary of common Prakrit. In fact, it will be observed that the majority of the numerals have undergone a similar evolution in all the different dialects. Where the Marathi word seems to go back directly to Sanskrit, the regular form is also found in Prakrit and in almost all other modern Indo-Aryan languages. Where, however, on the contrary the Marathi form is irregular, the irregularity besides explicable by the character of the accessory words of the numerals is found since the Middle-Indian itself and is verified in other related languages. This concordance of aspect is so frequent, that one asks oneself if the direct *rapprochement* between a Marathi form and a Sanskrit one is not a trap, and if Marathi has not taken her entire numeration from an indeterminate Prākṛit where already the correct and incorrect forms had been neighbours. What renders the verification of this hypothesis more difficult is the fact that the numeration is not, so to say, found in the Middle-Indian since Pali upto the more recent texts of Jainism (see the examples in Pischel, § 435 ff; Beames has studied the modern forms, II, p. 130 ff.).

§ 212. The numerals for "one" to "four" are the adjectives; those of "five" and above are constructed either as indeclinable adjectives, or as the substantives in masc.-neut. whose oblique is in *-ā* (Navalkar, § 128). Except the possible reproduces a difference of the Indo-European period (Meillet, *Intro.*, p. 399 ff.).

§ 213. *Ek* "one" is a tatsama preserved in Prākṛit (Skr. *eka-*, Pkt. *ekka-*) and in all the Indo-Aryan languages. This tatsama has undergone a slight change due to the brevity of the initial vowel (see § 174) in *akrā* "eleven". But in this word as in *ekunīs* "nineteen", the surd consonant is maintained. These are, however, the forms reconstituted at

a recent date, because except in Simhalese (*ekolasa, ekunvisi*) and in Kashmiri (*kah, kunanwah*; the forms of other Himalayan dialects are missing in the table given by Grierson, *Pis Lang.*, p. 37), the old *k* has, in all these words, everywhere evolved upto *g*, the stage where it has been fixed (for ex. H. *igārah, agunīs*).

§ 214. *Don* "two" is a form exclusive to Marathi only, while the Pkt. pl. neut. *doni*, whence it is derived, is common to Māhārāṣṭrī and Śaurasenī. But the word, whose analogy has influenced *don*, that is to say Pkt. *tiṇṇi*, M. *tīn* has been preserved in all the Indo-Aryan languages.

The eastern Prakrits equally use for "two (in all the genders, like the forms to be discussed later) the form *do*, derived from Skr. *dvau*. Preserved unchanged in Hindi and Panjabi, it is also preserved in Marathi, on the one hand in the oblique *dohim* or *dohom* (obtained by the assimilation of vowels, like *cohom*, on the model of *tihim*), and on the other in the compound adjective masc. *doghe*, fem. *doghī*, neut. *doghem* "the two (together)", of which the second element is moreover obscure.

The eastern Prakrit have generalised *duve*, to which is joined the Apabh. *duvi*. This form is represented today on the one hand in the eastern group (Maith, Or., Beng. *dui*, Avadhi *dvi, dūi*) and in the N-W (Rom. *dui, lui*; in the Himalayas *u* has been palatalised as a consequence of contact with *i*, and in its turn the initial consonant has been diversely changed, see Grierson, *Pis. Lang.*, p. 30-39).

Skr. *dve* subsists also in the Simhalese form *de* and in the Pkt. form still current in Gujarati *be*. As regards Sindhi *bā*, does it go back to Ved. masc. *d(u)ṽá* or does it come from the compound forms of the type of masc. M. *bārā* "twelve", *bāvis* "twentytwo"? Nothing can be said about it.

The initial labial, normal in Gujarati and Sindhi, is found in Marathi, by the side of the dental found in Simhalese and which is undoubtedly phonetic in Marathi (see § 130).

This is how we have on the one hand *dīdh* "one and a half" (*dvi - ardhā-*), *dujā* "second", other "(*dvitīya-*), *duṇā* "double" (*dviguṇa-*) and on the other, *be* "two" in the multiplication tables and in the compounds (*dve* and *dvaya-* have, no doubt, been mixed therein), *bīj* "second day of the Moon" (*dvitīyā*). *bārā* "twelve", *bāvis* "twentytwo."

§ 215. *Tin* "three". Except in the Himalayan N-W (see Grierson, *ibid.*), all the modern forms go back to Pkt. *tiṇṇi* (*tiṇṇam* in Sinhalese, Geiger, § 45). What is then, the relationship between Pkt. *tiṇṇi* and Skr. *trīṇi*? The explanation offered by Pischel on this point is manifestly insufficient (see § 438). Perhaps *tiṇṇi* is simply the sign for a quasi-tat-sama, restored during an epoch when the intervocalic penultimate *n* tended to disappear, or as a consequence the Pkt. **tiṇi* (*tiṇim*? see § 66) became **tiṇ*, that is to say that the numeral for "three" had a consonant only as initial. It is undoubtedly to avoid this lack of consistency that *ṇṇ* has been maintained in *tiṇṇi* and added in *doṇṇi*.

The oblique is *tihim* which has served as the model for *dohom* and *cohom*. This form is undoubtedly an adaptation of the Pkt. instrumental *tihim* (Skr. masc. neut. *tribhiḥ*) which has taken the value of the genitive because of the nasalisation which brought it near the genitive plural become oblique in the nouns.

By the side of the stem *ti-*, Skt. *tri-*, we have in Marathi *ti-* arisen from *ṭṛti-* in *tīj* "3rd day of the Moon" (*ṭṛtiyā* and *te-* arisen from *traya-* in *terā* "thirteen" (Pkt. *teraha*) *tevīs* "23", *tetis* or *tehtīs* "33"; but the group *tr-* is restored in *trecālīs* "43", *treṇann* "53", etc.

§ 216. *Cār* "four" is irregular in two ways. Firstly, the palatal pronunciation of *c* before *a* is against Marathi phonetics. Now it is often pronounced and even written *cyār* and the same thing occurs in the compounds *cyauvis* "24", *cyopaun* "54" (*catur-*). Therefore, even if the word is old in Marathi, it has been subjected to foreign phonetic influences.

Secondly, the word *cār* goes back to *cāri* which is preserved, till today in Sindhi and in the eastern group after having been noted in the Apabhraṃśa. But *cāri* does not correspond to any Sanskrit form. It is evidently an abbreviation of *cattāri* (*catvāri*.) Of course, we find in Prākṛit a certain number of words where geminated *tt* arisen out of an old group seems to have been simplified and made *y* like an old intervocalic *t*. Thus we have *āyā* (and *ādā*) for Skr. *ātmā*, found in some of the oldest Jaina texts whereas others have *appā* as the *Māhārāṣṭrī* (Pischel, § 401). In the same works

are also found *goya* (*gotra-*), *pāya* (*pptra-*). Moreover a form of this type, *rāi* (*rātrī*) is found in *Māhārāṣṭrī* since the anthology of Hāla and the equivalent *rādī* is equally found in Śaurasenī (Pischel, § 87; the form *dhāi* drawn by Pischel from Skr. *dhātrī* is in reality a loan from Persian). It seems, therefore, that there had been, in some part of Hindustan, a dialect wherein geminated *tt* rejoined quite early the intervocalic *t* and, like the latter, become *d*, then *y*. The numeral *cār*, which is pan-Indian, perhaps, comes from this dialect. We can also explain the irregularity of this form as being due to analogical changes frequent in the numerals.

In this hypothesis, which can moreover be combined with that of a loan, *cattāri* would have been abridged under the influence of *cauro* and other forms of the stem, Skr. *catu-*, Pkt. *cau-*, M. *cau-*, *co* (*caughe* “the four”, *cauth* “4th day of the Moon”, *cauthā* “fourth”, *caudā* “fourteen”, *cauwīs* “twentyfour”, etc.; *cohom*, oblique of *cār*). The intervocalic *t* arisen from the geminated *t* in *cattāri* would have disappeared as that of *catur-*, because it became necessary to render all the first numerals equally disyllabic in the modern languages. Probably this evolution has been aided by the existence of a form *cauri* found in the dialects of the scripts of Dutreuil de Rhins and confirmed by the actual forms of the Himalayan N-W. (Kashm. *cor*, G. *cūr*, etc.). The relatively artificial character of the loss of *t* in *cār* is rendered probable by the co-existence of *cālīs* and *tālīs* (in compounds) for “forty”.

§ 217. *Pāñc* “five” is regularly derived from Skr. *pañca*. Moreover, this form is universal in India, except the normal phonetic changes mentioned in § 82.—In the numeral for “fifteen” *pandhrā* for **panrāh*, *pañc-* has been subjected to an abnormal alteration, found in *pañnās* “fifty”. According to an explanation of E. Kuhn cited by Pischel in § 274 of his grammar, these forms come from the dissimilation of the supported palatal of *pañca* by the intervocalic palatal sifflant in *pañcadaśa* and *pañcāśat*. This dissimilation, in conformity with the law XVII of Grammont, supposes a stage where the vowel *a* of the first syllable of *pañca-* had already become a nasal and long, but where *ś* had not, as yet, been identified with *s*.

§ 218. *Sahā* “six” does not exactly correspond to Skr.

ṣaṭ, Pkt. *cha*. This form, special in Marathi, seems to result from the same need of providing consistency to the end of the word, as already shown by *don* and *tīn*. Here no occlusive was available; it became necessary, therefore, to reserve a part of the aspiration contained in the initial and prolong the vocalic emission. The existence of *dahā* "ten", Pkt. *daha* has also favoured this change. It is found in S. *chah* (cf. Apabh. *chaha*, which Pischel tries to explain by the adaptation to Skr. *ṣaṭ* of the morpheme *-a-* of the nominal declension, see § 441), which co-exists in Sindhi with *cha*, the normal form in Hindi and Gujarati. The Marathi *sahā* in compound again becomes *sā-* (*sā-* *saṣṭ* "66", etc.).

Elsewhere Pkt. *cha* seems to have been lengthened in another way either with *i* (H., Panj. *che*, Beng. *chay*, Simh. *saya* beside *sa*, Kashm. *śih* and probably even M. *śe-* in *śaltāḷis* "46", *śahattar* "76", or with *u* (Maith. *chau*, Rom. *šov*). All these forms, equally obscure, start from the same single principle.

In M. *sahā*, the initial *s* can equally represent both Skr. *s* and Pkt. *ch*. In *sak* (*ṣaṭka-*) *solā* (*soḍaśa*), *saṭh* (*ṣaṣṭhi-*), the same doubt can persist. But the loans of Marathi from other languages are made evident by the fact that beside *savvis* "26", *sāsaṣṭ* "66" on the one hand, and *śetāḷis* "46", *śehattar* and *śāhattar* "76", *śāmyaśī* "86", *śaṇṇau* "96" on the other, we find *ch* in *chattis* "36" and *chappann* "56" whose geminated consonants moreover show its foreign character.

§ 219. *Sāt* "seven", *āṭh* "eight" (on *aḍ*, in the compounds, see § 170), *nau* and *nau* "nine" are derived or seem to be directly derived from the Skr. *sapta*, *aṣṭau*, *nava*. The same is the case with other Indo-Aryan languages.

§ 220. *Dahā* "ten", in reference to Pkt. *daha*, shows a regular lengthening of the final vowel, which is explained by the tendency described á propos of *don*, *tīn* and *sahā*, and which has been favoured by the fact that of the two *as* encircling the aspiration, the second is generally long (see § 52).

But the aspiration itself of M. *dahā* is altogether disconcerting. It is known that normally the sifflant is preserved in Marathi and before Marathi (see § 160) in Prakrit. Now *daha* is found quite early in Prakrit. According to Vararuci, *dasa* subsists in numeration and becomes *daha-* in the proper

nouns, whose current form is to be respected by the literary texts, whereas the isolated word is subjected to the influence of Skr. *daśa*. The form *daha* does not take long in being imposed even in numeration. The texts accept it and Hemacandra had to authorise it, at least in Māhārāṣṭrī, because the eastern Prakrit preserves the sifflant (Pischel, § 262).

In modern Indo-Aryan, the forms are distributed as in Prakrit. Along with Romany and the majority of the speeches of the Himalayan West, the dialects of Hindustani, central and eastern, exclusively preserve the sifflant. In Simhalese and in Panjabi the two types co-exist, as also in Marathi, but *das* is rare and is found only in certain words belonging to the religious language and where it is a true tatsama (*dasvandan*, *dasuhāṇem*, *dasrā*). The aspirate alone is found only in Kashmiri, Sindhi and in certain Gujarati dialects : there it is phonetic. It is known that in Sindhi the passage of *s* to *h* is normal and the dialects of Gujarati, which have *dah* for “ten” also have *hāt* for “seven.”

Therefore, it seems that *dahā* goes back to some western or central form, but this form must have been borrowed very early, because it is already imposed on the literature of classical Prakrit.

§ 221. We have seen the forms of the numerals from “eleven” to “eighteen”. The numeral “ten” has been changed throughout therein where *d* had been earlier intervocalic. In Marathi and in other languages only *caudā* (*caturdaśa*) and *soḷā* (*ṣoḍaśa*) are phonetically treated. In the former, *d* had been geminated; in the second it had been, since its origin, replaced by a cerebral.

The agreement between Marathi and the rest of Indo-Aryan (except the far N-W. : in Kashm. *kah* “eleven”, *bah* “twelve”, etc., the intervocalic *d* is regularly lost) is quite constant in so far as the phonetic irregularity shown by the numerals *akrā* “11”, *bārā* “12”, *terā* “13”, *pandhrā* “15”, *satrā* “17”, *aṭhrā* “18” is concerned. In all these words, the intervocalic *d* had been replaced by *r*. The fact is already noted in the oldest Jaina texts and is also found in Vararuci (Pischel, § 443). It is explained that the need to protect the initial of the numeral for “ten” in these words must have been felt very early, but the passage of *d* to *r* is not normal

(cf. § 143). According to Pischel, here *r* comes from *ḍ*, found in fact in the eastern inscriptions of Aśoka (Michelson, I F, XXIII, p. 247, note 3). In this case the analogy of *ṣoḍaśa* immediately comes to mind, but *ḍ* normally ends in *ḷ*, that is why we have in M. *soḷā*. Undoubtedly the explanation is valid for Simhalese, which has in fact generalised *ḷ* (*koḷaha*, *doḷasa* like *soḷosa*), but not for the forms with *r* of the Middle-Indian and modern languages. Here probably we should admit a very early dissimilation of the intervocalic *d* by the initial *d* of *dvādaśa*, indeed by the initial *t* of *trayodaśa* (law XIV of Grammont) and the supported *t* of *saptadaśa* (law VIII of Grammont. These nouns would have acted as a model for others (explanation suggested by Meillet).

§ 222. *Ekunīs* "19" is formed according to the formula of Prakrit, which leaves intact the initial vowels of the second members of compounds. Even the languages, where *ek-* has generally become *-eg-* or *g-*, have preserved the *u* of Skr. *ūna-* changed into *o* in *ekonaviṃśati-*. The prototype of Marathi is, therefore, **ek-ūna-vīs*, where the median *ū* has naturally been abridged, and where the intervocalic *v* has disappeared, not being protected by the sentiment of the series as in the numerals above "twenty", such as *bāvīs* "22", *tevīs* "23", *cauvīs* "24", etc.

Tens

§ 223. The numerals for tens show forms that are still more obscure than those discussed above.

Vīs "twenty", *tīs* "thirty". In Prakrit, there is no longer any trace of the Sanskrit nasal *viṃśati-*, *triṃśat*, that are besides altogether abnormal and obscure from the Indo-European point of view (Brugmann, *Grundriss*, 2nd edn., II, 2, p. 31). In Prakrit *visai* and even *visai*, the form of the substantive, normally corresponding to Skr. *viṃśati-* have been noted. But the more usual forms are *viṣam* (neut.) and *viṣā* (fem.), which are both of them, the adaptations of Skr. *viṃśat* formed on the type of *triṃśat*. In Marathi *vis* and *tis* are, like all the numerals above "four", declined on the type of masc.-neut. *dev* or *ghar*. Other languages possess the same words with normal phonetic variants; for ex. Guj. *vis*,

H. *bīs*, S. Panj. *vīh*, Kashm. *vuh*; Guj., Hindi, Beng. *tīs*, Panj. *līh*, S. *ṭīh*, Kashm. *trah*.

Cālīs "forty", in relation to *catvāriṃśat*, appears as a Māgadhism : in Pali, *cattārisam* and *cattālīsam* co-exist but Prakrit has only the forms in *ḷ*. The first part of the word has not the same fate as *cār* for *cattāri*, but here *t* has been optionally preserved in compounds. Thus we say *ekcālīs*, *ekēcālīs* and *ektālīs*, *eketālīs* "41", *cavvecālīs* and *cavvetālīs* "44", etc. The form with *t* does not seem to be usual in Marathi (Molesworth gives it regularly, but Beames denies its existence), but it is current in other western and central languages (Beames, I, 215).

Pannās "fifty", Skr. *pañcāśat* is a very old form, provided the explanation given in § 217 be correct. But in its isolated state it is present only in Marathi and Simhalese (*peṇas*). Everywhere else the word for "five" has been re-introduced in that of "fifty".

Moreover, the fact, that the form *pannās* is not indigenous to Marathi, comes out from the gemination of the nasal.

In a compound with the units, Pkt. *pañṇāsam* has been, in its turn, abbreviated : thus we have *ekkā-vaṇṇam*, *bā-vaṇṇam*, etc. and *ekāvann*, *bāvann*, etc. in Marathi. These forms are found all over central and eastern India.

Sāṭh "sixty" is normally derived from Skr. *ṣaṣṭi-*, Pkt. *saṭṭhi-*. Here again the forms of other languages are in agreement with Marathi and seem to correspond to the same Sanskrit prototype: Kashm. *śaith*, Panj. *saṭṭh*, S. *saṭhi*, H., Guj. *sāṭh*, etc.

Sattar "seventy" corresponds to Skr. *saptati-*. Here the intervocalic *r*, found in the Middle-Indian and preserved everywhere except in Kashmiri and Simhalese, should go far back in the past. It is undoubtedly explained by the dissimilation of the intervocalic *t* by the stressed *t* (law VIII of Grammont) as in *satrā* "seventeen" (*saptadaśa*), see § 221.—In the compounds *s* is changed into *h* : *ekāhattar* "71" etc. We have seen in § 160 that this alteration is foreign to Marathi. This series of numerals is, therefore, perhaps entirely borrowed from a western or central dialect.

Emśim, *aiśim* "eighty" coincides with G. *emśi*, *hemśi* but not with Panj., H. *assi*, etc., which normally represent Skr.

asili, Pkt. *asim*, *asii*. Regarding this vocalic infection rare in Marathi, see § 166.

Narvad "ninety", like the languages of Hindustani, has a geminated, cf. Panj. *narve*, Beng. *nabbai*. But the end of the word is peculiar to Marathi. That of Skr. *navati-* is correctly found in Panj., H. *narve*, S. *nave*, Beng. *nabbai*, Or. *nabe* and even Kashm. *namāth*. Marathi seems to have fixed this word during the course of evolution and represents a Middle-Indian **navadi*. It has also shortened the same into *-nnav* in the compounds *ekyānnar*, *byānnar*, etc. Gujarati has subjected the same word to more obscure transformations (*navum*). None of these forms corresponds to Pkt. *nauim*, *nauī*, itself irregular. This word is thus entirely disconcerting.

Hundred and above

§ 224. *Śambhar* "hundred" is obscure. We recognise therein *śatam* to which seems to be joined a word denoting "charge, weight" or "capacity" (*bhar-* or *bhār-*). The word *śambhar* is employed in absolute. It has for its equivalent the indeclinable neuter substantive *śem*, always preceded by *ek* and which is used for forming the numerals above hundred : *ek śem* "hundred", *ek śem ek* "one hundred one", *don śem* "two hundred", etc. The word *śem* phonetically corresponds to Skr. *śatam*, which is also the case with all the corresponding forms of Indo-Aryan (except in certain Himalayan speeches where "hundred" is "five twenties", Grierson, *Pis. Lang.*, p. 37, 39). The end of the caste-name *sarāśā* has another form of the same word, declined on the model of masculine adjectives. It refers to a caste of "hundred twenty-five", Skr. *sapāda-śataka*.

Hajār "1000" is borrowed from Persian as almost everywhere else in India. Sanskrit *sahasram* seems to be preserved only in Kashm. *sās* and in Simh. *dahas* (if it does refer to *sahasram* having borrowed the initial of *daha* "ten", as is suggested by Geiger, § 45,). One could also simply see in this word a compound of *daha* and *siya*, that is "ten hundreds").

Lākh "100,000" corresponds to Skr. *lakṣa-* as is the case with all the corresponding forms of the same number in Indo-Aryan; *koṭi* "10 million" is a tatsama from Skr. *koṭi*.

the Hindi form *karod*, which is general in India (cf. Anglo-Indian + *crore*) has not been explained so far.

Fractions of Unity

§ 225. We have already explained the forms denoting fractions of units, which are : *ādhā*. *adh-*, *ad-* (*dīḍ* “one and a half”; *adīc* “two and a half”; *sāḍe-* “and a half”, from three onwards), Skr. *ardha-*; *pāv* “a quarter-, Skr. *pāda-*, and its compounds *pāūṇ* “three quarters”, exactly “minus a quarter”, Skr. *pāḍona* (*pāṇḍon* “ $1\frac{3}{4}$ ”, *pāṇḍetīn* “ $2\frac{3}{4}$ ”, etc.), *savā* or *savvā* “one and a quarter” Skr. *sapāda* (cf. *savvādon* “ $2\frac{1}{4}$ etc.”).

Ordinals :—

§ 226. Beginning from “fifth”, the ordinal adjectives have all been formed with the suffix *-vā* (*-āvā* from “nine-tenth” onwards) : *pāṁcvā* “fifth”, *sātvā* “seventh”, *dahāvā* “tenth”, *śambharāvā* “hundredth”, etc. This suffix corresponds to Skr. *-ma-* extended by analogy to all the numbers at an early date, except in the case of *sahāvā* “sixth”, (Skr. *ṣaṣṭha-*, Pkt. *chaṭṭha-*) where the analogy starts in Marathi. Hindi (*chaṭṭhā*) and Gujarati (*chaṭo*) still preserve the traditional form which, like Marathi, has disappeared from everywhere (Beames, II, p. 143).

Pahilā “first” results from the adaptation to Skr. *prathama* of the Pkt. suffix *-illa-*. Wherever the tatsama is not used in India itself, we find the forms of the same word (in Sinhalese and in the N-W., the systems are different; see Geiger, § 44, 3; Grierson, *Man. Kashm.*, § 28). Its extension, however, seems to be recent. It is missing in Prakrit (the usual form is *padhama-*) and it should be noted that the Marathi form is identically that of Hindi and Panjabi, which has spread on the other hand in the languages of the eastern group (Beames, II, p. 142).

Dusrā “second”, *tisrā* “third” are also common to Marathi and central languages. Marathi also possesses *dujā* “other”, *bīj* and *tij* fem. “second” and “third day of the Moon” which correctly go back to Skr. *dvitiya-*, *trītiya-* and are found

in Panjabi, Sindhi, Gujarati. The words *dusrā* and *tisrā* are still not explained.

Cauthā "fourth" develops normally from Skr. *caturtha-* as in all the languages of India properly so called (see Beames, I, 144).

Conjugation

§ 227. The verbal system of Marathi is based on a simplification similar to the one which is the basis of declension. But this simplification seems to have commenced earlier in the verbs than nouns. In fact, if the disappearance of the dual becomes a *fait accompli* only at the beginning of the Prakrit period, and if the absorption of the middle conjugation in the active conjugation is still more recent, because the middle one is partially preserved in the inscriptions of Aśoka and in Pali (for Prakrit, cf. Pischel, § 452, 457), then it is possible to follow, in the Sanskrit literature itself and that from its ancient period, the progressive impoverishment of the old inflexion. During the interval that separates the editing of the Ṛgveda from that of the Brāhmaṇas, words other than the indicative have undergone considerable losses. The subjunctive exists only in the present and in the aorist, and there also its use has become less frequent; the optative and the imperative are also limited to the present (J. Bloch, 'La phrase nominale en Sanskrit', MSL, XIV p. 31). In the *Mahābhārata* all the verbs tend to be reduced to the indicative and the imperative; of the subjunctive and the injunctive only skeletons remain and the optative is in decay (ibid., pl 37-9). In the indicative itself, the tenses of the past lose most of their characteristic forms and their meanings (ibid., p. 46). On the conditional, almost non-existent, see Whitney, § 941. On the contrary regarding the future, which has had a recent extension, it continues to develop, and the present, preserved intact in its form, sees its usage being extended (ibid., p. 64.).

The results of this evolution are noted in Prakrit, where the only usual forms are those of the indicative present and futures and those of the imperative. Only, or almost only the Jaina dialects have preserved other old forms : the imperfect (Pischel, § 515) and exceptionally the perfect (ibid., § 513; cf. Bloch, *l. l.* p. 73 and note 2), the aorist normally as also the optative (Pischel, § 516-7, 459). It is remarkable that the optative and above all the aorist be also so very fre-

quent in Pali. This coincidence shows the archaic or archais-ing character of the Jaina dialects, notably that of Ardha-māgadhī (cf. Pischel, § 18).

The Sanskrit of late period confirms the data furnished by Prakrit literature. In the *Vetālapañcaviṃśatikā* the only vivacious verbal forms are those of the indicative present (with varied meanings, see Bloch, *l. l.*, p. 67 ff.), future and the imperative present. It is the nominal sentence which fills up the lacunae resulting from the reduction of the conjugable forms (ibid, p. 94).

Stems.

§ 228. In the nominal sentence, can be introduced various participles, that is to say, declinable words but joined by their stems to the conjugation. Now among these participles, only the adjective in *-ta-* (with its derivatives in *-tavat-* and *-tava-*) preserves a verbal stem other than that of the present, to which all the conjugable forms are joined. The mediaeval verbal system is thus based on two stems : 1. that of the present, on which are formed, on the one hand, the indicative present and future and imperative and on the other, the present participle and the infinitive; 2. that of the past, preserved in the participle in *-ta-*. Thus the Sanskrit verb has evolved in parallel with the rest of the Indo-European languages, that have been constituted in course of time of the conjugative with two stems (see Meillet, *Introduction*, p. 418; cf. MSL, XIII, p. 350 ff). In detail, its history recalls especially that of the majority of the Iranian dialects, where also the verb has been reconstituted around the old present and of the verbal in *-ta-* (Re. Persian, see Sulemann, *Grundriss der Iran. phil.*, I, 1, p. 295, Horn., *ibid.*, I, 2, p. 148; on the Afghan, and Balochi, Geiger, *ibid.*, I, 2, p. 218 and 242; Re. the Kurd, Socin, *ibid.*, I, 2, p. 280-81; re. the dialects of the Pamirs, of the Caspian and of the centre, Geiger, *ibid.*, p. 321, 362, 394; cf. p. 416).

But the two stems have not taken long to react on each other in India and the majority of the modern languages preserve the old opposition only in a restricted number of cases (Beames, III, p. 136-147). It is in Sindhi that the old parti-

ciples have preserved most of this independence with regard to the stem of the present. In Panjabi, in Hindi the list of these participles has become very short. Marathi is, with the languages of the east, the one where the levelling has been the most complete.

§ 229. Only two verbs therein have preserved the trace of the old gradation of stems, the strong and the weak one suppletory nature infinitive *marṇem* (*mārṇam*), *karṇem* (*karaṇam*) part.*me-lā* (*mṛta-*), *kelā* (*kṛta-*). These are the two very usual verbs, whose radical ends in *r* and which constitute a group. In Oriya the only strong participles are also *malā*, *kalā*.

Elsewhere the opposition of the two stems has been maintained when facts of suppletory nature have occurred :

Infin.	<i>jāṇem</i> (<i>yāti</i>)	"to go"	:	part.	<i>ge-lā</i> (<i>gata-</i>)
	<i>yeṇem</i> (<i>eti</i>)	"to come"			<i>ā-lā</i> (<i>āgata</i>)
	<i>hoṇem</i> (<i>bhavati</i>)	"to be"			<i>jā-lā</i> , <i>jhālā</i> (<i>jāta-</i>)

The archaic language has also preserved a certain number of old forms. Such are the forms *pātlā* (*prāpta-*), *pāvṇem* "to attain", since replaced by *pāvlā*; *bhinṇalā*, pure tatsama replaced by *bhinlā*, cf. *bhinṇem*, *bhinḍṇem* "to penetrate"; *dinṇalā* (*dinhalā*), which preserves the Pkt. form *diṇṇa*, has been replaced by *dilā*, nearer *deṇem* "to give"; *minlā*, made after a type **mil-na-* (cf. Pkt. *ummilla-*) is less authorised than *millā* from *miḷṇem* "to join."

A certain number of irregular past participles have remained in use. Their origin is more recent and their form is obscure :

1. Those characterised by *-t* : *ghātlā* "posed", from *ghālṇem* is easily explained, as has been rightly seen by Sten Konow, JRAS, 1902, p. 421, by the opposition of a verbal **ghal-ta-* and of a present **ghal-ya-ti*, Pkt. *gallai*. Such words and those like *pātlā* cited above, as also the tradition of the Skt. verbal in *-ta-*, *-ita-* must have had been the starting point for the analogies which have determined the formation of *ghellā* "taken" (*ghenṇem*), *dhūtlā* "washed" (*dhuṇṇem*), *baghitlā* "seen" (*baghṇem*), *māgitlā* "demanded". (*māgṇem*) *mhaṇitlā* "said" (*mhaṇṇem*, *sāṃgṇem*), etc.

2. The verbs with a radical in *ṇ* optionally change this *ṇ* into *ṭ* in the past : *khaṭlā* from *khaṇṇem* "to dig", *mhaṭlā* from *mhaṇṇem* "to say", *hāṭlā* from *haṇṇem* "to strike".

The origin of this gradation is not known (cf. Sten Konow, l. l.).

3. The monosyllables in *ī* form the stem of the past by adding *-ā* : *pyālā* (*piṇem*) “drunk”, *bhyālā* (*bhiṇem*) “fear”, *vyālā* (*viṇem*) “engendered”, etc. It seems that here the old stems *bhīta*, etc. have been preserved, though enlarged by the suffix of the Pkt. adjective *-alla-*. Moreover, quite a large number of verbs form the past participle in *-ālā-* rather than in *-lā* (cf. Navalkar, p. 130).

4. The monosyllables in *ā* can add *i* in the past : *gāilā* “sung” (*gāṇem*), *dhyāilā* “reflected” (*dhyāṇem*) : this can go back to Prakrit : cf. Māg. *gāida-* in the *Mṛcchakaṭikā* (Pischel, § 565).

But *khāṇem* “to eat” (*khād-*) has in the past, beside *khadilā*, which is a tatsama, the *khālā*, which is altogether obscure : cf. however, Pkt. *solla-* for Skr. *sūnita* “cooked” (Pischel, § 566).

5. The verbs in *-e* diverge : *neṇem* “to lead” (*nī-*) keeps the *e* in *nelā* but *leṇem* “to take” (Skr. *lā-*, Pkt. *le-*) is treated like a stem in *i* : part. *lyālā* and on the other hand *deṇem* (*dā*, Pkt. *de-*) has replaced its old participles, moreover irregular, *dinnalā* and *didhalā* (cf. Guj. *didhlo*) by *dilā*.

A large number of these forms are optional : we may as well say that the system of strong forms of Marathi does not appear to have a definitive solidity. Besides the largest part of these forms are in reality relatively recent and in fact they are exclusive to Marathi.

It is suspected that they date from a period when the language tended to maintain the opposition of two stems despite the confusion provoked by phonetic evolution (cf. Pkt. *khāi*, *khāa*; *bihai*, **bhīa-*, etc.). But it is difficult to discover the original types that were the points of departure for similar forms.

Except the cases enumerated above the Marathi verb, as also the verb of other related languages, normally has only one stem (Beames, III, p. 28).

§ 230. When the modern conjugation is based on an old verbal stem, this stem is most often that of the present. Thus are found in Marathi vocabulary, traces of different formations which have lost their old morphological signification.

The athematic stem could not be extended to the tenses of the past in any case : only the stems of *yeṇem* (*eti*) and *jāṇem* (*rāti*) subsist thereof and they belong, as we have seen, to defective verbs as also the archaic third person *āthi* (*asti*), which already in old Marathi, is altogether isolated (except the participle *āthilā* "summer"). But those enumerated below are found in all the tenses :

Stems with the suffix *-a-*, like those of *utavṇem* (*uttapati*), *khāṇem* (*khādati*), *neṇem* (*nayati*), *paḍṇem* (*paṭhati*), *pekṇem* (*prekṣate*), *baisṇem* (*upaviśati*), *hoṇem* (*bhavati*); is found exceptionally the reduplication preserved in *biḥṇem* (*bibheti*), (*piṇem* (*pibati*)). Its trace can still be felt in the cerebral of *theṇem* and other words derived from the root *sthā-*; the stems with the suffix *-aya-*, like *uḍṇem* (*uḍḍayati*), *kāpṇem* (*kalpayati*), *cāṇem* (*carayati*), *mākṇem* (*mrakṣayati*), *māṇem* (*mārgayati*), *sāṇem* (*chardrayati*) and in a general way all the causatives of the type *tāṇem* (*tāpayati*), *toḍṇem* (*troṭayati*), etc.;

Stems with weak vocalism and the suffix *-ya-*, as *upajṇem*, *nipajṇem* (*utpadyate*, *niṣpadyate*), *juṇjhṇem* (*yudhyate*), *nācṇem* (*nṛtyati*) *bujhṇem* (*budhyate*), *māṇṇem* (*manyate*) and particularly the stems of the passive like *tapṇem* (*tapyate*), *tuṭṇem* (*truṭyate*) opposed to the causatives cited above (cf. Beames, III, 47 ff), *dājṇem* (*dahyate*), *disṇem* (*dṛśyate*), *pelṇem* (*preryate* in the transitive sense), *lābhṇem* (*labhyate*, cf. M. *lāhṇem*); cf. *rujhṇem* (**ruhyate*), *dubhṇem* made on the model of *lābhṇem* (*duh*), *sakṇem* (*śakyate*) where the verbal *śakya-* and even the present *śaknoti* have collaborated with the stem of the present passive.

Rare stems with nasals : one very old and the only one of its type, *jāṇṇem* (*jānāti*); others with a nasal inserted in the stem and replacing the stems of the more archaic type, either since Sanskrit (cf. Meillet, MSL, XVII, p. 194) as in *bandhṇem* (*bandhati-*), *bhaṇṇem* (*bhaṇjayati*), *rundhṇem* (*rundhati*), or in Prakrit as in *viṇdhṇem* (Pkt. *vindhai*, root *vyadh-*), *suṇdhṇem* (Pkt. *chundai*, root *ksud-*), *seṇdhṇem* (Pkt. *chindai*, root *chid-*). Prakrit has in one way or in another eliminated the majority of stems with the nasal : cf. *joḍṇem*, *thāmbṇem*, *dhuṇem*, *pāvṇem*, *phelṇem*, *saṇṇem*, *sakṇem*; and

two stems in *-ccha-*, one old, *pusṇem* (*prcchati*), the other found only in the Middle-Indian, *aṣṇem* (Pali *acchati*, Pkt. *acchai*).

To the stems of the present are joined a number of much more rare forms, based on the infinitive like *bhetnem* (*bhettum*), or on the present participle, as *jāgnem* (*jāgrat-*; Prakrit already has in the present *jaggai*).

§ 231. In addition are found a certain number of verbs formed on the stem of the old past participle. These are the only vestiges of the old second stem of the mediaeval verb. The explanation proposed by Beames (III, p. 38) does not clarify the process whereby the participle lost its value of the past. Besides, if it had been a case of only this participle, it would be difficult to understand as to why all the verbs derived therefrom have not been intransitives. Now this is, undoubtedly, the case with the largest number : thus we have *umagnem* (*unmagna-*), *uphalnem* (*utphulla-*, cf. Whitney, § 958), *umalnem* (Pkt. *ummilla*, Skt. *unmilita-*), *bhāgnem* (*bhagna-*; cf. *bhāmgnem* made after Skt. *bhaṅga-*), *muknem* (Pkt. *mukha-*), *lādhnem* (*labdha-*; cf. *lābhnem* < *labhyate* and *lāhnem* drawn from *lābha-*), *rudhnem* (*ruddha-*); cf. *rujhnem* < *ruhyate*), *lagnem* (*lagna-*), *sulnem* (*śuṣka-*; cf. Whitney, § 958), *sudāvnem* (Pkt. *chūdha-*, Skt. *kṣubdha-*). But right from the period of Prakrit we find the root of *kādhnem* “to draw” (*kṛṣṭa-*) with the transitive sense. Are used in the same way, *ghātnem* “to crush” (*ghṛṣṭa-*; cf. *ghaṭtnem* “to be crushed”), in relation to *ghāsnem* “to rub”, *ghusnem* “penetrate by force”, *ghenem* “to take, receive” (*grhīta-*, Pkt. *gahia-*), *dinhnem* “to give” (Pkt. *dinna-*), *māthnem* “to polish”, *madhnem* “to cover”, *miṭtnem* “to efface”, drawn from *mṛṣṭa-* (cf. *māmjnem* “to oil, to wipe off”; coming from the Skt. present *mārjati*); *piṭtnem* “to beat”, drawn from (the not found) participle of the root *prṣ-* “to do harm”. In order to be able to understand the change of meaning, it should, undoubtedly, be recalled that in Sanskrit, the participle in *-ta-* is normally accompanied by a feminine substantive in *-ti-*. This is specifically how we have beside *kṛṣṭa-*, *ghṛṣṭa-*, *mṛṣṭa-*, *kṛṣṭi* (found only with other meanings), *ghṛṣṭi-*, *mṛṣṭi-*. The verbs formed on the stem of the past participle must have, therefore, passed for denominatives.

Moreover, it is not always clear as to which of the two stems, the modern verbs is joined. Thus *umalnem*, *pelnem* can go back to the passives **unmilyate*, *preryate* (in the latter case it would be essential to admit the formation by analogy of an

active **preryati*) as to the Pkt. participles *ummilla-*, *pellia-*, all the more so because the Prakrit participles go back to the stems of the passive (re. *ummilla-*, see however Pischel, § 566). Similarly *lagṇem* can indifferently be derived from *lagna-* or *lagya-*; *khāṇem*, *piṇem* are equally easily explained by both the present and the participle (cf. § 229). The verbs like *umagnem*, *bhagnem*, *mukṇem* can be based as much on the participles as on the presents like **magnāti*, **bhagnāti*, **muknāti*, etc.

§ 232. From the point of view of Marathi, all the stems mentioned above, constitute a single category, wherein are also included those formed during the modern period, for example denominatives like *utaṇṇem* (**u ut-tṛṇa-*), *uphal-ṇem* (*utphulla-*) or *vācṇem* (*vācya-*), *vājṇem* (*vādya-*), (cf. Joshi, § 334 ff.). On the stems of this category, that can be called the primary stems, are formed by derivation, the secondary stems, those of the causative, the potential and of the passive.

I. The causative is formed in Marathi in two ways :—

1. by the *guṇa* of the radical vowel : ex. *paḍṇem* “to fall”, *pāḍṇem* “to cause to fall”; in this case the verb directly goes back to the Skt. causative (Navalkar, § 392, p. 232). This form has been pointed out above and does not interest us here, because it does not constitute a special category neither from the stems nor from that of inflexion;

2. by the addition of the morpheme *-ava-* or *-avi-* : ex. *basṇem* “to sit” : *basav(i)ṇem* “to seat”. This morpheme derived from Skr. *-paya-*, Pkt. *-ve-*, reserved at first for the roots in *-ā-*, was then extended to other vocalic or consonantal roots (Whitney, § 1042, Pischel, 551-552). The Prakrit *-ve-* normally culminates in M. *-vi-* whose vowel, being interior, is unstable. The *Apabhramśa* texts often note this decoloration of the characteristic vowel, which results in a confusion of the primary and causative conjugations (Pischel, § 553). The vowel preceding *v* is in principle *-a-*. Comparison with other languages shows that originally it had been the long *ā* (Guj. *-āva-*, Panj., Hindi *-āu ā-*, Sindhi, Beng., Oriya *-āi-* cf. Beames, III, p. 76). This vowel being interior, has been abridged. Marathi, the only one among the cognate dialects, shows another form of the same morpheme wherein the first vowel is *-i-* or *-ī-*. Thus we have *kariv(i)ṇem* beside *karav(i)ṇem* “to get done.” The question is whether here it is

the phonetic action of the following vowel. We are allowed to think that it is the trace of an old causative; the co-existence of Pkt. *kārei* on the one hand and of *kārci* and *kāravai* on the other could have provoked the formation of a type **kārevai*, **-kārevei*.

The inflexion of the causatives is that of all the transitive verbs of Marathi.

II. A deceiving analogy of form has led certain grammarians to mix up with the morpheme of the causative that of the verb expressing possibility. In reality, the latter is *-va-* and never *-vi-* and moreover the construction of the verb is intransitive, therefore essentially different from that of the causative : *mājhyā-nem karavatem* "I can do". Taking into consideration this peculiarity of the syntax, Navalkar identifies the potential with the passive of Sanskrit (§ 400), forgetting that this form has been maintained by being transformed in Prākṛit and right upto Marathi. It is Beames who has given the true explanation of this morpheme of the potential, by recognising therein the suffix of the participle of obligation in *-tavya-* (III, p. 157). In Marathi has been constituted, on the participle in *-v-*, a conjugation of the same type as the one constituted on the present participles in *-t-* and the past part. in *-l-* (cf. § 243 ff.).

III. Different from the causative and potential, the passive is a form in complete decay. In reality, modern Marathi no longer has a passive verb; the passive sense being expressed by a periphrase similar to that of French, composed of the past participle joined to the verb *ho-* "to be" or *jā-* "to go". The old passive is represented only by a fixed form become the conjunction *mhañije* "that is to say", literally "is said" and by an abnormal verb *pāhije* "is necessary", literally "is seen" (Navalkar, § 259 ff.). But in old Marathi the morpheme *-ij-* was normally used to form the passive verbs (ibid., § 718; Joshi, § 292; cf. in the inscriptions : *jhavije* "is seized, should be seized", Parel; *māviye* "is contained", Patan). This morpheme which is also found in Sindhi, Rajasthani (Beames, III, 72; LSI, *Raj.*, p. 10), in one of the speeches of the far N-W (Grierson, ZDMG, 1912, p. 12) and probably, with a little change of meaning, in the radical of the "respectful imperatives" of Hindi and Gujarati (cf.

Hoernle, p. 340; Beames, III, 110-113, Grierson, JRAS, 1910, p. 162-3 give a different explanation of these forms), goes back to Pkt. *-ijja-* which in the western dialects is the normal morpheme of the passive. Curiously, Panjabi alone still has clearly the form *-īa-* of the Śaurasenī and Māgadhi Prākṛits or *-iyya-* of Paisācī (Pischel, § 535; Grierson, ZDMG, 1912, p. 85; cf. concerning Hindi *cāhiye*, etc., Grierson, JRAS, 1910, p. 163). The middle terminations having as we have seen, disappeared since the Prākṛit period, the passive is, in old Marathi as in Prakrit, not a voice, but a secondary stem, whose inflexion is identical to that of all the intransitive verbs.

These are then the only secondary verbal suffixes of Marathi which have a definite morphological value.

Inflexion

§ 233. Verbal stems so constituted always remain distinct from terminations. The latter are distributed in two groups, according to whether the verbs are transitive or intransitive. In other words, Marathi has preserved in its inflexion, the distinction between verbs with stems in *-ati*, Pkt. *-ai* and causatives in *-ayati*, Pkt. *-ei*. This, then, is an archaism which is found again only in Sindhi (Trumpp, p. 284-5, 313 ff, 322 ff; Beames, III, p. 115) and moreover which tends to disappear in Marathi itself. The morpheme of the transitive *-i-*, developed out of the morpheme of the Pkt. causative *-e-* is found in the participial tenses between consonants inside the word. It thus becomes unstable therein and in fact grammars prescribe it as optional (Joshi, p. 204, 208). Even in the present and future, where diphthongisation gives to the transitive conjugation an aspect different from that of the intransitive conjugation, the first and second persons of plural are normally unified on the intransitive type, and there is wavering in respect of usage in other persons as well (Joshi, p. 198-9, 214; LSI, *Mar.*, p. 26).

§ 234. The conjugable forms of the Marathi verb are distributed as given below :

1. Old present indicative (become the past of habitude);
2. Future, formed on the old present;

3. Imperative;
4. Tenses remade, during the modern epoch, on participles and inflected according to the type of the present.

Past of habitude (old present)

§ 235. The terminations of the Skt. present have persisted upto Marathi without almost any other change than normal phonetic changes.

The table given below will suffice to bring out this regularity :—

<i>Intransitive</i>			<i>Transitive</i>		
Skr.	Pkt.	Mar.	Skr.	Pkt.	Mar.
-āmi	-āmi	-em	-āyāmi	-emi	-īm
-asi	-asi	-asi, -as or -es	-ayasi	-esi	-īs
-ati	-ai	-e	-ayate	-ei	-ī
-āmaḥ	-āmo	-om, -ūm	-ayāmaḥ	-emo
(-āmo)			(ayāmo)	
-atta	-aha	-ā(-ām)	-ayatha	-eha	
-anti	-anti	-at(i), at	-ayanti	-enti	-itī, -īt

In the first and the third person of the singular, the forms *-aim, *-ai which are at the origin of modern terminations (cf. § 58) have not been preserved; but in the future the contraction has occurred later, and the texts preserve -ain, -ail beside -en, -el; cf. § 240. Regarding -īm, -ī, see § 236 and for the first person pl. -om, -ūm, § 67.

The final vowel of the old terminations of the second sing. and third pl. is of same quantity ; cf. § 38. The modern forms of the same terminations pose a delicate problem : should we consider—as in the second sing. as developed out of -es and this form as being phonetically regular, ? This is not impossible, see § 58; but it is equally possible that -as be only phonetic and that in consequence -es, a form moreover more nasal, be due to the analogy of other persons of singular. The same explanation would fit the corresponding termination of the transitive, -īs. As regards the third pl. -itī, it, the preservation of a in -ati, -at shows that it is the same analogy which affects the timbre of the vowel.

The nasalisation of the second pl. *-ām̐* is spontaneous (cf. § 70); it is missing in the imperative and future. Moreover even in the present its usage is far from being constant (Joshi, § 299, 14, p. 200).

§ 236. The regularity of Marathi forms is all the more striking when we see that except Simhalese (Geiger, § 58) all other languages have disagreements and obscurities, both of them more or less serious and numerous.¹ Only the termination of the third person sing. is everywhere identical (Beames, III, 102; Romany has *-el*, which is derived in regular manner from Skr. *-ati*).

In the second person plural, *-a* is found in a clear way only in Nepalese. In view of the relationship between this dialect and the Rajput dialects, Raj. *-ām̐* can be considered as being identical also with the Marathi form. The languages of the centre have *-o* (Apabh. *-ahu*) where one can see the result of a normal unvoicing of the final *-a*. Beng. and Or. *-o* go back either to *-a* or to *-ahu*.

Phonetics already has more difficulty in explaining the forms of the first person. In the singular, only the eastern dialects agree with Marathi (Or. *-em̐*, Beng. *-i*, Meith. *-ī*); everywhere else the vowel is *-ā* or *-o* (Panj., Sing., *-ām̐*, Guj. Him. Raj. Nep. *-om̐*, Av. *-aum̐*; cf. Apa. *-aum̐*). Should we admit here a particular evolution due, on the one hand, to the premature loss of final *-ī* which is found in European Romany *-āv̐*, and on the other, the vocalic unvoicing provoked by nasalisation in the central dialects (cf. § 39)? What complicates the question is the fact that the palatal timbre, which is missing in the singular, is found again in the same languages (except in Sindhi) in the plural. One would say, observes Beames (III, p. 105), that an exchange has taken place between the two forms. This is not place to discuss the explanation proposed by him. It is more important to note that the agreement of Marathi with the eastern dialects and its disagreement with those of the central region is found elsewhere.

1. It will be seen from the table given in Grierson, *Pis. Lang.*, p. 57 and the observations that follow, as to how divergent and obscure are the forms in the mountainous group of the N-W, except in first person sing. We will also not take into account these speeches here.

In the second person sing., *-s* is found only in Bengali, Avadhi, Nepalese and Romany (the *-u* of Oriya is totally aberrant, see Beames, III, p. 104). Elsewhere are found the terminations of the Apabhramśa type *-ahi*. Can we say that in all these cases it is the phonetically regular passage of the intervocalic *s* into *h*, as is the case in Sinhalese? This is improbable (cf. § 160). Perhaps Apabh. *-ahi* is, in part, the notation of *-ai*, coming from the assimilation of the second person to the third, for which more than one example is given by the present-day dialects (in Marathi of the Vidarbha region, *tu āhe* "you are", LSI, Mar., p. 27; moreover the cases of analogy are more frequent in the plural, *ibid.*, p. 43, 44, 45, 173, 195). Perhaps again this form and that of the first person in the same dialects come from the imperative (see § 239).

Finally the *t* of the third pl. Skt. *-nti* has been preserved, in addition to Marathi and Sinhalese, only in Oriya. We find in the other languages, on the one hand, the terminations in *n* (Beng. *-en*, *-an*, Nep. *-un*, *-an*, Sin. *ani*, Panj. *-an*, *-aṇ*, West. Panj. *-in*, Rom. *-en*) and on the other, the terminations of the Apabh. type *-ahim* (Av., Maith. *-aim*, Mag. *-im*, Him. *-em*, Raj. *-aim*, *-ai*, Guj. *-e*). Neither one nor the other seems likely to be explained by normal phonetics (cf. Beames), III, 103, J. Bloch, JA, 1912, I, p. 333-4).

The opposition of the phonetically regular forms of Marathi with that of the languages of Apabhramśa type is a point of reference that is extremely important for the general history of the Indo-Aryan languages.

§ 237. This tense is used in Marathi chiefly for denoting an action repeated in the past, but it is the iterative sense which is the main thing here, because the same forms are used with the sense of the present, not only in archaic verbs like *hoy*, *āhe* "he is", *pāhije* "it should be", but also in proverbs (Joshi, § 603 c). In other words, they mark the eventuality, which moreover, is, noticed when they are used in negation (Navalkar, § 611, Joshi, § 603 e; cf. the fixed locutions *nalage* "is not necessary", *naye* "does not work, should not have been"; see Navalkar, p. 151-2), with an interrogative pronoun (Joshi, § 603 d), in the propositions of subordinate sense (Navalkar, § 611, 3-4) and in a general way wherever

is a question of indicating the possibility (ex. *heṃ kām nū-c arūṃ jāṇeṃ* "I know that I will know how to do this job well", cited by Joshi, l. l.) In old Marathi, they also have the sense of the present, future or past according to the context. Thus we have in the same passage of *Jñāneśvari* (= *Gīlā*, III, X-11) :

Pārthā, āṇika hī eka
neṇasī tū heṃ kavatika... "You do not know of this
marvel." (III-79)

dekheṃ : anukramādhāreṃ
svādharma jo ācare
to mokṣa teṇeṃ vyāpāreṃ
niścita pāve.

"See, the one who according to the order practises his dharma, certainly attains salvation by such conduct" (III, 80).

taiṃ nityayāgasahiteṃ
srjitīṃ bhūteṃ samasteṃ
pari neṇātī ci...

"Then all the beings were created with the eternal sacrifice; but they did not know." (III, 86).

tevelī prajīṃ vinavilā brahmā
devā, āśrayo kāi etha āhmā
taṃu hmaṇe to kamaḷajanmā.

"Then the creatures asked Brahmā : O God, who is our support ? Whereupon the Lotus-Born talked to the beings" (III, 87)

je yeṇeṃkarāni samastāṃ
paritoṣa hoila devatāṃ
maga te tuṃhāṃ īpsitā
ārthā teṃ deti
...yogakṣema niścitā
karitī tuṃcā.

"If the gods are satisfied, they will then bestow on you the object you desire; ...they will give you property complete and sure" (III, 95-96).

Cf. also the examples cited by Joshi, p. 399 and 191. The sense of eventuality is particularly clear in the inscription of Parel : *jo koṇhi e śasan lopī...* "whosoever will destroy this edict...."

§ 238. It can be seen that the sense, properly speaking

temporal, is extremely secondary in Marathi. What characterises the form is precisely the temporal indetermination. The same trait is found in other languages. In Sinhalese, in Romany (Miklosich, XII, p. 48), in Oriya (LSI, *Or.*, p. 381) and besides in the majority of the non-literary dialects (Beames, III, p. 102) the sense of the present is normal, but in Bengali the same tense is used as historical present (Beames, III, p. 107) and almost everywhere in India, it takes up the function of the eventual future, of the subjunctive (Beames, III, p. 102, 107; Grierson, *JAS Beng.*, 1895, p. 353 ff.; cf. Grierson, *Maithili Gram.*, § 196 ff.; Greaves, *A Gram. of Mod. Hindi*, § 191 ff., etc.).

The origin of this indetermination of sense goes back very far in the past. The stem of the Skt. present denotes the notion of duration and, as is observed by Speyer, the absence of a tense expressing duration in the past must have been for quite something in extending the present to the past (*Ved. und Sanskr. Synt.*, § 172). In the prose of the *Mahābhārata* are found several verbs in the present intercalated in a series of the forms of past tense : the former by their sense of duration are clearly opposed to the latter. (J. Bloch, *MSL*, XIV, p. 35). In any case, already for Pāṇini the present with *sma* denotes the past in its generality and the usage is constant in classical literature (J. Bloch, *ibid.*, p. 67-8; Speyer, *op. cit.*).—But at the same time, it seems that due to the competition of the forms of the future, present also more slowly takes on the sense of the near or eventual future, preferably under certain conditions—in the first person, in answers, with *nanu* or *purā*, above all in the interrogative and relative sentences, that is to say, those corresponding to the subordinates in Marathi (Speyer, *op. cit.*, § 173; J. Bloch, *op. cit.*, p. 36, 68-70).

The past of habitude of Marathi is thus the true successor of the Sanskrit “present”, not only in its form, but also in its use. For expressing with precision the moments of duration, Marathi must have been obliged, by combining the elements it had received from Sanskrit, to constitute new forms.—Before reviewing them it will be useful to examine the imperative which is, with the present, the only group of conjugable forms of old origin in Marathi.

Imperative

§ 239. The terminations are as follows :—

Sing.	Pl.
1. -ūṃ	-ūṃ
2. (-a)	-ā
3. -o, -ū	-ot, -ūt

Those of the second and third sing. are the only ones whose transmission has been regular since Sanskrit: Skr. Pkt., M. -a; Skr. -atu, Pkt. -au, M. -o.

In the second and third person plural, Prakrit had replaced the terminations of Sanskrit imperative by those of the present indicative (Pischel, § 470, 471). Given the indeterminate value of the present, the decision or order are easily expressed by this form. Moreover, the loss of the past tense in Sanskrit must have, quite early, resulted in a serious weakness of the secondary terminations. In fact, everywhere the second plural of the imperative is similar to that of the indicative (Beames III, p. 108; on Sinhalese, see Geiger, § 62; on Romany, see Miklosich, XI, p. 43). However, as regards the first person plural, the history of the replacement of -āma by -āmo is probably not as simple as it looks. It is known that Pali had generalised the secondary termination -ma, and that it is found also in the future in archaic Prakrit (Lüders, *Bruchstücke*, p. 51). In any case, it is true that the termination of the present indicative has finally prevailed over that of imperative, as everywhere else.

The terminations of the first singular and third plural are clearly similar. The former is constructed on the type -ati : -atu, -āmi : *-āmu. In fact Prakrit grammarians give the form -āmu. Bhāmaha (before 800 A. D.) even gives -amu (Pischel, § 467). As regards -ot, it seems to have been re-made on the sing. -o, as the third pl. indic. active -it has been on that of the sing. -ī, unless it be that the form -untu found in Oriya beside -antu (cf. also Beng. -un; see Beames, III, p. 108-9) is also the cause of the origin of the Marathi termination.

Oriya and Bengali with Marathi are the only languages having special forms of the imperative in the third person (Or. -u, -untu; Beng. -uk, -un). Everywhere else it is the old

present which is used to express the order or the decision to be taken in all persons except in the second sing. This latter has its termination *-u* in Sindhi and *-a*, that is to say zero, in other languages. The form of second sing. imperative is, thus, everywhere, except in Sindhi, identical to the stem of the verb itself.

Old Marathi still has in this person a termination, that has now disappeared from usage : *-em* in the verbs of intransitive type, *-im* in the transitive ones; ex. *sāṃgem* "say", *karim* "do" (Joshi, p. 215). Should we then put this form in relationship with the corresponding termination *-hi* preserved in old Hindi poets and with the final *-ya* of the Kathiawar-dialects (Beames, III, 109; cf. LSI, Guj., p. 427) ? The *rapprochement* is not sure, because we know that *-ahi* in these languages is the termination of the second sing. of the indicative, unless it be that we admit that only the forms of the first and second sing. of indicative are in reality borrowed from the imperative. Whatever be the case, the Marathi form seems directly to go back to the Prakrit form in *-hi* coming from the Skt. *-dhi* and extended to all the stems. Prakrit seems to have avoided the use of the stem *nu*: thence forms like *karetu*, *karehi*; *ruasu*, *ruahi* and those, notably frequent in Ardhamāgadhī, like *harāhi*, *vandāhi* (Pischel, § 467-468). The form in *-su* has disappeared, undoubtedly because at the moment of the fall of the finals there was nothing to distinguish between *-su* and *-si*. But *-āhi*, *-ehi* have been partially maintained and undoubtedly Mar. *-em*, *-im* (with spontaneous nasalisation ? cf. § 70) go back to these forms.

Future

§ 240. The future, tense of modern creation, but found in the oldest texts, is formed from the present, to which is added the indeclinable suffix *l*. The only exception is the first person plural, which is not distinguished from that of the old present nor that of the imperative. This confusion is surely due, on the hand, to the fundamental identity of the sense in the three cases and on the other hand, to the existence of an inconjugable form in *-ūn*, the gerundive. The terminations

of the future are as follows :

Intransitive

-ain, -en

-aśīl

-ail, -el

(-ūṃ)

-āl

-atīl

Transitive

-īn

iśīl

-īl

(-ūṃ)

-āl

-itīl

These terminations do not raise any difficulty of a phonetic nature (re. the final *n* resulting from *l* after a nasal vowel, see § 72), but even their formation is obscure. Only the comparison with other languages enables us to see as to what is *l*, the characteristic of future.

§ 241. The sigmatic future of Sanskrit seems to have existed everywhere. It exists without competition in Gujarati, West. Panjabi, and with a deviation in sense, in Kashmiri (Grierson, *JAS Beng.*, 1895., p. 356, 375; cf. Beames, III, p. 112), but it is found co-existing, the most often, with more recent forms, in various dialects, which are as follows : Marwari which is situated between Gujarati and West. Panjabi (suffix in -h-; LSI, *Raj.*, p. 12), Bhili, contiguous to Gujarati (suffix in -s- and -h-, LSI, *Bhil Lang.*, p. 4), to the east of the preceding ones Jaipuri (suffix in -s-), Braj and Bundeli (suffix in -h-, LSI, *Raj.*, p. 12), and even in the eastern group, the dialects of eastern Hindi and Bhojpuri, where the suffix -b- has entrenched itself only in the two first persons (suffix in -h-, LSI, *East. Hindi*, p. 7). No trace of this future is to be found during any period of Marathi.

Almost everywhere it has ceded the place, or is progressively ceding the same to other forms. In Sindhi and in Simhalese, the future is constituted by the present participle to which are added the personal terminations (Beames, III, p. 126; Geiger, § 61). A variant of the same formation is found in Konkani (present part., fixed at masc. + *l* + personal suffixes; ex. *nidtolom* "I will sleep", LSI, *Mar.*, p. 170, 173). "The third variety" of the future in Maithili is equally made on the present participle (Grierson, *Maith. Gram.*, § 204). It will be noted that this formation is that of the present in Marathi (see *infra*, § 244). On still another participle, but this time on the future participle, is formed the future of

all the eastern dialects (-ba- <Skr. -lavya, LSI, *East. Hindi*, p. 6-7). The same holds true, with a different participle, in certain mountainous dialects of the N-W. (Grierson, *Pis. Lang.*, p. 61-2).

As a result of the preceding observations it is clear that all the languages situated on the borders of the Indo-Aryan domain have preserved the old sigmatic future or have replaced the same by using a participle. The only exception is the language that occupies our attention. In fact on this point Marathi is joined to the group of central languages, whose future is constituted by the old present followed by a single suffix (the dialects of the far N-W. seem to utilise the present alone, as in Iranian, see Grierson, *l. l.* Romany does the same or makes use of the periphrase, for ex. with the verbs denoting "to desire", according to a formula found also in Iran, see Miklosich, XI, p. 48 ff; cf. Hoernle, *Grundriss der Iran. Phil.*, I, 2nd edn., p. 155; Geiger, *ibid.*, p. 327, 370-1).

The suffix of the future is not identical everywhere; *l* is found, in addition to Konkani already cited, in the suffixes *lo* or *lā* of Bhili (LSI, *Bhil Lang.*, p. 3) and Marwari (LSI, *Raj.*, p. 13). To the east of this last-named dialect, in Jaipuri *lo* is added to the present, but this suffix therein is declinable like an adjective. The same gradation is found between the most meridional dialect of Rajasthan, the Malvi, where the suffix for future is *gā* (which is found in Marwari and Bhili) and in its eastern neighbour, Bundeli, where this suffix is an adjective, masc. sing. *go* (LSI, *Raj.*, *l. l.*). It seems, therefore, that a dialectal line separates the dialects of the S-W. (Marwari, Malvi, Bhili, Marathi), wherein the suffixes of the future are indeclinable, from the dialects that are properly speaking central, where they are declinable adjectives. And in fact if we continue more to the east and north, we will find *gā* declined in Panjabi, in Braj and in all the dialects of Hindi and *lā* declined in Nepali (in Garhwal and Kumaun *lo*, declined, see Beames, III, p. 162, LSI, *Pahari*, 141, 292) and in Bhojpuri (declined, LSI, *Bihari*, p. 48-9, 52).

§ 242. Marathi is thus quite in its place in the group with indeclinable suffixes. We are, moreover, authorised to think that the indeclinable suffix *l* is only a reduced form, a

stem that has not undergone or preserved the enlargement of the adjectives, of the adjective *lo* or *lā* of the eastern group. Which is this adjective? The competing word *gā* is the Pkt. part. *gaa-*, Skr. *gata-*; Hindi *karūṁ gā* thus definitely denotes exactly "I am going to do—(I have) departed" that is to say "I have departed for doing" (see among others Beames, III, p. 161). From this, we are led to think that the adjective *lā* is also a participle, for ex. that of the Skt. root *lā-* "to take" or of the root which has generally supplanted it in Prakrit *le-* (cf. Mar. *lāṇem*, *lenem*). This is how in Russian Romany the verb *la-* "to take" is used in the periphrase denoting the future, as in Greek Romany the verb *kan-* "to desire" (Miklosich, XII, p. 49). If Marathi had been the only one in question, we could at best consider *l* as the residue of the participle **gel-* **gelā* equivalent to Hindi *gā*, Skr. *gata-*. In fact we have seen that in Konkani the suffix of the dative could have been *gelo* or *lo* (cf. § 200), but the existence of *lo* or *lā* in the dialects as in those of Rajasthani or of Nepal, where the past participle is formed without the suffix *l*, and where the participle of the verb "to go" in particular is *gayo* (LSI, *Raj.*, p. 27, 29, etc.; Grierson, ZDMG, LXI, p. 664) is an obstacle in the way of this hypothesis.

That it concerns a participle is in any case made extremely probable, besides the future in *gā* of the central dialects, by the existence in Sindhi of a tense formed in an identical manner. The present indefinite (durative and inchoative) consists therein of the potential, that is to say of the old present, plus the participle *tho* (Skr. *sthita-*), ex. *āūṁ halāṁ tho* "I go, I am going" (Trumpp, p. 293).

Participial Tenses

§ 243. The nominal phrase of Sanskrit led to the increasingly frequent use of participles, the nominal element for the form, but with an all the more characteristic verbal value as they replaced verbal forms fallen in dis-use (see J. Bloch, MSL, XIV, p. 56 ff., 84 ff). These participles had been those in *-ta-*, *tavya-*, *-tavant-*. The last one among these, which has had a relatively recent extension, however, quickly goes out of usage, its convenience notwithstanding (*ibid.*,

p. 58, 85). The two others, on the contrary, have subsisted upto a point where numerous formations, expressing, in the modern languages, the past and the obligation (or the future) are based on the verbals in *-ta-* and *-tava-*.

This is not all : the present participle, which in classical Sanskrit was used only in opposition to a complement or a subject of another verb, has taken in the modern epoch, a usage similar to that of other participles. Sometimes, it is found, especially in Vedic prose, in juxtaposition to a verb expressing the state and thus taking the value of a verb durative in time or of the mode determined by the form of the verb expressing the state. But this construction, whose examples will be found in Whitney (§ 1075) and Speyer (*Ved und Skr. Synt.*, § 205), becomes exceptional during the classical period. However the temporal value of the old present gets weakened and the participle is used to form a new periphrase expressing the duration in the present. Several periphrases playing the same role are found in different languages (Meillet, *Scientia*, 1912, p. 399), but in the modern period, a type comparable to the Indo-Aryan exists only in English (in the type *I am going, he is reading the Bible*) and in Greek, on the one hand during the period of *koine* and on the other in certain modern isolated dialects, notably the Tsaconian (Moulton, *Einleitung in die Spr. des Neutest.*, p. 357-60; similar examples of the classical period are contested by Alexander, *Am. J. Phil.*, 1883, p. 291 ff). Moreover neither in English nor in Greek is found the intimate union of the elements, which characterises the Indo-Aryan.

In fact, without there being anything in the history of Sanskrit to let us foresee it, new tenses have been constructed on the participle in *-ant-* like the verbal adjectives in *-ta-* and *tava-*. These recent creations are found in almost all the languages of continental India (Grierson, *JAS Beng.*, 1895, p. 367 ff. Beames, III, p. 126 ff.). Among the causes that could have favoured the new extension of the present participle, we can count, on the one hand, on the vacuum resulting in the conjugation due to the loss of the temporal value itself of the present indicative, and on the other, to the disappearance of the participle in *-tavant*, practically a homonym and synonym of the participle in *-ant-*. It is probably useful to recall also that

the Dravidian verb is essentially a participle with a pronominal suffix, alike the pronouns varying in gender in the third person (LSI, *Munda and Dran. Lang.*, p. 295 and *passion*; cf. Vinson, *Man. de langue tamoule*, fl S 46-48) and that at present the thematic characteristic of this participle is *t* in the northernmost Dravidian languages, except Brahui (LSI, *ibid.*, p. 296).

Definitively it can be said that the present participle furnishes, in the same way as the past and future participles, several new formations to the modern Indo-Aryan languages. Moreover, irrespective of their age, all these participial formations are modern and have been independently developed in various dialects. In fact if the principle is common to all of them, the methods have not been the same.

The formation of the participial tenses continues even today. Thus we can observe in the eastern dialects a progressive replacement of the sigmatic future by the future in *-b-* (Skr. *-tavya-*). From speech to speech we can notice hesitations in the distribution of forms, that show an unstable state (LSI, *East. Hindi*, p. 7). Similarly in Marathi, the various forms drawn from the past participle are in competition, where logic or scholarly authorities can do nothing. One can see herein the beginning of the changes in the conjugated verb of the participle in *-vā* (*-tavya-*). From there one can conceive that in the absence of philological statistics or of minute dialectal descriptions, history of all the forms often remains obscure, even when its origin and principles are clear.

Tenses formed on the present participle in -t

Present, Conditional

§ 244. The nominal origin of these comes out in the terminations of the singular, which vary according to genders. Those of the plural, on the contrary, are almost completely assimilated with the verb.

The terminations of the present are as follows :

- | | | |
|-------|----|---|
| Sing. | 1. | m. <i>-tom</i> , f. <i>-tem</i> (<i>-tyem</i>), n. <i>-tem</i> |
| | 2. | m. <i>-tos</i> , f. <i>-tes</i> (<i>-tyes</i> , <i>-tis</i>), n. <i>-tems</i> |
| | 3. | m. <i>-to</i> , f. <i>-te</i> (<i>-tye</i> , <i>-ti</i>), n. <i>-tem</i> . |
| Pl | 1. | <i>-tom</i> |
| | 2. | <i>-tām</i> |
| | 3. | <i>-tāt</i> (fem. dial. <i>-tyāt</i>). |

The termination of the conditional (irreal, see Navalkar, § 622, 675) are :

Sing.	1.	M. - <i>tom</i> , f. - <i>tīm</i> , n. - <i>tem</i>
	2.	m. - <i>tās</i> , f. - <i>tīs</i> , n. - <i>tems</i>
	3.	m. - <i>tā</i> , f. - <i>tī</i> , n. - <i>tem</i>
Pl.	1.	<i>tom</i>
	2.	<i>tām</i>
	3.	m. <i>te</i> , f. - <i>tyā</i> , n. - <i>tīm</i> .

§245. The differentiation between these two forms seems to be recent in date. In the *Jñāneśvarī*, the nominal forms of the first type are absolutely missing, those of the second have the sense of the present and moreover they are not found in the first person. Are found for the singular.

second person : *dāvitāsi* (var. *dāvisi*) "you show" *pālitāsi* (var. *pāḷisi*, *pāḷitosi*) "you protect" (XI 311), *bujhtāsi* "you understand" (XVIII, 1340), *hotāsi* "you have been" (XI, 274), *dekhtāsi* "you see" (XVIII, 1545).

third person : *puravitā* "he fills" (I, 27), *hotī* "she is" (V, 15), *positā* "he supports" (XVIII, 1650). Is also encountered the same form used in conditional propositions, XVIII, 1702, 1704, but no conclusions need be drawn, as the same passage has on old present, made in the same way.

In the third person plural, the modern form is frequently found : *dumdumitāti* (var. *dumdumitī*) "resound" (or "resounded"; the entire passage is a description of past facts, I, 130), *hiṃvatāti* "shiver, shivered" (I, 135), *varṣatāti* "rain, rained" (I, 166), *giṃvasitāti* (? var. *giṃvasit āhāti*) "purify, search" (XI, 307), *śinatāti* "tire themselves" (XI, 677), *dekhatāti* "see" (XIII, 59), *mānitāti* "consider" (XIII, 1133), *pusatāti* "demand" (XV, 1158), *nāṃdatāti* "enjoy themselves" (XVIII, 1594), etc.

Besides the forms with verbal terminations, is also found with the same meaning, the form of the modern "conditional" : *ja hote* "those that are" or "had been" (I, 164), *juṃjhate je* "those who fight" (I, 170), *he marṭe* "they die" (II, 137).

§ 246. The forms of the modern "conditional", to the extent that they do not recover those of the "present", are in reality participles with the normal enlargement of the adjectives in -ā (Pkt. *ao*).

The participle in *-t* alone has survived in the modern language, with the exception of *hotā*, which has taken the sense of past, and perhaps of several adverbial forms in *-tām*. (see S 194). But in the *Jñāneśvarī*, the participle in *-tā* is as normal as the other one. It is found in the juxtaposed ones like *boltā jāltā* "said", literally "had (been) saying" (XII, 20, XV, 48), *kartā hoil* "will do", literally, "will be doing" (IV, 21). It is used alone with the value of a verb in the third of the present, by the application of the old rules of the nominal sentence. Joined to a personal pronoun, it has, following the same rules (cf. J. Bloch, MSL, XIV, p. 54, 76, 90), the value of a present in the person expressing that pronoun. We find, for example, in the first singular *mī mārītā he marte* "I strike, they die" (II, 1377), *mī kartā* "I do" (XVIII, 515), *tārī mī na mhaṇatā, jari...nadekhatā* "I would not say that, if I had not been seeing..." (VI, 122).

Finally, as had been the case with the Sanskrit verbal in *-ta* (J. Bloch, *ibid.*, p. 91-2), the present participles of Marathi can be accompanied by a verb expressing existence.

Sometimes the elements of the group are disjoined, as in *karit ci ase* "he does" (XVIII, 1177); the most often they are juxtaposed. Thus we have in the *Jñāneśvarī*; *mī arcit aseṃ* "I adore" (IX, 14), *mī...bolat āhe* "I say" (IX, 144); *tūṃ...karitu āhāsi* "you do" (II, 6, 12) *tūṃ...mhaṇat āhāsi* "you say" (II, 137), *karavīt āhāsi* "you make do" (III, 5), *parisat āhāsi* "you listen" (VIII, 54); *kāṃpat ase* "he trembles" (I, 129), *mhaṇat ase* "he says" (I, 169), *karit ase* "he does" (II, 1), *det āhe* "he gives" (VII, 61), *vicarijat ase* "is demanded", *galatī āhe* "is drained" (the subject is in feminine, XV, 287); *āhmī sāṃgat aseṃ* "we say" (VI, 162), *pāhat āhom* "we look" (X, 182);

bolat asāṃ "you say" (IV, 184); *pāhat āhātī* "they look" (XIII, 642), *pāvate holī* "they acquire" (subject in the masculine, III, 44), *kāriteṃ āhātī* "do" (subject in neuter, XIII, 306), *varlatēṃ* (var. *varlat*, *varlatīṃ*; the subject is in neuter) *āhātī* "they meet" (VII, 37).

S 247. It will suffice to compare those of the groups consisting of the not-enlarged participle and the verb *āhṇem* with the forms cited in S 245 for finding out their identity. The aspiration, unstable between vowels, is particularly so between

two as : *dejhtāsi* and *dekhat āhāsi*, *pāhatāsi* and *pāhat āhāsi* are thus not only equivalent but identical. Moreover, that these juxtaposed ones be formed exclusively with the non-enlarged participle, is neither certain nor universal. The dialects of the Konkan preserve, in the third person plural, a feminine termination *-tyāt* which goes back to *-tyā āhāt*. It is, therefore, possible that, at a relatively recent date, various unifications of forms, with the masculine always prevailing over others have occurred (cf. *infra*).

In the third person plural, the juxtaposed one has preserved in the normal language the sense of the present; the nominal forms are reserved for the conditional. But the three forms of the singular have taken the value of the conditional. The question is : to what is this change due ? This evolution has nothing so very abnormal in itself and similar facts are to be met with in Hindi, Bengali and Oriya (Beames, III, p. 129, 132). But it is impossible to trace its history in Marathi. In any case it is met with in the *Deś* proper, because the dialects have generally preserved the present, which is found in the *Jñāneśvari*. Thus the present of *nid-* "to sleep" is in the Konkan : sing. 1. *nidtām*, 2. *nidtāy* (cf. *asāy* "you are"; in Goa one would say *nidtās*, see Joshi, p. 188), 3. *nidtā*; pl. 1. *nidtāv*, 2. *nidtāt* (the second pl. is always assimilated to the third), 3. *nidtāt* (LSI, *Mar.*, p. 173). We see that the nominal value of these forms has entirely ceased to be felt. This is all the more noticeable in the fact that only the masculine form subsists in the singular. Moreover it is not impossible that this form may have been derived, in these dialects, through borrowing from the common language, because the enlargement therein is *-ā*, whereas the normal enlargement in these dialects is *-o*.

§ 248. Inversely, the *Deś* normally ignores the enlargement in *-o-*. Now the actual present is based on a participle with the masc. termination *-to*, whose extension seems to be linked with the change of meanings of the participles in *-tā*. The *Jñāneśvari* does not know of these forms: in this text *pāḷitosi* is merely an incorrect variant of *pāḷitāsi* (XI, 311) and similarly *stavito* "he praises" (XVIII, 1137), *bhogito* "he enjoys" (XVIII, 1154), which are given in certain texts, should be read as *stavi to*, *bhogi to*. They are the forms of

third person present followed by the pronoun which serves for their subject, like *anubhavī to* "he experiences" (V 57) for which no variant has been found. But Namdev already knows the new forms *yetom* "I come", *pāhtosi* "you see", *karito* "he does". Whence come these forms? A loan can not be admitted because the dialects, with the normal enlargement in *-o* have precisely adopted the form in *-ā*. The verb *honem* is equally not in question, because *o* is not found in all the genders. Most probably we have to recognise the pronominal terminations in the actual present. In fact the feminine of these forms does not have an *i* but on *e* as in the pronouns (cf. Navalkar, p. 94). We can moreover conceive the thing in two different ways. Either it is an extension of the pronominal termination, due to the frequent place of the pronoun after the verb or the participle to which it is joined. Besides forms like *anubhavī to* cited above, we find for example *puravitā to* "he fills up" (I, 27). An easy haplology (*purvitā to* > *purvito*) would have fixed the pronominal termination to the participle. Or the form is not more recent, but is older, despite appearance than the form in *-tā*. We have already seen that the popular poets present forms which, though missing in the *Jñāneśvarī* and learned poetry in general, had been old in date. We should also not forget that we have in the *Jñāneśvarī* itself the terminations of the first person sing. of the past in *-lom* beside the terminations of the second person in *-lāsi*.

It is, thus, not impossible that the type *pāhtosi* of Namdev be as old, indeed older than the type *dekhtāsi* of *Jñāneśvar* and that the participial terminations, on which is based the modern present, be contemporary of the pronominal forms and not re-made after them. In other terms, it is not impossible that both of them be equally the remains of the archaic declension.

§ 249. Leaving aside the terminational variations, the present-conditional, is thus, a juxtaposed one of the present participle and of the verb *āh-* "to be", where the welding of the two words is more complete than in the periphrases consisting for example of the same participle and of *as-* or *ho-*. The history of Marathi is found again in the largest part of the Indo-Aryan languages.

In the central and western languages, the participle

alone is equivalent to a personal verb (Beames, III, p. 131-2; Grierson, *JAS Beng.*, 1895, p. 367-8). In Sindhi this usage is reserved for poetry. In current language, the participle is followed by oblique pronominal forms (Grierson, *ibid.*, Trumpp, p. 289-91, 294). The affixing of the oblique pronouns is also found in certain speeches of the Himalayan N-W. (Grierson, *Pis. Lang.*, p. 57). However, almost everywhere, the participle is commonly found as juxtaposed to a verb denoting "to be". Most often the two words remain independent in form. Such is the case in Sindhi, Panjabi, Braj., Hindi, Bundeli Bengali, in the dialects of Central Himalayas (Beames, III, p. 179 ff., 192 ff., 203 ff., Grierson, *LSI, Raj.*, p. 13; cf. *Bhil Lang.*, p. 4), in Kashmiri (Grierson, *Man. Kash. Lang.*, § 60 ff.). But in Western Panjabi the welding is frequent with the verb *hā-* (Wilson, *Gram. of West. Panj.*, *Glossary of Multani Lang.*, p. 52). Despite certain difficulties of detail, it is probable that the present (with the conditional in Bengali, Bihari and Baiswari) of all the languages of the eastern group is explained by a welding similar to that of Marathi. In fact, whereas in the third person the participle remains without addition, in other persons terminations similar to those of the old present are added thereto (Beames, III, p. 129-30, and compare the tables given by Grierson in the article cited above, p. 368, 354). Lastly, the speeches of the far N-W., despite their obscurity, enable us to observe similar facts (Grierson, *Pis. Lang.*, p. 58).

Marathi is, thus, in agreement with the majority of the related languages. At the same time, it clearly differs from the dialectal group, which is contiguous in the North. In Gujarati the participle subsists in isolation with the value of the conditional or of the indefinite past according as it has or lacks an enlargement (Tisdall, *Simpl. Gram.*, p. 48-9). But it is not found in any juxtaposition used to denote the present. Modern Gujarati (in old times it had only the archaic present, *LSI, Raj.*, p. 360), Northern Bhili and the dialects of Rajasthan (*LSI Raj.*, p. 13, *Bhil Lang.*, p. 4) agree in that they form the present by juxtaposing two conjugated forms, that is the archaic present and the present of the verb "to be". This type is unknown elsewhere.

Past

§ 250. The terminations of the past are as follows :

	masc.	fem.	neut.
Sing.	1. -lom	-lyem, -lem	-lem
	2. -lās	-līs	-lemś
	3. -lā	-lī	-lem
Pl.	1. -lom) in three genders	
	2. -lām		
	3. -le		
		-lyā	-līm

These terminations are based on the past participle in -lā as was the case with the present with regard to the present participle in -tā. But its fixation seems to be older. In the *Jñāneśvarī*, the provisionally inexplicable opposition of the pronominal masc.-fem. terminations in first person singular and of the nominal terminations in the second person is already normal therein (curious variants are, however found. *mī bolilām* or *bolilom* "I have said", *mī...pātlām* or *pātlom* "I have fallen", XVIII, 1767, 1774).

In the second person plural we find beside -lām, either -lāmt, or a variable termination in masc. -let, fem. -lyāt, neut. -līmt. These forms, frequent in poetry, are given nowadays as provincialisms (Joshi, p. 208, cf. LSI, Mar., 0. 43). They come from the frequent assimilation in the dialects, as we have already seen, of the second person plural with the third person. Moreover they pre-suppose the existence of the third person of the juxtaposed ones with *āhātī* of the same type, as those that have furnished the termination of the present. The *Jñāneśvarī*, in fact, offers several examples of these juxtaposed ones (*ghātale āhātī* "are taken", XVIII, 1064, cf. *gele asati* "are gone", I, 86).

§ 251. The use of these forms requires certain observations. The Marathi participle in -lā, like the Sanskrit participle in -ta-, which it has succeeded, takes according to the sense of the root, the intransitive or the passive value. The former requires no explanation. *jhād padlem* "the tree has fallen", *mī padlom* "I have fallen" are the nominal sentences of normal type. In the second case, the original construction has undergone various secondary changes, among whom a few have reacted on the form itself.

In principle, the logical object of the action is in the nominative and the logical subject in the instrumental. Examples are :

Cāvuṇḍarājem karaviyalem “made on the orders of (*Cāvuṇḍarāja*)” (Inscrip. of Śravaṇa Belgola);

myām abhivandila śrīguru ci “I have offered my adorations to the guru” (*Jñāneśvari*, I, 27); *aīsem pāhilem myām* “this is what I have seen” (ibid., XI, 275), *jem tumhī vākya bolilem* “the words that you have uttered” (ibid., III, 1); *kṛpā kelī tumhīm* “you have had pity” (ibid., XI, 255); *tumhīm mī aṅgikārilā* “you have accepted me” (ibid., I, 65).

A particular case of this construction concerns the one where the participle in the neuter singular is not accompanied by any opposition expressing the logical complement. This type of sentence, extremely frequent in Sanskrit and Prakrit (J Bloch, MSL, XIV p. 58 ff. 89 ff; Jacobi *Ausgew. Erzähl.*, Gramm., § 82), persists in Marathi as everywhere else; example: *arjuneṃ mhaṇitaleṃ* “Arjuna said *Jñān.*, III, 1).

But the rôle of this turn in a large number of modern Indo-Aryan languages does not stop here. To the originally selfsufficient group, which is composed of the neuter participle accompanied by its logical subject in the instrumental, has been added a logical complement in an oblique case. This explains the use of pronominal suffixes juxtaposed to the participle in such a way as to constitute a new conjugation in the groups of the N-W. and the east (Grierson *JAS Beng.*, 1895, p. 363 ff.) as also, for example in Hindi, the existence of sentences like *tab rājā ne is bāt ko batāyā* (masc. in the sense of the neuter), beside the logically constructed sentence : *tab rājā ne yih bāt batāī* “then the king explained the affair” (example taken from Greaves, *Gramm. of Mod. Hindi*, § 153; cf. Grierson, ibid., p. 361 ff.). The same turn is found in Marathi : thus we say *tyā neṃ Rāmās mārileṃ* in place of *Rām mārīlā* “he has struck Rām.” Moreover, it has been recently introduced therein and is used only when the logical complement is the name of a person or of an animated being and in this case it is but optional (Joshi, § 462, 468 d).

§ 252. As against the foregoing, several innovations have been introduced in Marathi whose principle is the tendency to maintain the logical subject in the nominative.

The simplest consists in the mixing of two nominal constructions set out below : Instead of saying : *tyāṇem āplā mulgā śālemt pāṭhaviḷā* or *tyāṇem āplya mūlās śālemt pāṭhavilem* "he has sent his son to school", one would say, *tyāṇem āplyā mūlās śālemt pāṭhaviḷā* (Joshi, S 466 b). This turn, incorrect from the point of view of the grammarian, is quite frequent and is to be found in poetry. According to the investigators of the Linguistic Survey, it belongs to Konkan (LSI, Mar., p. 67, 170). In addition it is found in Gujarati normally and in Rajasthani a number of times (LSI, Raj., p. 332).

Another mixing is produced in a certain number of verbs. Instead of saying *tvām (tumhīm) kām keleṃ* "you (both sing. and pl.) have done the work", we re-establish the personal pronoun in the nominative and add to the declined participle the normal termination of the intransitive verbs. Thus we get : *tūṃ kām keleṃs* "you have done the work", *tūṃ pothi lihiliṣ* "you have written the book.", *tūṃ pothyā lihilyās* "you have written the books" and *tumhī kām kelemt* "you have done the work, etc.

Its apparent complication notwithstanding and despite the authorities incharge of Public Instruction, this turn is in constant use and modern poets do not hesitate to use the same. In the Konkan, it is extended even to the third person. But here, as the termination added to the participle can not be verbal, it is borrowed from the nominal declension: it is the termination of the instrumental. Thus we say *yā saheban (sahebanīm) malā dile-n (dilenīm)* "the sahab has (the sahab has) given me a tip" (examples drawn from the notes of Bhandarkar; cf. Joshi, S 466 and LSI, Mar., p. 67, 221).

The last consequence of this tendency to keep the logical subject in the nominative and of keeping it in accord with the past participle has led to the constitution of a veritable past participle with active value. An entire series of verbs, classified by grammarians in the *umajgaṇ*, have thus transformed the traditional construction. We do not say, *myām tem umajlem myām goṣṭ visarlī* but *mī tem umajlom* "I have understood that", *mī tujhī goṣṭ visarlom* "I have forgotten your story" and similarly *tī asem mhaṇālī* "he has said that", etc. (Joshi, S 468 b).

The class of verbs under question is constituted by the

following verbs as given by Joshi (§ 299, 4) : *umaj-* "to understand", *āṃcav-* "to rinse the mouth", *ok-* "to vomit", *utar-* "to cross", *khel-* "to play", *cadh-* "to climb", *cuk-* "to miss", *tar-* "to pass", *pasav-* "to deliver (mare, she-ass) to burst (ear of grain)" *pāv* "to obtain", *poḥamc-* "to arrive at, to obtain", *poḥ-* "to swim across", *prasav-* "to give birth", *baḍbaḍ* "to gossip", *bol-* "to say", *bhaj-* "to adore", *bhul-* "to forget", *muk-* "to lose", *laḍh-* "to combat", *lābh-*, *lāh-* "to obtain, to gain", *vad-* "to say", *visar-* "to forget", *visamb-* "to neglect", *śik-* "to learn", *samaj-* "to understand", *smar-* "to recall to oneself", *hag-* "to excrete", *huk-* "to miss", *mhaṇ-* "to say" (*mhaṇāloṃ*, etc., the form *mhaṭleṃ* keeps the passive sense). The list, whose order itself reveals recent reshuffling (*āṃcav-* should have been the first) is not complete. The verbs *gā-* "to sing", *pī-* "to drink", *le-* "to take", *kar-* "to do", (in certain expressions *snān karnem-* to take a bath", etc.), *ghaḍ-* "to touch", *ācar-* "to practice, to do", and still many more can be constructed in the same way (Joshi, § 468, c, e, f; cf. § 299, 6; cf. Molesworth, *Preface, gener. intim.*, § 13, p. VIII).

The innovation, referred to here, is not recent in Marathi. We find, for example, already in the *Jñāneśvari*: *hem boliloṃ* "I have said that" (XVIII, 1131), *mī granthalom* "I have composed" (XVIII, 1770), *leilāsī* "you have taken" (XI, 294), etc. (On the other hand, *jeṇem tārilom hā saṃsārapuru* "(the guru), thanks to whom I have traversed the high waves of transmigration" (I, 22) seems incorrect in any case, as the noun is in the nominative. The variant *tārilā* should have been introduced in the text.).

Found since the days of origin, dominating by becoming increasingly frequent, it seems that the active construction of the past with intransitive verbs has, from now on, acquired enough vitality in the first two persons for eliminating the traditional passive construction. In fact the sentences, as those given below and taken from the *Jñāneśvari* are, because of their origin (cf. J. Bloch, *MSL XIV*, p. 58), 60, 86, 90), absolutely correct ;—

mi...kavaḷiloṃ mohem "I have been a prey to bewilderment" (III, 10);

hem paḍhaviḷom Jī-svāmi-Nivṛttidevīm "this is what

I have learnt from N. ' (XII, 247);
and *myām dekhilāsi* "you have been seen by me" (XI, 306, cf. 258, 282), are because of their origin (cf. J. Bloch, MSL, XIV, p. 58, 60, 86, 90) absolutely correct and yet they have gone out of use (Joshi, § 302, i; cf. § 465).

The actual tendency of Marathi is thus to establish in the past a unique conjugation constituted in two first persons by the forms with verbal termination, in accord with the logical subject in the nominative. In the third person, the two constructions still co-exist but the trouble found therein already points to a state of provisional disequilibrium, which will perhaps also lead to unification.

Tenses formed on the participle of obligation

§ 253. The participle in *-āvā* (Skr. *-tavyah*) can be constructed in a purely nominal manner in all the persons except the second singular, where the characteristic *-s* has prevailed in usage. In the plural, beside the nominal forms, are also found the same verbal terminations as in the past tense. The tense under discussion is, therefore, still in the process of formation, and when grammarians list it as being equal to other tenses, that is not correct. Their forms are as given below :

	masc.	fem.	neut.
Sing. 1.	<i>-āvā</i>	<i>-āvi</i>	<i>-āveṃ</i>
2.	<i>-āvās</i>	<i>-āvis</i>	<i>-āveṃs</i>
3.	<i>āvā</i>	<i>-āvi</i>	<i>-āveṃ</i>
Pl. 1.	<i>-āve</i>	<i>-āvyā</i>	<i>-āviṃ</i> or <i>-āveṃ</i> (indecl.)
2 and 3.	<i>-āve</i> or <i>-āvet</i>	<i>-āvyā</i> or <i>āvyāt</i>	<i>-āviṃ</i> or <i>āviṃt</i> .

The use of these forms is similar to that of the forms of the past. In the case of intransitive verbs, the participle is in accord with the subject if it denotes an inanimate being. It can also be construed in the neuter, the logical subject being in the instrumental, if it is an animated being. Examples are : *ātām pāūs paḍāvā* "now the rains should come." to *gharīm jāvā* or *tyāneṃ jāveṃ* "he should come to the house" (ex. of Joshi, § 468 i). In the case of roots with transitive sense, the passive construction is the rule; ex. *ahmi kāy karāveṃ*

“what should we do ?” (*Ĵñān.*, III, 6), *tumhī...voḷagaveli aḥmīm* “we should attach ourselves to you” (*ibid.*, XII, 247). But an entire series of verbs, i.e. *aikṇem*, *pariṣṇem* “to hear”, *dekhṇem* “to see” *baghṇem* “to regard”, *pusṇem* “to demand”, *sāṃgṇem*, *mhaṇṇem* “to say”, *bhajṇem* “to adore”, *dasṇem* “to bite”, *cāvṇem* “to masticate”, *śivṇem*, *ghaḍṇem* “to touch”, *jhagaḍṇem*, *jhomḃṇem*, *lagatṇem* “to get hold of”, are constructed in the neuter, the logical subject being in the instrumental (*Joshi*, § 468, *g, h*). Moreover, the future participle is changed into active verb like the participle in *-lā* by the addition of *-s* in the singular, and of *-t* in the plural, into the regularly declined form. An example given by *Bhandarkar* is as follows : *tūṃ granth lihāvās, pothi vācavīs āṃi dusreṃ kām karāvems* “you should write a book, read another and do something else.”

§ 254. The entire conjugation of the potential should probably be taken back to the same participle, although several grammarians abusively link it with the causative, whose construction as well as sense are entirely different. In fact, the logical subject of the potential is always an indirect case, ordinarily in the instrumental : *mājhyāṇem* or *malā cālavlem*, *cālavlem* “I can walk, I have been able to walk”; *mājhyāṇem* or *malā dhaḍā śikavlā* “I have been able to learn the lesson”, *mājhāpṇem* or *malā tyālā śikavalem* “I have been able to teach him”, cf. *āhmīm śaktihinem kaisem karavel tem neṇem* “deprived of force, what I can do, I do not know” (*Tukārām*); (see *Navalkar* 233 ff.; *Joshi*, § 329 ff., § 468 *j*; examples from texts in *Godbole*, § 293).

Impersonal Forms

Participles

§ 255. The present participle is in *-t* and therefore goes back to the active participle of Sanskrit, *-ant-*, Pkt. *-anta-* (*Pischel*, § 560). The same form is found in Gujarati, Rajasthani and Hindi. It is found indirectly by the infinitive *-ite* of Bengali. In the languages where a surd becomes a sonant after a nasal, i. e., in Romany, Sindhi Panjabi and Nepali, the corresponding participle is *-nd* or *-d* (*Beames*,

III, p. 123 ff., cf. LSI, *Raj.*, p. 14; Miklosich, X, p. 44). In the mountain dialects of the N-W., some have preserved *-ānt* or *-t*, others have *-an* or *-ān* which probably go back to the same form. This, at least is the explanation proposed by Grierson in his phonetics (*Piśāca Lang., Phonol. Det.*, § 182, p. 144), but in his morphology, he seems to prefer to see therein the middle participle of Iranian Zend *-āna*, Peh. *-ān*. Truly speaking if it refers to a middle form, it would probably be better to have recourse to the Skr. participle *-āna-*, common in Pali and found exceptionally in Prakrit also (Pischel, § 562). The vitality of this form is guaranteed by its Sinhalese derivative in *-na* (Geiger, § 55). The fact, in any case, remains that with the exception of the isolated dialects of the far-off frontiers,—Sinhalese, Oriya (extremely obscure, Beames, III, p. 125) and probably the N-W. Himalayan—the universally used form is the one, which is also preserved in Marathi.

The participle in *-t* has been enlarged in two ways : 1. the form in *-to* is reserved for conjugation; 2. the form in *-tā*, to the extent that it forms a part thereof, takes on the value of the past (Joshi, § 341, 8) and as a consequence of the conditional (see § 244 ff.), but it is also normally used as an adjective (Joshi, § 617, c).

§ 256. The past participle is formed by the declinable suffix *-lā* being added to the stem of the past, whether this stem be the old stem of the Skr. participle *-ta* or the only stem of the verb, (cf. supra, § 229). Because of its origin, this suffix is nothing but, as has been shown by Sten Konow (JRAS, 1902, p. 417, 420) the suffix of the Pkt. adjective *-alla-*, a variant of the more frequent one *-illa-*. The Marathi participle is thus merely an enlarged form of the Skr. verbal *-ta-*. This is apparent in the irregular participles like *kelā* (*kṛta-*), *gelā* (*gata-*), *pātlā* (*prāpta-*), etc. Prakrit did not have this development of the suffix *-illa-*, *-alla-*. The case of *āṇilliya-* (*āṇīta-*) herein is an isolated one and is explained by particular reasons (Pischel, § 595, p. 403). However, several dialects have enlarged their participle by *-l*. They are, on the one hand, of the eastern group, Bihari, Oriya, Bengali, Assamese and on the other Gujarati the neighbour of Marathi (where the participle in *-lo* replaces one in archaic *-o*, see LSI, *Raj.*,

p. 342) and lastly perhaps certain speeches of the Himalayan N-W. (Grierson, *Pis. Lang.*, p. 55). The isolation of these dialects, when joined with the recent character of the suffix which can be verified in many among them, proves that the morphological value of the suffix in *-l-* has been independently developed among each of them. It is all the more remarkable that it has failed to join the Indian speeches to the group of Indo-European languages where the adjectives in * *-l-* (undoubtedly here * *-l-ya-* > Pkt. *-lla-*) have been joined to the verbal stems. As is known, this group consists of the Slav, Armenian and Tokharian (S. Lèvi and Meillet, *MSL*, XVIII, p. 22).

Elsewhere the suffix in *-l-* has, in Marathi, maintained its adjectival value : cf. for ex. *pahilā* "first" (cf. *prathama-*), *āglā* "who is in the lead", (*agra-*), *aṇḍil* "male" (*aṇḍa-*). The participle in *-lā-* can, therefore, have a purely adjectival value. It is to avoid the confusion resulting from its use, that there has been constituted recently the form in *-lelā* which has only an adjectival function (Joshi, § 619).

§ 257. The participle of obligation in Sanskrit in *-tavya-* has given in Marathi the participle in *-āvā* having the same sense. The same adjective exists in Sindhi and Gujarati in the sense of the present passive participle. It is found again, fixed as one of these forms with the value of the infinitive, first in Gujarati and the contiguous group of Rajasthan (*LSI, Raj.*, p. 14) and then in the eastern group, Bihari-Bengali-Oriya-Assamese (Beames, III, p. 153-5; *LSI, Beng.*, p. 8, 403). In the last-named languages, the participle must have existed with its original value, as they possess a future in *-b-* which is derived therefrom (Beames, III, p. 158).

§ 258. The participle in *-āvā* having kept its passive value in Marathi (save some recent exceptions) and in any case its sense of obligation, Marathi was deprived of its future participle. This need is sought to be provided for by the adjective in *-nār*. This form, however, is not of Marathi itself and is found with the value of the noun of agent in Gujarati. But here the old form is provided with an aspiration : *karaṇahāra* "one who does" (*LSI, Raj.*, p. 362). The same form and the same sense is found in Sindhi, for ex.,

sirjanahāra "creator", *likhanahāru* "writer, one who is going to write" (Trumpp, p. 75) as also Hindi : *dekhnehārā* "one who sees". The sense of future, which has come into Sindhi, seems to be recent in Marathi. In the following example of Namdev (*Navnīṭ*, p. 18, abh. 18, 3) we have to deal only with an agent-noun :

dharma artha kāma mokṣa cārī stana 1
dohonār dhanya Puṇḍalikā 11

"The law, the interest, the desire and the deliverance are four breasts, one who milks them is the lucky Puṇḍalik."

This adjective is evidently drawn from the agent-noun in *-na-* which has elsewhere given the infinitive in *-nem*. Which then is this suffix ? Is it similar to that of the nouns like *andhār* "obscurity" (*andhakāra-*), *kumbhār* "potter" (*kumbhakāra-*), *suār* "cook" (*sūpakāra-*) ? or should we recognise herein that of *sutār* "carpenter" (*sūtradhāra-*). The aspirate of other languages would seem to make us lean towards this last explanation, without taking into account the fact that we are tempted, in so far as the meaning is concerned, to put *-dhāra-* "support" near *-pāla-* "protector, guardian", a word which is at the origin of the well-known Hindi suffix in *-vālā*, having a similar usage. It is true that often *h* is only a sign for hiatus, notably in the languages of the Apabhraṃśa type (cf. supra § 22, 66, 161, 210 and Trumpp, l. l.) and that the origins of this use of *-dhāra-* are much less clear than those of *-pāla-*. Making an avowal of his preference for the first hypothesis (III, p. 238), Beames hesitates and in the absence of decisive arguments, we have only to follow him.

Like the participle in *-t*, this one, taking an enlargement in *-ā*, becomes an adjective, keeps the use as the agent-noun and loses the value of the future participle. Examples are : *yeṇāre lok* "the persons who have to come", *bolṇāre puṣkal*, *karnāre thoḍe* "many who speak, few who act" (Navalkar, S641-2), or also *pohṇārā buḍto*, *lihṇārā cukto*... "the swimmer (alone) is drowned, the scribe (alone) commits mistakes..." (cited by Molesworth, s. v. *pohṇem*).

Use of Participles; Auxiliary Verbs.

§ 259. The use of all these forms is not identical. The

participle of obligation has maintained, as a whole, its original value and right upto the potential conjugation its construction has remained indirect. On the contrary, the other participles, having been isolated from the enlarged forms with adjectival values, have taken on, in course of time, an increasingly clear verbal value and a uniform construction. Its characteristic trait is their juxtaposition with the verbs denoting "to be." We have already seen that the "participial tenses" are in reality nothing more than groups so constituted. From the same though isolated elements, are constituted the "composite tenses." As a reaction against the habitude, in fact due to more than one reason, of modelling the descriptive grammars of Marathi on those of English, Joshi condemns (§ 595, cf. on the contrary Navalkar, § 313 ff.) the notion of composite tenses and gives a list thereof only as a practical concession. In fact the composite tenses do not constitute a definite system. But as certain simple tenses are already in reality, composed of a participle and an auxiliary, the separation of *mī caltoṃ* "I walk" from *mī calat āheṃ* "I walk", *mī calat hotoṃ* "I had been walking" would not give a faithful image of the verbal system. Moreover, the principle of these formations is common to the majority of Indo-Aryan languages (Beames, III, chap. IV, p. 170 ff. ; cf. Grierson, *Man. Kāśm.*, § 45, 60 ff; Geiger, § 63).

§ 260. The auxiliaries used in Marathi are *as-* and *āh-* "to be" (the former has the durative sense, Joshi, § 315). The former is found everywhere except in Panjabi and Sindhi and the latter seems to be natural to Oriya and the western group : Marathi , Gujarati (in the negative verb), Sindhi, Panjabi and Hindi. The verb *ho-* , currently used all over central India, in Panjabi and Gujarati, is used in Marathi only in the participial tenses and with the value of the past tense.

§ 261. The verb *jāṇeṃ* "to go" (Skr. *jā-*) is used to form the periphrastic tense with the passive sense : *to mārīlā jāīl* "he will be beaten", *to mārīlā gelā* "he has been beaten". This construction is recent in Marathi and also little used (see Navalkar, who gives in § 305 the various more usual equivalents; cf. Joshi, § 593, 5, p. 391). It is also found in Gujarati where it has started competing with the normal

passive in *-ā-* (Tisdall, p. 67-9, LSI, *Raj.*, p. 343). Marwari and Sindhi, like old Marathi, only have the old passive in *-ij-* (Beames, III, p. 71 ff.). The periphrastic passive in Marathi and Gujarati clearly seems to be borrowed from the central languages, notably from Hindi, where this turn is current (Beames, III, p. 213-4). Whatever be the case, the origin of this construction remains obscure. The verb meaning "to come", combined with an oblique case of the infinitive, is equal to a passive in Kashmiri : *guṇana yima* "I will be hidden" (Grierson, *Man. Kashm.* § 91), cf. the Hindi construction *dekhne meṃ ātā* "it is seen." For the verb meaning "to go" the same type is made use of. Thus in Marathi *teṃ jalūn jaīl*, lit. "that will pass being burnt" is equal to "that will be burnt." It is possible that the homonymy of the Skr. verbal adjective *jāta-*, Pkt. *jāa-* "become", which is readily joined to a verbal adjective in *-ta-* expressing the state in Sanskrit (chiefly in the form of the compound *saṃjāta-*: for ex. *sā virahapīḍitā saṃjātā*, *Vetāla.*, edn. of Uhle, 14, 5) and in Prakrit (see Jacobi, *Ausgew. Erz. Gram.*, § 113; cf. *muttāṇaṃ ghaṇareṇuna vva churio jāo mhi etthantare* "here I am (become) covered as if with pearl-dust", *Karpūramañjarī*, I, 29 d), be for something in the new use of the verb, *jā-* "to go" (and in fact it is so found in a verse of the *Jñāneśvarī*, XVIII, 783), *jāti* denoting "they become, they produce themselves", without our being able to clearly see if it is a verb re-made on the participial stem *jālā* "been" or of the verb meaning "to go". That the verb meaning "to go" could take the sense of "being" and be used in that case for forming the passives, is proved not only by the Dravidian, where it is rare (Beames is, therefore, wrong in citing the same, III, p. 74) but also Iranian. We know that in Persian *śudan* "to become", earlier "to go" (cf. Skr. *cyu-*) has succeeded the Pehlavi *estātan* "to hold oneself" (cf. Skr. *sthā-*) in the function that now concerns us, and the Afghan has done the same (Geiger, *Grundriss der Iran. Phil.*, I, 2nd edn., p. 155, 222). Moreover, the native opinion attributes the construction with *jānem* to a loan from Persian (Joshi, p. 391). We can only point out this hypothesis, which is not absurd but which is not necessary also.

Absolute Forms from Participles

§ 262. The present participle, fixed in one of its cases, supplies us with a form which is construed in an absolute form : to *caltām caltām khālīm paḍlā* "while walking, he has fallen", *bārā bājtām yā* "come (when) midday is struck", *tyālā kheḷtām myām pāhileṃ* "I have seen him play (playing)" *āhmī kheḷat astām to ālā* "he came when we were busy playing". Beside the form in *-tām*, there exists a form in *tāmṇā*, having the same sense: *myām jevitāmṇā tujhī ciṭi vācūṃ ṭākilī-* "I have finished your letter while taking my food", *myām tyālā ghoḍ-yālā mārtaṃṇā pāhileṃ* "I have seen him beat the horse."

There is a general agreement to see in this form the locative of the participle enlarged in *-tā*. For the meaning, this would very well correspond with the forms in *-te* of Gujarati and Bengali, whose use is similar (Beames, III, p. 124-5). But this explanation does not help us understand the affix *-nā* (Beames, l. l. and Joshi, p. 237, content themselves by characterising the same as "emphatic"). Moreover, Gujarati possesses, beside the forms in *-te*, the form in *-tām* of Marathi. If it is a declined form of the participle, a single hypothesis can render account of all these forms : that it is a case of oblique plural, i. e., the old genitive and in the case of the form in *-tāmṇā* of the dative plural—it is known in fact that the affix *lā* takes after the nasal vowel of the oblique of the form *nā* (see § 72). In Gujarati, the termination *-ām* is that of the neuter plural, Skr. *āni*. It can more reasonably represent Skr. *-ānām*. Here it would refer to a genitive *commodi* (cf. Speyer, *Ved. u. Skr. Syntax*, § 72). This hypothesis is, moreover, not verifiable, because since the oldest texts the form is already used with the freedom, shown by examples cited above (and borrowed from Navalkar, § 640, 1).

We should not, however, omit to recall the absolute of Pali in *-tvānaṃ* and that of Ardhamāgadhī in *-ttānām* (Pischel, § 585). The origin of these forms is obscure (Wackernagel, p. XXIV, note 3). It is not impossible that this be the origin of the Marathi and Gujarati absolute in *-tām* (cf. Rajvade, *Vyākaraṇ*, p. 109). In this case the addition of the affix *nā*, i. e., *lā* would be similar and would be due to the confusion with the form of the oblique plural.

§ 263. The past participle and the participle of obligation are often used as verbal nouns. The former, while keeping its subject in the nominative, is put in the oblique case and is accompanied by a postposition : *tujhī āi vārlyā-pāsūn* "since your mother died, since the death of your mother." The latter is construed in the oblique case of the singular as the verbal noun in *-ṇem* : *āmcā bāg pāhvayās calā* "please go to see my garden", *āpñāsīm malā kāmhiṃ bolayācem āhe* "I have something to tell you" (Navalkar, p. 345, 348-9; cf. LSI, Mar., p. 27). The neuter noun, to which these forms are attached, is the exact equivalent of the Gujarati infinitive in *-um* with the only difference that it is precisely the nominative corresponding to the form of Gujarati which does not have the value of the infinitive in Marathi.

§ 264. The absolutive in *-ūn* should certainly be joined to this very verbal noun, which in meaning corresponds to Skr. *-tvā* : *māmāpuḍheṃ jāūn mī pāyām paḍem* "I will go to find my maternal uncle (and having come before him), I will throw myself at his feet." It is the similarity of meaning which has led most of the scholars to explain Mar. *-ūn* by the Pkt. form *-ttūṇa*, *-ūṇa* (Navalkar, p. 107, Joshi, p. 239, Beames, III, p. 233, etc.)

The absolutive in *-ūṇa* is in fact normal in Mahārāṣṭrī Prakrit and in Jaina Prakrits in the form *-dūṇa*, *-ūṇa* (Pischel, § 586), but the final dental *n* causes some difficulty, as has rightly been noticed by Sten Konow (JRAS, 1902 p. 419). The intervocalic nasal, far from subsisting in the form of a dental, had to fall (see § 66) and as a consequence the form must have got confused with the infinitive arisen from Skr. *-itum*. In this embarrassment, the examination of other languages is useless; everywhere the absolutive seems to go back to Skr. *-ya*, preserved in the eastern Prakrits (Pischel, § 589 ff.) and whose culmination *-i*, noted in Apabhraṃśa (Pischel, § 594) is found in a more or less clear manner in Sinhalese (Geiger, § 56, 2), in Guj., Sindhi, *-i*, Panj., Hindi *-i* (> zero), *-e* Beng. *-iyā* (Beames, III, p. 230 ff.).

The key of the Marathi form is precisely the final nasal which creates the difficulty in the hypothesis mentioned above. This nasal appears in the old language in the form *-ni* or *niyām*. Now this is a well-known post-position and it is impro-

bable to suppose it as being affixed to an isolated form of declension, as the infinitive in *-tum* or the absolute in *-tvā*. Moreover, the preceding vowel had been earlier not *-ū* but *-o* and even *-au*. This, excluding any recourse to a stem in *-u-*, leads us to consider the form as the ablative of a stem in *-a-*, of the same type as *meghauni*, *divūni*, etc. (see § 195) or **karavauni* whose intervocalic *v* would have fallen as happens so frequently, chiefly in the presence of a labial vowel (cf. § 153); whence *-karauni*, *karoni*, etc. (cf. *karavun*, *karavulan*, *maṇṇavun* in the inscription of *cikurḍem*).

This explanation fits very well with the use of the form, employed to mark the historical or logical succession of two actions (Joshi, § 620, Navalkar, 346-7).

Verbal Noun and Infinitive

§. 265. The infinitive type of Marathi is the verbal noun in *-nem*, which goes back to the Skr. verbal noun in *-anam*. The form of Sanskrit subsists in Sinhalese *-nu* (Geiger, § 57), Kashm.—*un*, Sindhi—*nu*, West. Punjabi—*un* (obl. *aṇ*) and Bundeli *-an*. The enlarged form of Marathi is found in the central languages : the dial. of Rajasthan *-ṇo* or *-nū*, Hindi *-nā*, Braj. *-naum*, Panj. *-ṇā* or *-nā* after the cerebral (cf. Beames, III, p. 236 ff., LSI, *Raj.*, p. 14; it has also been suggested to take back these forms not to the Skr. verbal noun but to the participle of obligation in *-aniyam*; cf. Sten Konow, JRAS, 1902, p. 418 n.). We have seen that Gujarati and a number of neighbouring speeches on the one hand, and the eastern group on the other, employ a future of the type *-ba-* arisen from the Skr. participle *-tava-*.

This infinitive is in reality a declinable noun of action, and is construed as such : *tyā cīm karṇīm cāṃglīm āhet* “his acts are good”, *malā bāpccī ājñā mānya karṇem prāpt āhe* “I should respectfully obey the order of my father”, *mag jem karṇem asel tem kar* “then do what is to be done” (lit. “that which is action”). In the nominative it is used to form the nominal sentences expressing obligation : *patr lihīt jāṇem* “keep on writing” and in the dative it expresses intention : *karṇyās* or *karṇyālā* “to do” etc. (cf. Navalkar, § 643).

In addition to this noun of action and the participles

declined as such, Marathi also possesses an indeclinable infinitive, which signifies intention : *to teṃ karūṃ (=karāyās)* *icchito* "he wishes to do it", *tī teṃ karūṃ śakel* "she will be able to do it", *malā yeuṃ de* "give me (the permission) to come", etc. (Navalkar, § 635, 216). This form has developed, as has been generally recognised, from Skr. *-tum*, Pkt. *-ium* (Pischel, § 573; re. the loss of *i* in Marathi, see *supra*, § 63; regarding the confusion with the Pkt. absolute in *-ūṇa*, § 264).

SENTENCE

§ 266. The changes undergone by Marathi words as a result of phonetic alterations or grammatical evolution have not been deep enough for fundamentally transforming the constitution of the sentence. The few observations made below will make it clear that the essential rules of Marathi sentence are almost those of the Sanskrit one. No important innovations are to be found either in the structure of the sentence or in the relationship and arrangement of its elements.

Nominal Sentence and Verbal Sentence

§ 267. A Marathi sentence normally consists of a subject and a verb. Examples are : *udyām pāūs paḍel* "Tomorrow it will rain", *malā ek pustak pāhije* "I need a book", *tūṃ āpleṃ kām kar* "Do your work", *cal, miṃ tulā kāhiṃ marj dākhvitom* "Come, I will show something strange", etc.

The verb "to be" is not indispensable to the sentence. In poetry it is the most often missing. In current usage it may be missing in the proverbial sentences or in those having an affective value *jethem gāṃv tethem mahārvāḍā* "Where there is a village, there is a quarter of the Mahārs", *tūṃ mūrkh kharā* "you are a true fool." It is generally missing in the interrogative sentences and answers : *tujhem nām kāy* "What is your name ?", *mājhem nāṃv gopāl* "My name is Gopāl." We can join thereto sentences containing negative *nāhiṃ*, although this word contains precisely the verb "to be" and that *na* exists alone. This is so because the sentiment of the verb is so much lost therein that in the Konkan they say *to ālā nāhiṃ āhe* "he has not come" (Navalkar, p. 272).

However, the verb "to be" can always be expressed and in fact the same is most often the case. Examples are : *Pāris-śahrāṃt ekandar cālīs-var nāṭak grhem āhet, ādītvarīm gardi phār aste...sarvā nāṭakgrhāṃt sarva prkāreṃ śreṣṭh aseṃ jem nāṭakgrha tyāceṃ nāṃv Aparā. hī imārat phārac sundar āhe* "In the town of Paris, there are in all more than forty theatres. On Sun-

days they are largely crowded. The best among them, from all points of view, is the Opera. This edifice is extremely beautiful". (*Vilāyat cā pravās*, I, Poona, 1889, p. 185, 187). We have already seen that several of the verbal forms had been composed with the verb "to be" and that in cases where Sanskrit had the pure nominal sentence. The old nominal forms that have subsisted, as for example, third persons of the type *karto* "he does", are in reality, in view of their incorporation in conjugation, forms with the verbal affix zero. In any case, the verb "to be" should not be considered as a pure accessory in the Marathi sentence. In fact it occupies therein the same place as any other verb, that is, generally the last one (cf. Meillet, MSL, XIV p. 22) and it is put in juxtaposition even with the participial tenses already containing it, by conferring on them a nuance of special sense : *mim baslom* "I have sat down", *mim baslom āhem* "I am sitting", *to āplyā mitrāms patrem lihīt baslā āhe* "He had been sitting writing letters to his friends."

§ 268. Thus without showing an essentially different state of affairs from that of Sanskrit, the Marathi sentence has considerably passed the stage of the Sanskrit of lower epoch. In this language the absence of verb had been normal, not only in general maxims, but also in sentences containing a pronoun, notably an interrogative, relative or demonstrative pronoun and above all in those containing a participle. The verb "to be" in the sense of copula was inserted only in the old type of the nominal sentence, the one lacking all determination (*mama dukkhakāraṇam bahukāraṇam asti* "the cause of my unhappiness is multiple", etc., see J. Bloch, MSL, XIV, p. 82). By adding the adjective in *-ta-*, it would change its meaning as is the case with Marathi (*śāstre kathitam asti* "It is written in the śāstras", *tat tayeti kathitam* "that is what she said", *ibid.*, p. 92).

The state of Marathi is almost near that of the majority of other languages of continental India (see for ex. on Sindhi Trumpp, p. 515, on Hindi Kellogg, § 856 ff., on Romany Miklosich, XII, p. 27; Kashmiri seems to have been subjected, in regard to its syntax as in its phonetics, to local influences. It will be seen that the order of words therein shows serious innovations and the verb "to be" is also necessary).

It will be noted that in detail, it considerably differs from that of other older Indo-European languages which had preserved traces of the pure nominal sentence (see Meillet, MSL, XIV, p. 15-18; on Latin, Marouzeau, *La phrase à verbe "être"*..., p. 150 ff., the aspect of Gothic is near that of Marathi, but the place of the verb "to be" is less uniform therein, see Meillet, MSL, XV, p. 94, 95, 97).

Concord

§ 269. Like nouns, the adjectives in Marathi are of two types : 1. those that end in a consonant; these are invariable, atleast during the modern epoch (Navalkar, § 116) and are construed with the substantive with which they constitute a sort of compound. Thus we have in the nominative singular : *lāl āmbā* (masc.) "red mango", *lāl ciṃc* "red tamarind", *lāl ṭagoṭeṃ* (neut.) "red turban", in the nom. pl. *lāl pāgotiṃ* "red turbans", in the dative sing. *lāl pāgoṭyās*, etc., *ati thaṃḍ pānyā neṃ sardī hoīl* "with very cold water, it will be very cold"; 2. the adjectives with enlargement in *-ā*, *-ī*, *-eṃ* to which should be joined the demonstrative and relative pronouns, which have been assimilated to nominal declension and the participial tenses of the verb, which are in reality the declined participles. Here it is solely a question of these adjectives with enlargement.

Gender and Number

§ 270. The epithet-adjective is in concord, in gender and number, with the substantive to which it refers. If there be several of them, it is in accord with the nearest, that is to say, the first : *tyālā moṭhā bhāu va bahin āhe* "He has an elder brother and (an elder) sister", *hyā havemṭliṃ* (neut.) *janāvareṃ* (neut.) *va pakṣi* (masc.), *etheṃ āḍhaṭtat* "the native beasts and birds are found there" (Navalkar, § 516, Joshi, § 573). Regarding the accord in indirect cases, see *infra*, § 272.

§ 272. Rules regarding the concord of the predicate are more complicated. In fact, notwithstanding the persistence in Marathi of old grammatical genders, they depend

on the distinction between animate and inanimate beings (§ 180).

When the predicate (adjective or verb) refers to several nouns of different genders, it is in accord with only the last one if it concerns inanimate beings. On the other hand, it is in neuter plural as in the sentences given below : *tyācā bāp āṇi āi moṭhīm bhalīm ahet* "his father and mother are very good", *Dhākū āṇi Sālī hīm doghem bekār hoūn ālim* "Dhākū (masc.) and Sālī (fem.) being unemployed have, both, come here" (Navalkar, § 468, 517, cf. Joshi, § 574).

A similar distribution is found in Sindhi : If it concerns the animate beings, the predicate is in accord with the nearest noun and is put either in the plural, the gender being variable according to the cases. If it concerns the inanimate beings, then masculine prevails. It should not be forgotten that there is no neuter in Sindhi (Trumpp, p. 518). In Gujarati the distinction between animate and inanimate beings is absent. But the predicate, related to nouns of different genders is always put in the neuter gender (Tisdall, p. 35, 96). It is to be noted that in Gujarati and Marathi, the neuter plural is used in feminine of respect : Mar. *bāisāheb ālim astim, paṇ...* "Madame would have come, but...", Guj. *rāṇi āvyām che* "The queen is come" (Navalkar, p. 270, Tisdall, p. 96). There is, undoubtedly, a link between two facts : the neuter termination, designating persons in a less direct manner, is a sign of respect. In a similar, though inverse manner, the neuter is used in humility (Navalkar, § 484, 2).

The formula of Marathi rule is commonly applied to Jaina Prakrits (Jacobi, *Ausgew. Erz.*, § 79-80) but it does not seem to go back higher (Speyer, *Ved. u. Skr. Synt.*, § 101).

In Hindi and undoubtedly in the majority of languages that have lost the neuter gender, either there is accord with the nearest noun, which precedes or follows, or the masculine prevails (see for ex. Kellogg, § 863, 871; Grierson, *Man. Kashm.*, § 25).

Case

§ 272. In old Marathi the epithet-adjective is, in principle, in accord with all the cases. In the modern langu-

age, this is most true about the nominative. There is only one form of oblique that is common to two numbers and three genders, namely, the oblique masc.-neuter singular. This form immediately precedes the substantive, which alone possesses the affix or the characteristic postposition required by the sense. Ex. : *mag mīm halkyā lokām śīm bolnār nāhīm* "Then I will not talk to petty people", *dusryā divśām* "The day after tomorrow", *āplyā mitrās, āplyā mitrāms* "To his friend, to his friends", *yā imārtī lā don koṭ rupyāmvar kharc jhālā* "More than two crores of rupees have been spent on this edifice" (Navalkar, § 515).

That the oblique of the adjective be used alone is normal as the oblique of a noun is a declined form of that noun and is an independent word. But it is more difficult to render account of the fact that the oblique masc.-neuter singular is used alone in all the cases. We recognise here traces of a general tendency to simplify the epithet-adjectives, that has been very well noted by Beames, though the reasons of chimerical psychology advanced by him have been justly criticised by Miklosich (Beames, II, p. 240-243, Miklosich, XI, p. 35). The detail of this evolution is quite obscure. This is how it might have taken place. The confusion of the masc.-neuter plural with that of the singular can be conceived of, given the unstable character of nasalisation in the vowels. On the other hand, the application of the termination of the oblique masc.-neuter singular to the feminine can be due to the analogy of the plural, where the three genders normally have only one form of oblique.

The hypotheses possible on this point can not be demonstrated, because other languages do not give any indication that may be put to use. In the western group—Gujarati (leaving aside the affix *-o* of plural), Rajasthani (with certain hesitations in indirect cases other than oblique, see LSI, *Raj.*, p. 7, 22, 37), Panjabi, Sindhi, Kashmiri—the accord is observed in all the cases. In the entire eastern group, the adjective is invariable or varies only in the gender (cf. LSI, *East. Hindi*, p. 16, 22, 28, *Bih.*, p. 26, 38, 50, 380), in Sinhalese, it is absolutely invariable (see Geiger, § 43). Hindi and Romany, like Marathi, simplify the declension of the epithet, though in different ways.

Hindi declines the group in this way : *kālā ghoṛā* "black horse", *kālī billī* "black cat" (Kellogg, § 199):

Sing.	Dir.	<i>kālā ghoṛā</i>	<i>kālī billī</i>
	Obl.	<i>kāle ghoṛe</i>	<i>kālī billī</i>
Pl.	Dir.	<i>kāle ghoṛe</i>	<i>kālī billiyām</i>
	Obl.	<i>kāle ghoṛom</i>	<i>kālī billiyom</i>

The various dialects of Romany decline the group, *kalo manuś* "black man", *kalī manuśni* "black woman" in this way (Miklosich, XI, p. 33-5):

Sing.	Dir.	<i>kalo manuś</i>	<i>kalī manuśi</i>
	Obl.	<i>kale manuśes</i>	<i>kalyā manuśñā</i> (Gk. Rom : <i>kalim.</i>)
Pl.	Dir.	<i>kale manuś</i>	<i>kale manuśña</i>
	Obl.	<i>kale manuśen</i>	<i>kale manuśñen</i>

If we agree with Miklosich that the forms of the oblique of masculine are due to the dropping of final consonants and take the place of * *kales* * *kalen*, then we are obliged to separate Romany from Marathi and Hindi on the point where an accord could be conceived of in the three languages. Each of them seems to have simplified the declension of the epithet-adjectives in an independent manner.

The Order of Words

§ 273. In classical Sanskrit, the order of words, without being fixed, obeys the rules of sufficiently constant usage. As a matter of habit, the subject opens the sentence and the verb or the predicate terminates the same. In the group of self-determining words, the determinant precedes the determinate (except the apposition, which is, in reality, the predicate of a phrase inserted inside another). However, this order can always be disturbed by momentary reasons. The important word is readily put in the beginning of the sentence, whatever be its nature. Only the enclitic words are fixed and they follow the first word of the sentence or the word whose value they reinforce (Speyer, op. cit., § 247-50.).

Marathi, which has preserved a less rich inflexion than Sanskrit, but where nothing essential is missing has also kept the same principles regarding the order of words.

§ 274. The usual order is as follows : Subject-comple-

ment-adverb-verb; the epithet adjective precedes the noun; the indirect complement precedes the direct one; words designating the circumstances, place, and time are put immediately after the subject and conjunctions are put first in the sentence. In principle there is nothing in the order of words to show the affective value of the sentence : *mājhi tarzār kholīmt āhe* "My sword is in the sheath" can denote an affirmation, an exclamation, an interrogation and if it follows a sentence containing *jar* (Skr. *jarhi*), it denotes a condition (Navalkar, § 4 6-7, Joshi, § 531-6).

The fixity of the order of words is greater in Marathi than in Sanskrit. It is conceivable that the simplification of the epithet-adjective, in opposition to the predicate, constitutes a pair with a greater constancy of its place. Similarly, the indirect complement of the passive verb, expressing the logical subject of action, which had already tended to have the first place in Sanskrit ((Speyer, *l. l.*, § 248), is installed therein all the more readily, as in this language the sentence with the passive participle is assimilated to the sentence with the active verb. Similarly also the "false prepositions", words fixed in one of their cases and expressing circumstantial or logical relationships, which in Sanskrit had tended to follow the word they determined (Thommen, *Die Wortstellung im nachved. Altind und im Mittelind*, § 32) have been fixed at that place in Marathi to the extent of appearing in certain cases as case-terminations.

There is, however, some relative liberty which prevails everywhere except in some rare enclitics employed to emphasize some isolated word, that is *c*, the Mar. word *ci* (Pkt. *ciya*), *hi* (Skr. *hi*), *paṇ* (Skt. *punaḥ*, Pali *pana*, *puna*). Thus we can say *sampel koṭhūn* "How would (lit. will) this be finished?", *pustak mī Harilā dileṃ* "That book I have given to Hari", *Mumbaīhūn Rāmā kāl sākāklīm ālā* "Ramā came from Bombay yesterday morning", *Pāris śahrāmt ekandar 40 var nāṭakgrhem āhet; āditvārīm gardiphār aste* "In Paris, there are in all more than forty theatres. On Sundays the crowd therein is the largest." The neuter interrogative pronoun *kāy* is put at the end of the sentence, when it is used uniquely for denoting the interrogative sense : *āj pāūs paḍel kāy* "Will it rain today?". But except this use, its place is unrestricted :

to *kāy deil, tem gheūn de* "Bring what he gives you", *kāy hem dhairya* "What courage he has ?" (Navalkar, § 575). Similarly, we say *tūṃ kām ālās, kām tūṃ ālās, tūṃ ālās kām* "Why have you come ?" The negation seems to have even more liberty than in Sanskrit : there its place is before the verb, at a variable distance and it is found after the verb only in certain isolated examples of late period (Thommen, op. cit., § 19-22). In Marathi, *na* is put ordinarily before the verb, so that, in certain cases, it is agglomerated : *nāthi* Skr. *nāsti*, *nahe* < *na hoy*, *nase* < *na ase*, *nāhim* < *na āhe*; *naye* "This cannot be allowed", *nalage* "This is not necessary" exist only in this form; cf. also *nako* "it should not be" which seems to contain the interrogative pronoun, but has been given certain verbal terminations (Joshi, § 317, Navalkar, § 266 ff.). However, *nā* is readily put at the end of the sentence, not only in the poetic language (for ex. *tenem viśeṣem karmātem tyjātem nā*, *Jñān.*, III, 168 "He should not renounce action", *to karmabandha āṃgīm vājail nā*, *ibid.*, III, 175) "The bond of action will not touch his body"), but also actually after the past of habitude or the conditional one : *kārī nā*, *astā nā* "He does not do; if he had not been." The final place is so customary that the negation is often put before the termination : second person sing. *kārī-nā-s*, *kārī-nā-t*, etc. (Joshi, § 613). This tendency has led in Konkani to the formation of a veritable negative conjugation : *nidnā* "He is not asleep", *nidnānt* "They are not asleep", *nidnātlom* "I had not been asleep" (LSI, *Mar.*, p. 171).

§ 275. Except for certain details these rules apply to all the languages of India proper. In Gujarati for example "the usual order is as given below : 1. subject, 2. indirect complement, 3. direct complement 4. predicate. But it can be changed for emphasis" (Tisdall, p. 95). The adjective and the adverb precede the words they determine (*ibid.*, p. 34, 77). The negation *na* generally precedes the verb, but the prohibitive negation *mā* (which is missing in Marathi) is placed afterwards and similarly *nā* when it is used in the same sense (LSI, *Raj.*, p. 343). In the detailed exposition of Kellogg (*Gramm. of the Hindi Lang.*, § 913-29) can be seen as to how similar has been its use in Hindi.

Of all the Indo-Aryan languages, only Kashmiri has

had a different evolution, which curiously brings it near the languages of central Europe, notably the Germanic. The verb of the principal proposition normally takes the first or second place. A sentence like *sub chuh gāṭulu mahanyuru* exactly corresponds to the equivalent French sentence "*Il est habile homme*", or the German one "*er ist (ein) geschickter Mann.*" In subordinate propositions the verb remains at the end; in Kashmiri as in German : *Yotu--tām zinda roza, tamis kara ādar*, cf. Germ. *so lange ich lebendig bleibe...* "As long I live, I will honour him" (Grierson, *Man. Kashm.*, § 97-9). But the position of the auxiliary *chuh* does not seem to differ from one sentence to another : cf. *suh chuh prath réta aki phiri dawāh karān* "Do you know the doctor who is treating him ?" (Grierson, *ibid.*, Vocab., nos. 1773, 1323; cf. however *ibid.*, nos. 464, 465). It may also be noted that the smallest group of the complement and participle preserve the old order; cf. *kethapoṭhi hēkān tim kōmu karith* "How can they accomplish the work ?" Germ. "*wie können sie die Arbeit tun ?*" The same is the case with the word determining the case-relation in an affix, both in Marathi and in Sanskrit : *mūlas andar* "In the root" *mōlis sān* "With father" (Grierson, *ibid.*, § 13). Lastly, the epithet precedes the substantive, whereas the attribute follows the same (*ibid.*, § 19; cf. Vocab. nos. 462, 465, 467, etc. and the first of the examples cited above). Therefore, it is not some Indo-Aryan language that could have furnished us with the model of the order, substantive-epithet, adopted by Asaṅga, the Buddhist scholar of fifth cent. A.D., in his Sanskrit works (see *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāra*, ed. and trnsld. by S. Lévi, II, *Intr.*, p. 12). It is only from Iranian, that this writer, born in Peshawar, could have come to know of this turn.

Subordination

§ 276. As subordinate propositions, Marathi has only relative propositions or those introduced by a relative adverb (conditional, etc.). The logical subordination is most often marked by the procedure belonging to parataxis.

It consists firstly in the insertion in the sentence of a group depending on the absolute in *-ūn*, like the Skr. *-tvā*

(cf. § 264): *to asem bolūn gelā* "Having talked in that manner, he went away"; the subject of this second proposition can be different from the principal subject : *bhe! hoūn varṣa loṭṭem* "Since our last meeting (lit. the meeting having been) a year has passed."

It also consists in the utilisation of the anaphoric *hem* or of the adjective *asem* "such a thing, that". These pronouns are normally used to summarise the enumerated substantives, as in the sentence : *Rāmā Kṛṣṇā āṇi Vinū he* (or *ase*) *tethem baslel hote* "R., K. and V., they had been sitting there". The same will be said when only the pronoun is declined and the substantive is left in the absolute nominative : *hatti ghode āṇi bail hyāms cārā ghālā* "Give the grass to the elephants, horses and buffaloes". This conforms to the procedure of repeating an entire proposition into neuter with the anaphoric : *Rāmā gelā asem tyāṇem aiklem* "He has heard it said that Rām is gone", lit. "Rām is gone; this he has heard"; *mī tujhem kām kārīn asem to mhaṇālā* "He has said that he would do my work", lit. "I will do your work, this he has said"; *tyā mulicī āi labād navhe...hem tujhyāṇem kaśāvarūn sāṃgavel* "How can you say that the mother of this girl is not a liar?" (Navalkar, § 566, Joshi, § 545, 628 a).—There is all the more reason for using the anaphoric with a postposition as in *yā-stav*, *tyā-mūḷem* "because of that."

The preceding two turns are included in the use of the conjunction *mhaṇūn* which is inserted between two propositions : *mhaṇun* for *hem mhaṇūn*, which is also found. It signifies, properly speaking, "having said that" and takes on the sense of "as a consequence of" or even of "that" in the most general sense (Navalkar, § 357, 4, § 667-8). This word has lost its etymological sense to this extent that it is now used as an equivalent of the anaphoric, *āmbā mhaṇūn phār cāṃglem phaḷ āhe* "The mango is an excellent fruit." It is not without interest that the verbs for "to say" are used in the same way in the Dravidian (see Kittel, *Gram. of the Kannada Lang.*, p. 355, Vinson, *Man. de la langue tamoule*, p. 147). We also find on the other hand the same use in Nepali (Kellogg, *Gram. of the Hindi Lang.*, § 889). To these turns should be added the use of the absolutive in *-tām* and of the infinitives drawn from the participle in *-vā* and in *-lā* and of the verbal

one in *-nem*, which has been discussed above (§ 262 ff., Navalkar, § 670).

The liberty of the linking of sentences is such that any sentence can be construed as any noun. Ex. : *mī yeīm paryant tyālā vāṭ pāhnyās sāmḡ* "Ask him to wait (lit. look at the road) for me till I do not arrive."

The relative sentence itself preserves some independence. In fact it is construed exactly as a principal sentence. Moreover, the pronoun or the relative adverb may be missing. Lastly, the noun common to two sentences is preferably put in the relative proposition, as it is the first. The anaphoric, on the contrary, is as a rule in the principal proposition, which normally, comes second. The sentence, *jo mulgā mīm kāl pāhilā toc hā āhe* "It is the child that I saw yesterday", does not differ from *mulgā mīm pāhilā toc āhe* or *mīm pāhilā to mulgā āhe* (Joshi, § 628 b, cf. Navalkar, § 554). The same holds true for *iar pāūs paḍat aslā tar yeuṃ nako* "Do not come if it rains" and *mīm lihīt nasloṃ tar mātr malā yeūn bheṭ* "Come to see me, only if I am not writing" (lit. having come, see me)" (Navalkar, § 624).

§ 277. Only during the modern epoch has been formed a sort of subordinate proposition opening, either with *jem* (cf. Skr. *yat*) "that" following the principal one, or with *kīm* "that". There is, however, no indirect discourse, *sāhe-bīm...sevakās pusileṃ kīm āple pite...yānīm* "The Sahib says to his servant, 'Your father...'; *prasann hoūnn bolitā je tujhā vaṃśāmt* "Satisfied, he said, (In your family..." (cf. Navalkar, p. 204, 205; cf. 298, 357). Nowadays *jem* in this usage is gone out of use but it does not follow necessarily therefrom that *jem* has preceded *kīm*. Probably it is this last conjunction that has been the model to the other. Whatever be the case, *kīm* in Marathi is probably borrowed from the Hindustani *ki*. Now *ki* in Hindustani itself is extremely recent and is suspected to be a foreign loan. In any case, the recent character of this conjunction in India forcefully recalls the great movement of the extension of Persian *ki* or *kim*. It is known that these conjunctions have also been introduced in Turkish, where normally there is no relative proposition, (see Mirza Kasem Beg, *Gram. der Türkisch-Tatarischen Spr.*, trnsld. by Zenker, p. 235-6. This information has been given to me by Gauthiot).

If the turn in question is not the result of a purely autonomous development of Marathi, we would not be surprised to find its equivalents in other Indo-Aryan languages also. Gujarati also makes use of the turn by means of the anaphoric and places the propositions of the relative type first. But the subordinate sentence introduced by *ke* is less authorised therein (see Tisdall, p. 95-6, 99). In Sindhi subordinate sentences, normally, precede the principal one; in any case the relative proposition can be made to follow the same and there are subordinate propositions introduced by *ki*, *jo*, *ta*, but there is no indirect discourse (Trumpp, p. 521, 525-6, 528). The same formulae also apply to Hindi (Kellogg, *l. l.*, § 883 ff.). In Kashmiri, the relative proposition also precedes the principal one introduced by the demonstrative, but the word *zi* "that" introduces all sorts of subordinate ones (Grierson, *Man. Kashm., Vocab.*, see the word *Yih* (2) and *Źi*).

CONCLUSION

§ 278. From the preceding exposition, it turns out that on no point has Marathi introduced any serious innovations in the linguistic system, it inherited from the Middle-Indian.

It is during the most ancient period, that we can attain, that the ancient type of Indo-Iranian has started getting altered in India. Already the *Ṛgveda* enables us to see the loss of the vowel *r*, that is to say, of the only sonant which still provided a play of gradations noticeable to the speaking subjects and we see that morphology as also phonetics are seriously changed right from the inscriptions of *Aśoka*. Marathi has merely reconstructed a new system with the help of the debris preserved by the Middle-Indian and it has done it in the same way as a whole as the remaining modern Indo-Aryan languages, atleast those spoken to the east of the Indus. In fact, *Siṃhalese*, *Romany* and the dialects of the N-W. Himalayas have had, in part, an evolution parallel to the general evolution of Indo-Aryan, but each of them shows special innovations in many respects. Other languages, on the contrary, which could be for this purpose called *Prakritic*, go back almost all of them to the same common language observed in the various documents of the Middle-Indian and have had an extremely similar evolution. The divergences of detail found in them do not coincide frequently enough to enable us to divide them into clearly separated groups. Thus Marathi, which generally is in agreement with the geographically nearest one, Gujarati, is often different therefrom.

The treatment of the vowels before a geminated consonant is the same in Marathi, Gujarati and in the languages of the centre and of east. It is the opposite of that in *Sindhi*, *Panjabi* and *Western Hindi*. Again with Gujarati, and only with Gujarati, Marathi preserves intact the group nasal—occlusive. In Marathi and in Gujarati, as in the entire western group, the initial and the geminated *v* is preserved and the intervocalic *n* and *l* are cerebral. But the groupings are partially different : *Siṃhalese* preserves *v* but also *n* and *l* on

the other hand Oriya, though belonging to the eastern group, has the intervocalic cerebral *l*. In addition Marathi differs from Gujarati in the treatment of *ch*, which is represented by *s* in Marathi and in several isolated dialects, notably in those of the far-east. Similarly several final diphthongs of Prakrit, and as a consequence a certain number of terminations are, for ex., the same in Marathi and Hindi and differ from the corresponding diphthongs and terminations of Gujarati and other Western languages.

In morphology, only Marathi and Gujarati on the continent have preserved the three old genders. Again they alone have extended to the nominative of the demonstratives the stem in *-t* of the oblique cases. The participle in *-la* of Marathi still has its equivalent in Gujarati and also in the speeches of the N-W. and the eastern group. But in the formation of the future, Marathi is different from Gujarati and joins the dialects of Rajasthan. With these dialects, among others, it forms the infinitive in *-ṇ-* and not in *-v-* as in Gujarati and in the eastern speeches. On the other hand it is distinct, not only from Gujarati, but also from the speeches of Rajasthan as regards the method of construing the present. Lastly, as regards the preservation of the terminations *-asi*, *-anti*, *-antu*, Marathi has only the eastern speeches as its companions.

§ 279. Therefore, Marathi can not be exclusively put in any one group. But, above all, it has extremely few characteristics which are its own. In phonetics, which is the least original part of this language, the only thing worth mentioning is the special treatment of palatals, according to the timbre of the following vowel. Now this is less of a normal development than the trace of an ancient linguistic substratum. The declension does not differ from that of the related languages except in the choice of affixes or of postpositions. This fundamentally concerns the vocabulary. The formation of possessives *mājhā*, *tujhā*, and in the verb, of the gerundive in *-ūn*, appear to be the only particularities unique to Marathi. The forms and their use are often more archaic in Marathi than in other languages. But it seems that this is merely a transitory phase. In the formation of an active past tense, in the regularity of the use of the verb meaning "to be", in the simplification of the forms of the epithet-ad-

jective and in the relative fixity of the place of the elements constituting the sentence, can be perceived the action of new tendencies. Largely autonomous, these tendencies are also reinforced by the action of the written language, which borrows ways of expression from other languages, notably from Hindi and English (on English, see Joshi, p. 44). Irrespective of the origin of these tendencies, their action seems clearly to lead Marathi, a language still relatively archaic, to gradually join those of the other Indo-Aryan languages, wherein morphology and syntax have had a more rapid evolution.

APPENDIX

Note on Certain Documents of Old Marathi

S 280. Rajvade has published in the *Viśvavṛtta* of January, 1907, an inscription found at Cikurḍe in the region of Kolhapur. It carries the date as follows : *bhāva samvachare vaiśākhamāse kṛṣṇapakṣe bhāumadive aṣṭamyām tithau*. This corresponds, according to the editor, to the Śaka year 658. Leaving aside the question of the date, there remain certain difficulties which will embarrass us the less as the inscription is not in Marathi, as claimed by Rajvade, but in a strange mixture of correct and incorrect Sanskrit, of whom certain forms have a Marathi aspect or even a Kannada one (at two places is found the termination *-lu* which is characteristic of Kannada). We seem to recognise Marathi in the adjective *magilu* "on the way" (*mārga-*), in the substantives *kuḍo* denoting a measure of capacity (M. *kuḍav*, Skr. *kuḍapa-*), *devul* "temple" (M. *deuḷ*, Skr. *devakula-*), *nāvi* "barber" (M. *nhāvi*, Skr. *nāpita-*), the present part. *karit* "doing" and the absol. *kararuṇa*, *karutana* "having done", *maṇṇarunu* "respecting."

But it will be better not to make too much usage of this text, which is full of obscurities, recognised even by an editor, who is as bold as Rajvade.

S 281. The oldest document of Marathi is the double inscription of Śravaṇa Belgola in Mysore and inscribed in 1118 A. D.

Śrī Cāvuṇḍarājem karaviyaleṃ

"Made on the orders of Śrī Cāvuṇḍarāja."

Śrī Gaṃga rāje suttāle karaviyaleṃ.

"The boundary wall (?) constructed on the order of the king Ganga." These inscriptions have been last edited by Hultzsch in the *Epigraphia Indica*, VII, 109.

S 282. Later on are found certain fragments of Marathi prose found in the *Mānasollāsa* or *Abhilaṣitārtha-cintāmaṇi* of Bhūlokamalla, written in Śaka 1051. Rajvade has given the two passages in the *Viśvavṛtta* of July, 1907, on p. 8. They are as given below :

jeṇeṃ rasātaḷaunu matsyarūpeṃ veda aṇiyale manuśivaka vāṇiyale to saṃsārasāyatarāṇa moha (haṃ) tā rāvo nārāyaṇu (v. 2143).

“The one, Who in the form of Fish, has brought from the Nether world (the deepest of the hells) the Vedas (and) which have been chanted by Manu and Śiva, That One, Who helps cross the ocean of existences, the Vanquisher of bewilderment, He is the King Nārāyaṇa.”

The other passage is very obscure :

jo gopijaṇe gāyije (revised reading. R. reads *māyije*) *bahu pari rūpeṃ nirhāṃgo*... (the remaining part can not be understood)... (v. 2162) “Of whom the shepherd-women sing a great deal, but as regards the external aspect who (has) no body.”

§ 283. In Śaka 1109 (1186 A. D.) a Sanskrit inscription of Aparāditya, the Śilāhāra, found at Parel, contains an imprecation, whose text and meaning are given below. We have followed herein the edition of Bhagawanlal Indraji (JAS Bomb., XII, p. 334).

atha tu jo koṇuhuvi (read *ci ?*) *e śāsan loṇi tēcyā vedyanātha-devācī bhāl sakuṭumbi āpaḍeṃ* *l tehācī māy gāḍhavem jhaviḷe.*

“Anyone who destroys this edict, the lance of the god Vaidyanātha will fall on him and his family, and his mother will be seized by an ass.”

§ 284. In the *Epigraphia Indica*, I, p. 343-46, is found an inscription of Śaka 1128, discovered at Pātṇā (or Pāṭaṇ) in Khandesh. This contains a large part in Marathi which Kielhorn has failed to understand. In 1906, Rajvade has tried a new reading of the same and has published it in the *Prabhāt* of Dhulia. In regard to the Marathi part, it differs not only from that of Kielhorn, but even from that of Bhau Daji (JAS Bomb., I p. 414 ff.). Here is the Marathi text as given by Rajvade and the translation made following the same :

(22)...*iyāṃ pāṭaṇiṃ jeṃ keṇeṃ ughaṭe tehācā asi āiṃ jo rāulā hoṃtā grāhakapāsīṃ to maḍhā dīnhalā l brāhmaṇāṃ jeṃ vikatejāpāsīṃ brahmottara teṃ brāhmaṇiṃ dīnhaleṃ l grāhā* (23) *kāpāsīṃ dāmācā visovā āsupāṭhī magareṃ dīnhālā ll jalādāiyāṃ bailūṃ siddhavem ll bāhirilā āsupāṭhī gidhavem grāhakapāsīṃ pāmca pophali grāhakapāsīṃ ll pahī* (24) *leā ghāṇeā dānācī loṭī maṭhā dīnhālī ll jetī ghā-ṇeṃ vāṃhati tetiyāṃ prati palī palī telā l etha jeṃ mavije teṃ maḍhī-cena māpeṃ mavāveṃ māpāu maḍhā arddham ll arddham* (25) *māpa-hārī l tūpacem sūṃka l tathā bhūmiḥ ll caturāghāṭavīśuddha om-*

*dhugrāmu paṣama bāleā kāmātu madhyem vaḍabum̐dhu ll pukala-
vum̐dhu ll paṇḍitāmcā kāmātu l cītegrā (26) mī cāurā ll dhāmojiciā
som̐dhiām ll*

"In this town of Patan, (the product of) the tax called *asi* which is levied on the merchandise put out (in the bazar), which is found in the royal palace at the house of the preceptor, is given to the Mutt. The profit obtained by the Brahmins on the merchandise put up for sale is given by the Brahmins to the Mutt. A twentieth part of the sum (received by him) is given by the cavalier Magar ("Crocodile") to the preceptor. (The preceptor) should look after the buffaloes kept for bringing water (to the Mutt). A twentieth part of the tax) on the merchandise coming from outside (is) given to the preceptor by the cavalier Gidhav ("Eagle" ?) The five promises, as set out below, have been made to the preceptor. The outflow of the grain of the first crushing of oil is given to the Mutt. As many times a *pālī* (4 *tol*) of oil (is given to the Mutt) as there are the number of presses. The oil, that is measured here, has to be measured with the measure of the Mutt. The oil to be poured (is divided) half for the Mutt (according to R. : "in the jar" : *maḍh* = *māṭh*), half for the checker of measures.

The tax on ghee.

In addition, a plot of land delimited by the (following) four limits : the village of the stream, in the west the earth allotted to Bālā, in the centre the trunk of the Fig tree, the trunk of *pukal*, the land allotted to the Pandits, one *cāhūr* (120 *bighas*) in the village of the leopard; the spurs of the mountain of Dhamoji."

§ 285. Among later documents, other than literary texts, we have made use here only of the votive inscription of Pandharpur, of Śaka 1195-1199, which is described in the *Gazeteer* of Sholapur (*Gaz. of the Bombay Press*, XX, p. 421-2) and which has been re-edited by Rajvade in the *Granthamālā* of April, 1905. The Marathi part begins as follows :—

(3) *Svasti Śrī saku 1195 śrīmukham samvatsare phāgani-
puraśriviṭṭhaladevarāyāsi tisātiti (?) phuleṃ dāṃḍe ācam̐drārka
cālāveā nānā bhakti māliām datta paikācā vivaru l*

Rajvade understands it as given below :

"For the king-god Viṭṭhal of Phāganipur...flowers and

canes, for being used as long as the Moon and the Sun, offered by the various groups of devotees; details of objects" (or "details of objects offered by" etc.).

The remaining part of the inscription is too fragmentary to merit the trouble of being inscribed here.

GLOSSARY

nyum; S. *anānu*; H. Pany.
E.B. *āngan*. Skr. *āngana*.—\$
134.

agya adj. "of the front". G.
agwa "guide"; H. *agva*,
agvāna "one who goes for-
ward", *age* "in front"; Pany.
agge, S. *agi*, *agiam*, B. *age* "in
front", *agyon* "precedent";
cf. Sim. *aga* "the first point",
aghi "in front"; K. *ogu* "first
day of the fortnight"; Ro.
agor "point". Pkt. *agga*.
Skr. *agra*.—\$ 49, 62, 63,
98, 154.

agla *agla*, adj. "anterior,
superior". G. *aglum* adj.,
agāl, adv., old G. *agali* "in
front", S. *agaro*; H. *agla*;
E.B. *āgli*; Ro. *angle* "in
front". Apa. *aggalau*, derived
from Skr. *agra*.—\$ 49,
98.

aga, *āga*, *āghāl* m. f. "a bar
for a door or window, pit;
snood". G. *āgali*, *āgālo*; H.
aggal; *āgal*, f.; Pany. *aggal*;
B. *agad*; Sim. *agula*. Pkt.
aggala. Skr. *argala*.—\$
49, 98, 145.

anguli, *āngli*, *āngoli* f. "finger";
G. *amguli*, *amguli*, *āngli*;
āngli; H. *amguli*, *ungli*; S.
anuri, f.; Pany. *unguli*; K.
ongyu, f. (cf. *ongul* m.
"measure of a finger");
Sim. *āngilla*. Pkt. Skr. *anguli*.
—\$ 50, 145.

angoccha, m. "piece of cloth for
shoulder, handkerchief";
G. *anguccho*; S. *angochho*; K.
angoca; H. *angoch a*, Skr.

"instrument; (in Des)
ugh; land that can be
ed by two buffaloes". Skr.
ita?—\$ 142.

amk, *amkh* m. "number,
k, sign" G. *amk*, *amkdo*,
amk, *amkda*. S. *angu*; K.
Sim. *ak* "mark", *aka*
east". Pkt. Skr. *anka*.
85.

"eleven". G. *agiar*; S.
aham, *yārahām*, Pany.
am, H. *igārah*, *gyārahā*,
egār, K. *kāh*, Sim. *ekolos*,
aha. Pkt. Apa. *eggārahā*,
ha, etc., Amg. *ekkarasa*,
ekādasa, *ekārasa*. Skr.
lasa.—\$ 45, 74, 118,
160, 161, 174, 213, 221,
m. "excessive sorrow".
ākanda, probably based
the analogy of Skr.
inta, see \$ 90.

akhiy, f. "third lunar
of the first fortnight of
sakha". G. *akhārij*, H.
tiy, *akhiy*, K. *achintay*.
aksayāritiya or *aksata*.
a.—\$ 49.

akha, adj. "entire, in
G. *akhalo* "noncastrated
", *akhum* "entire". Pkt.
aya. Skr. *aksata*. "en-
".—\$ 47, 49, 60, 96.

amb, poet. *amguha* m.
uiba; S. *anūho*; W.
anguih; Sim. *anguia*,
angust. Skr. *angushta*.
50, 110.

m. *ānganem* n. "court-
l". G. *ānganum*, *ānga-*

ad-āp- in a compound "half, semi-, bad"; *adh-* "a coin"; *G. āp-*, *S. ādh-*, *K. āp-*, (*and a half*), *Sim. āpa*. Pkt. (*Jaina*) *āpāha-*. Skr. *ardha-*. —\$ 49, 89, 115, 225.

ādseri "a weight of two seers and a half" (*ādī + ser*) to be distinguished from *acher* "half a seer" (*adh + ser*). —\$ 164.

adic "two and a half"; *adēm*, *ādjem* "two times and a half";

The forms of other languages do not have a palatal at the end: *G. ādhi*, *ādī*, *S.H.O. ādhāi*, *Panj. dhāi*, *B. ādai*.

In Prakrit only the sonant is found in *Ardha Mag.*

compd. *āpādhāyja-* Skr. *ardha-*

titya-. It should be noted that Skr. *titya-* is represented

in Pkt. by *taia-*, which explains the modern forms cited

above; moreover, there is an *Ardha Mag. ticca- *titya- ?*;

cf. *ducca-* with reference to Skr. *duṭṭiya-*; we may suppose

a form **ticca-* to be the origin of the Marathi word. —\$ 30,

63, 89, 101, 115, 225.

ādan f. "bamboo-frame of fan", *ādni* "tripod". *G. ādm*, the round plate on which

Indian bread is made", *P. āiani-* "frame of bed",

Skr. *aianti* "curved end of the bow." —\$ 111.

ādūsa m. "justice ganderussa", *G. ādusi*. Skr. *aiarusa-*. —\$

111, 141, 167.

an- negative prefix, in *anvāni* "bare-foot" (of *vahān* "san-

dals"); cf. *anmol* "priceless", *anaṭhāyīm* "at a bad place",

G. an- (very frequent), *S. an-*, *Panj. anyān*, *H. anyān*

anghul, *anghol* "abluion"; of *anga- + holēm*. *G. anghol*

"both"; *angholōm* "to bathe"; \$ 99.

amcarēm "to wash one's mouth after a meal". *H. acvan*. Skr.

acmana-. —\$ 70, 101, 252.

acher, for *adh-ser* "half a seer". *G. accher*. —\$ 164.

ajnem "to travel" (poet.). *G. ajnem*. Pkt. *ajai* (cf. *Desi*.

ajum. Pkt. *ajai* (cf. *Desi*. —\$ 109.

ajala, *ajola* m. "raised platform in a field", *ajali*, *ajali* f.

"terrace". *G. Panj. ajari*; *H. ajal* "heap, grain-reserve",

ajala "heap, pile". Skr. *ajalikā*. —\$ 109, 145.

ajira "eighteen". *H. ajirah*, *Panj. alharām*, *B. alhar*, *O.*

alhar, *G. alhar*, *ard*, *S. alharām*, *K. ardar*, *Sim. alalos*.

Pkt. alharasa, *Apa. alharaha*. —\$ 221.

ajhi f. "kernel". *K. āda*, f. pl., *Sim. āia*. Skr. *asthi-*, *asthi-*

asthi-. —\$ 110, 168.

amīd n. "testicle", *amīdem* n. "egg". *G. amīd*, *H. Panj.*

K. amīd, *O.B. amīda*, *S. ano* "egg", *amīd*, *amīda*, *amīda-*

amīd n. "egg". Skr. *amīda-* "egg", *amīd* n. "egg", *amīd* n.

amīd n. "egg", *amīd* n. "egg", *amīd* n. "egg", *amīd* n.

amīd n. "egg", *amīd* n. "egg", *amīd* n. "egg", *amīd* n.

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amīd n. "egg", *amīd* n. "egg", *amīd* n. "egg", *amīd* n.

p. 28). — S 103, 230, 246, 250.

acal "bear". Desi. *acchalla*

ikshā (17, 16). cf. on the one

hand Sim. ac. P. *accha*. Skr.

riśa: on the other M. H.

bhātā. Desi. *bhallā* *īśā*

(218, 2) and sometimes Ro.

bā "pig". — S 30, 55,

103, 148.

asmi n. "that" anaphoric; for

asmi: cf. *lāśā* "such". — S

276.

asok, *asog*, *asog* f. "Ashoka tree".

G. *aso* (-*pālar*); H. *asog*, *asok*;

m. Pkt. *asoa*, *asoga*. Skr.

asoka. — S 98, 156, 167.

ahāṇa, *āṇa* m. "adage, proverb".

H. *hanna*. Skr. *abhanaka*. —

S 52, 62, 159, 161.

ahāṇem "to be indolent follow-

ing a very big meal": *ahar*

m. "nourishment, meal";

G. B. *ahar*, H. *ahar*, S.

aharā. Skr. Pkt. *ahara*. —

S 159.

aharāṇi f. "cake fried on live

charcoal": from *ahar* "live

charcoal" and *poṭi* "cake".

S 152.

ahet f. "woman whose hus-

band is alive". H. *ahibāl*,

ahibat "condition of a

woman whose husband is

alive". Skr. *avidhava*. — S 63,

152, 159.

al, *alai* f. "fruit insects and

grains, sort of caterpillar".

G. *alai* "skin irritation";

el "insect", H. *ali* "a large

black bee, scorpion" B.

ali, Sim. *ali* "scorpion".

Skr. *alin* "wasp, scorpion".

— S 145.

alīa m. "colour of lac". see

alīa m. S 50, 145.

alanibem, *alanibhem* n. "mush-

room". Desi.

alanibam

and Meiller, M.S.L; XVIII,

"is, skente. "are" (see S. Levi

I be", Tocharian B *sketar*,

nian Subjunctive *ism* "that

pretariate *eshon*, *eshke*, Arme-

Lain *esch*, Homeric Greek

**esk*, cf. archaic future in

P. *acchali*, Pkt. *acchai*. IE.

missing in Sindhi & Panjabi.

"I am"; the root seems to be

Maith. chi, B. *achi*, O. *achi*

sun, K. *chus*, Nepali *chu*,

chum, Jaipuri *chum*, Mlevan

periphrastic tenses; thus G.

present and notably in the

tive and is used only in the

this verb is generally defec-

achā, Ro. *at* "to remain";

asem "to be, to exist". H.

P. *asātkā*. — S 52, 70.

amśā, *asā* f. "spawn of flies";

aver f. Skr. *acchela*, n. — S 142.

ahet m. "disrespect". H.

amāka. — S 60, 145, 152.

Panj. H. *amā*, B. *amā*, Skr.

amā, S. *amā*, K. *amā*,

amā "myobolan". G.

— S 42, 152.

Skr. **a-al*. cf. *avarana*.

fasu kathinā ca (24, 13).

unfavourable". Desi. *atlo*

atlo "perverse, difficult,

obstinate, reversed". S.

tract". G. *atlo* "contrary,

atlo "pressed, contracted".

atā. — S 49, 78, 152, 157.

amā, H. *amā*, Skr. *amā*,

"new moon". G. *amā*, S.

amā, *amā*, *amā*, *amā* f.

amā (neg.). — S 49, 71, 152.

Pkt. ppl. *amāda*, Skr.

"invitation". P. *amāthi*.

"chief invitee". H. *netathā*.

netathā "to invite". S. *netru*.

with another proverb. G.

wait", *amathuna* "invitation".

place, crucible, whole for fire". Skt. *agnisikhā*, *agnis-* *ihā*-. — \$ 50, 89.
agstī. "spark". Skt. *agnisikhā*. — \$ 62, 156, 161.
āgas "soon" (better than *āgas*); Skt. *āgasāh* — \$ 39, 98, 156.
ānic f. "flame". G. S. H. *ānic*, Sim. *asi* "flash of lightning, splinter". Pkt. *acci*-. Skt. *arci*-. m. *arci*-. n. — \$ 39, 69, 70, 101.
āj "to day". G. *āj*, H. *āj*, S. *āju*, Pany. *āj*, K. *āj*, *āj*, E. B. *āji*, Sim. *ada*, Pkt. *ājya*, *ājya*. Skt. *adya*-. — \$ 106.
āja, *ājas* m. "grand-father pat. or mat.". G. *ājo* "maternal grand-father", H. *āja* "paternal grand-father", Sim. *āja* "individual, person" (used even in case of animals); the word has been borrowed in Dravidian; Kan. *āja* "master, grand-father, father, school-master", Tam. *āyan* "Lord" etc. Pkt. *ājya*-, cf. Desi. *ājjo*, *jino* 'than buddhas' ca (3, 18) Pali and Inscr. Pkt. *āja*-, *āja*-. Skt. *arya*-. "noble, venerable". — \$ 36, 106.
ai f. "rice boiled & mixed with flour." G. S. *āio*, H. B. *āia*, K. *ōiu*, Ro. *aro*, *vanro* "flour". This word is found neither in Skr. nor in Middle Indian; but it is Indo-European; zd. *asa*-. "ground", Sogdian *arθ*, "mill", Per. *ard*, Afghan *ōra* "flour", Armenian *alam*, Greek "aleo" "I grind". — \$ 109.
āikem n. "eighth part". Cf. *āih* "eighth". — \$ 89.
āih, B. *ai*, S. *aih*, Pany. *aiih*, K. *ōih*. In compound, *aih*-,

ichhatram yad varāsu *hātī* (28, 4-5). — \$ 49, 149.
nsaled". H. *alona*, S. Skt. *alavana*-. — \$ 49.
"flakes". G. *alasi*, H. *alst*, S. *elist*, *alst*, ish. Skt. *alasi*-. — \$ 49, in the Konkan, *alūm* n. *adium Esculentum*, "the root of this". G. *alst*, H. *alū* *oe*". (cf. Yule Burnell, *n-Jobson*?, p. 8831). *alu*-. n. — \$ 50.
" cavity around a tree", *yo* "a big hole in a wall" " cavity around a tree" *ka*-. Skt. *alavāla*-. "cavity id a tree". — \$ 145.
rowed, agitated (by sentiment)", *tasama*. *akula*-. — \$ 40.
"axis, axle"; cf. M. *kr. aksa*-. cf. Skt. *aksi*-, *khi*-, G. H. *amkh*, S. *anj. akkh*, K. *ach* f. *amkhi*, Sim. *ak* and *eye*". — \$ 69, 96, 104.
"month of *āsādhā*", *dh*, *āsādh*, *akhādh*, H. *āsādh*, S. *akhādh*, *saja āhāla*. Skt. *āsādhā*-. 88, 95.
"to contract, to ess", Pkt. *akkhōdai* *nsheath*". Skt. **a-* *from khud*-. "to break". 96.
re". G. H. *ag*, S. *agi*, in, Pany. *agg*, Maith. *agun*, O. *nia*, Sim. *na*. P. *gim*-, Pkt. *aggi*-, *ini*-. m. — \$ 29, 41, 188.
igiem n., *agih* f. "fire-

Latin *alter* with regard to
alius. — \$ 135, 237, 276.

at f. "father's sister". Desi.

atā caturarthā; māta jamaṇi;

piuccā pitiśvasā; śvastrūh

śvaśurabhāryā; sakhi vayasya

(24, 8). — \$ 39, 41, 121.

ant n. "intestines"; *ant* post-

position "inside". G. *antar,*

amantrādum ("intestines"),

H. *ant, antar, S. antar, m.,*

antu m., K. and² "intes-

times", andar "inside". P.

anto. Skr. antah "inside",

antram "intestine" — \$ 68,

121, 195, 197.

antraharṇem "to cover", *antrah*

m. f. "mat of bamboo". G.

athar "carpet", atharavum "to

spread". Skr. astar. — \$ 69.

athi "there is..." (poet.) ppl.

athila "been". Sim. *ati, āta,*

Pkt. *atthi. Skr. asti. — \$ 147,*

69, 122, 230.

adha (poet.) adj. "half". S.

adhu, Pany. addha, W. Pany.

addh, H. B. addha, O. addha,

Maith. adh, K. adhiyolu "half

a pice (coin)" H. M. adhela,

Pkt. *addha. Skr. ardhā. Cf.*

ad-, adh-, sadē, did. — \$ 49,

89, 115, 164, 225.

ap (in compound), *apan* "one-

self"; apla "ones own". G.

ap, apno, cf. ate, ato, pote;

Rajp. ap, apnu, Pany. H. ap,

apan, apas, B. ap, apani, O.

ape, apān, Nēp. apn, apnu,

S. pānu, K. pāna, Khovar

tan, Garvi tan etc. (see

Grierson, Pis. Lang., p. 76),

Ro. po, pes-, Sim. api, ap

"we", tama "ones own".

Pkt. *appa* and *ata* (Maha-

rāshtri has almost always

appa). Skr. *ātman-*. — \$ 18,

47, 69, 125, 165, 205.

apa "a term of respect towards

ad-. Pkt. attha-, adha-. Skr.

asiau-. — \$ 39, 108, 219.

ad m. "well". H. S. ad f.

"water- conduit". Desi.

ado kupah (4, 29), Pkt. *ada-*

Skr. avā-, m. "cavity, well".

— \$ 111.

adali, adi f. "thrush". H. ad;

cf. S. ari "wild duck" ?

Skr. ati, āti-. — \$ 111.

an f. "oath". G. an "order,

oath", H. an "order", S.

an "submission, subjection".

(H. Pany. āgya, S. āgya

"order" are tatsamas), K. an

Sim. ana "order". In the

beginning of the 10th cent.

a Tamil inscription has

ana; the modern Tamil form

is ana. (see Arch. Survey of

India, Ann. Rep. 1904-1905,

p. 133). P. ana, Pkt. āya,

ana. Skr. āya-. — \$ 106, 135.

anem "to bring". G. anem

(cf. anem "invitation to the

young wife to go from the

house of her father to that

of her husband"), S. anan,

K. anun, Ro. an-, H. ana.

Skr. anayati -. — \$ 134, 282,

an, ankhi "and", an (poet.)

"beside", n. (pop.) "and";

ansa adj. (poet.) "other";

G. an, an "other", ane

"and", old H. ani, an, Sim.

"day after tomorrow". Besides

the Pkt. ana-, correctly

derived from Skr. anya-

"other", Apa. anu "other-

wise" gives evidence for

*India of another stem *ana-*

cf. probably in Tocharian

"other": aleece 'a stranger'.

The radical element is also

found in Got. *an-par*, Lit.

antra-s "other"; cf. in

elder or a child" G. *apo*
 ther (used by shepher-
 Desi. *apbo pita* (4, 12).
 \$ 125.
 "type of vinegar obtain-
 dy covering in the evening
 iece of cloth over flowing
 nts of cicer *arictinum*.
amb, H. *ambal*, Sim.
 ul. Pkt. *amba*-. Skr.
 a. — \$ 127.
 m. "mango". G. *ambo*
 nango tree"), H. *am*,
 (poet.) *amba* S. *ambu*,
 . Panj. *am*, *amb*, K.
 . B. O. *amb*, *am*, Sim.
 a. Pkt. *amba*-. Skr.
 a. — \$ 60, 127.
 n. (in Konkani) "sky,
 id", G. *abh*, H. *abhal*,
 abhu, K. *abur*, Sim. *aka*.
 Desi. *abbhapisa* *rahuh*
 . 5); Pkt. *abbha*-, Skr.
 a. — \$ 128.
 "us", *amca* "ours". G.
 S. Panj. *asim*, W. Panj.
 in, K. *asi*, Ro. *amen*, Raj.
 , *mhe*, H. *ham*, Nep.
 i, B. *ami*, O. *amhe*, Pkt.
 e Skr. *asmad*- (Ved.
 -loc. *asme*). \$ 39, 75,
 , 194, 210.
 . *kavalat*, *kavalat* "brick-
 ", *dhaualat* poet. "house
 a white-washed terra-
 Skr. *agara*-. — \$ 61.
 "bow-constrictor". Skr.
 ara. — \$ 41, 65, 143.
 riti f. "lamp used in
 worship; act of thus
 g the lamp". G. S. H.
 K. *alath*. Skr. *aratrika*-.
 \$ 39, 52, 121, 143.
 nem "to begin". G. S.
 B. *arambh*. Sim. *aramba*
 turning", *araba aramba*
 t-position) "beginning
 relative to", K. *aramba*
 "beginning". Skr. *arambha*-,
 \$ 128.
 ala "arrived", past ppl. of
 venem "to come". Sim. *a*
 "arrived, present". K. *av*,
 from yim. "to come". Pkt.
 aa-. Skr. *agata*-. One should
 distinguish *aya* and Panj.
ada from the verb *ana*, which
 is for *ana*; cf. G. S. *av*-, Ro.
 ar-, Skr. *ap*-. — \$ 65, 229.
 alem n. "ginger". G. *adu* n.,
 S. *adira* f. (also "humid"),
 H. *ada* (also "humid"), K.
 oduru (oduru "humid"),
 Sim. *ada*. Pkt. *alla*-. Skr.
 ardra-, ardra- "humid,
 ginger". — \$ 141.
 am f. "dyspepsia". H. *am*, S.
 am f. K. omu "raw", am
 "intestinal worm", Sim.
 amu "raw"; *amiyava* "indi-
 gestion". Skr. *ama*. "raw",
 amya- "dyspepsia, or dise-
 ase". — \$ 152.
 agagem "to run riot". cf. H.
 bagna "to go". Skr. *avalgate*
 "to jump". — \$ 52, 98, 152.
 amvas n. "meat of a buffalo
 killed by tiger and kept for
 the day after". Sim. *ama*
 "bait". P. *amisa*-. Skr. *amisa*-.
 "meat". — \$ 42, 156.
 avsa m. "temporary hut made
 of branches, barrack". G.
 avas, H. *avas*, Sim. *avas*, *ava*
 "house". Pkt. P. Skr. *avasa*-.
 — \$ 52, 152.
 asamid f. "physalis hexуса". H.
 asgandh, isgandh, S. *asigandhu*,
 B. *asan*, Skr. *asvagandha*-.
 (cf. Pkt. *assa*-. from Skr.
 asva-). — \$ 62, 88, 98, 157).
 asupahi "on the horse-back".
 Skr. *asvapisihe*-. — \$ 157.
 as, *ams* m. "axle", G. *ams* m.
 Pkt. *accha*-, *acchi*-. Skr.
 akya- m. — \$ 69, 104.

elder or a child" G. *apo*
 ther (used by shepher-
 Desi. *apbo pita* (4, 12).
 \$ 125.
 "type of vinegar obtain-
 dy covering in the evening
 iece of cloth over flowing
 nts of cicer *arictinum*.
amb, H. *ambal*, Sim.
 ul. Pkt. *amba*-. Skr.
 a. — \$ 127.
 m. "mango". G. *ambo*
 nango tree"), H. *am*,
 (poet.) *amba* S. *ambu*,
 . Panj. *am*, *amb*, K.
 . B. O. *amb*, *am*, Sim.
 a. Pkt. *amba*-. Skr.
 a. — \$ 60, 127.
 n. (in Konkani) "sky,
 id", G. *abh*, H. *abhal*,
 abhu, K. *abur*, Sim. *aka*.
 Desi. *abbhapisa* *rahuh*
 . 5); Pkt. *abbha*-, Skr.
 a. — \$ 128.
 "us", *amca* "ours". G.
 S. Panj. *asim*, W. Panj.
 in, K. *asi*, Ro. *amen*, Raj.
 , *mhe*, H. *ham*, Nep.
 i, B. *ami*, O. *amhe*, Pkt.
 e Skr. *asmad*- (Ved.
 -loc. *asme*). \$ 39, 75,
 , 194, 210.
 . *kavalat*, *kavalat* "brick-
 ", *dhaualat* poet. "house
 a white-washed terra-
 Skr. *agara*-. — \$ 61.
 "bow-constrictor". Skr.
 ara. — \$ 41, 65, 143.
 riti f. "lamp used in
 worship; act of thus
 g the lamp". G. S. H.
 K. *alath*. Skr. *aratrika*-.
 \$ 39, 52, 121, 143.
 nem "to begin". G. S.
 B. *arambh*. Sim. *aramba*
 turning", *araba aramba*
 t-position) "beginning
 relative to", K. *aramba*

nate, W. Pany. *ugali* "rumination", H. *ugala*.
 Skr. *udgara*. — \$ 140.
unic, unca adj. "high, on high."
 G. *unico*, S. *uco* "superior",
 Pany. *ucca*, H. *unca*, Ro.
uco, Sim. *us, usa, uha*, P.
 Pkt. Skr. *ucca*. — \$ 69, 101.
ucaknem "to steal", G. *umcakum*,
ucakum. "to raise", G.
uccakko, W. Pany. *uccakka*
 "thief"; H. *ucakna*. Seems to
 be derived from Skr. Pkt.
ucca "high". (M. *unc*); cf.
 familiar French "to raise".
 — \$ 94.
ucainem "to detach", *ucainem* "to
 detach oneself, to be disus-
 ted with", *ucaim*, n. "impa-
 tience", G. *uccai* "disgust",
 S. *ucaiu* "sad", H. *ucaina* "to
 go away, to be disgusted",
uccai hona "to be disgusted",
 Apa. *uccadānu* "abandone-
 ment", Skr. *uccaiti, uccāiana*.
 — \$ 101, 109.
ucamdanem "to overturn (a
 vessel full of liquid)". From
ucca + andola. — \$ 51, 145.
uchau, uisac, uisāh m. "festival",
 H. *uchao, uchahu*; S. *uchau*,
 Sim. *usa*, P. *usāha*. Skr.
utsava. — \$ 101.
ujavnem "to be regularly
 concluded, to succeed",
 G. *ujavavum*. Skr. *udyāpāna*.
 — \$ 52, 106
ujai adj. "shining", cf. *ujri* f.
 (poet.) "brightness", H. *ujjal*,
ujlu, S. *ujalu*, Skr. *ujjala*.
ujagar m. "state of wakefulness".
 G. *ujagaro*; H. *ujagar* "light".
 Desi. *ujjagiri*, *aunmidryam*
 (49, 3). Skr. *ujjagara*. — \$
 52, 106.
uju adj. "straight"; Sim. *udu*,

and *kaja* "hip".
 \$ 75, 93.
em "to boil". Skr. *ukva-*
 — \$ 93.
in "to boil, to boil up".
ukajum, cf. *ukajo* "decoc-
 , heat", H. *ukalna*. Skr.
 l. "to release", or.
 ila "over flown (stream
 water)". — \$ 93.
kir m. "a heap of earth";
da, ukirda, ukird m.
 ngill". G. *ukardo, ukaydo*.
 i. *ukkurudi avakararasi*,
ruodo rainadindam api
 i (46, 10), Pkt. *ukkera*,
 ra. Skr. *ukara, ukira*.
 \$ 75, 93, 143.
em "to up-root", *ukhal-*
 "to plough the field for
 first time; to tear".
ukhadum, H. *ukhadna*.
ukkaddhai. Skr. *ukar-*
 — \$ 96, 112, 146.
 m. *ukhi* f. "mortar".
chaj n., *ukhi*; H. *ukhi*,
 l f., S. *ukhri* f. Pkt.
 ila. Skr. *udukhala*. —
 , 118, 145.
 m. "enigma". G. *okha-*
uhano ukhanum; S.
 i f. "example", *okhananu*
 "a narrative", *upakhya-*
 narrate, to relate". —
 , 96.
igavan f. "eruption (of a
 se)", *ugavnem* "to rise
 ng of a star)". G.
 in "to climb", H. *ugna*,
 inu "to push, to grow,
 roduce oneself". Pkt.
 a, *ugge* "he climbs".
udgama, udgama —
 8, 153.
 "to ruminate, to spit,
 mit". S. *ugaranu* "to
 , *ogaranu* "to rumi-

- (transitive). — \$ 152, 230.
 utāna adj. "outstretch, with face upwards". G. utān; H. utān, utān, utān. Skr. utān- "act of stretching oneself". — \$ 52, 121.
 utāva f. "haste, impatience". G. H. utāva, S. utāva f. "haste", utāva "hasty". Skr. utāva "ardour, anxiety". — \$ 121.
 utā, utā adj. "shallow". G. utā, utā, utā "to be reversed"; H. utāna "to be overthrown", utā "to be overthrown, to over flow", utā f. "inundation". Desi. utāliam grām; utāliam un- mukhagatam ity anye (48, 7); Pkt. utāli "to reverse", Skr. ut-sthala. — \$ 89.
 undar vulg. undir m. "rat". G. undar; H. and eastern group indur; Sim. undur. P. Skr. undura. — \$ 76, 143.
 undim m. "affair". H. undyam, uddam, uddim. Skr. udyama- "effort". — \$ 74, 138.
 udyam, udyak "tomorrow", cf. udyem "to get up". G. ude m. "to lift", udeli "at sunrise"; H. uday, udae. Skr. udaya. — \$ 57.
 udhar- "to vomit", G. udhar- udyem, H. udhāna "to be unstitched"; S. udharim "to deliver". Skr. uddharana. — \$ 124.
 udhar, udao "get up", wake up i. G. udo udo i Desi. uddharava uccadho... uksipar- thah (48, 2). Skr. ud+dhā-, cf. M. dharim "to run", or should we compare S. udhinu "to grow" and Skr. udhva, Pkt. udda-? Cf. M. ubha. — \$ 89, 124.
- Ro. uzo "pure". Pkt. ujua- Skr. iju-. — \$ 30, 106.
 uñem "to rub, to oint". G. uñem, S. ubbatim, H. ubaina "to oint", Bih. abian "un- guent". Skr. uddartana-? (see Grierson, Phon., p. 27). — \$ 51, 64, 114.
 uñem "to get up". G. uñem, Pany. H. uñna; S. uñan, K. Pany. H. uñna; S. uñan, K. uñ- "to get up, to be produced"; B. uñite; Ro. uñi. Pkt. uñhai, Skr. ut+stha. — \$ 110.
 uñem "to fly"; G. uñem, S. uñmanu, causative uñam, V. Pany. uñd-, H. uñna, K. uñd-, Ro. uñi. Apa. uñda- nem instr., Pkt. uñdei, uñdai. Skr. uñdayate, uñdayate. — \$ 51, 111, 119, 230.
 uñid m. "phaseolus, radiatus". G. aḍad m.; H. urd, urd S. uñu, H. un, uñ, Sim. uñ, "lack". Skr. uñ- — \$ 134.
 uñem "to strip grass from ceiling"; cf. M. tan. Pkt. uñna. Skr. uñna. — \$ 121, 232.
 uñem "to descend, to depo- sit". G. uñam, S. uñam, H. uñna; Sim. uñanaa. "to over-flow". Pkt. uñara. Skr. uñarati, uñarayati. — \$ 121, 143, 252.
 uñan f. "North wind". H. uñarām, uñarāha; S. uñar uñarāya, uñarāha; S. uñar "North". Skr. uñara. — One should separate G. uñan S. "Summer solstice".
 uñanu, from Skr. uñara- jana. — \$ 121, 143.
 uñnem "to boil". Skr. uñnapati

upēd adj. "elevated (urban).
Dest. upphadap upphadam.
udhātārthā (43, 14).
*Skr. *utprāth-* — \$ 125, 161.
uphānem "to cause
 eruptions, to ferment". G.
uphā n. "efferves-
 cence"; H. *upphanti* "to boil,
 to over flow"; *uphā* m.
 ebullition". *Skr. ut-phā-*
 — \$ 52, 126.
uphānem "to beam, (face)";
 (fig.) "to open one's heart";
 cf. *Dest. upphālat kāhyati*
 (49, 5). *Pkt. upphulla* *Skr.*
upphulla "in full bloom".
 — \$ 50, 126, 231, 232.
uphūnem "to boil up, to become
 inflated, to rise (flame)";
 (*uphāl* m. "surplus, ebulli-
 tion"; S. *uphānam* "to be
 inflated with wind". *Pkt.*
upphāla *Skr. upphālā* "to
 burst, to spread, to jump";
upphāla "jump, gallop";
Pkt. upphāla — \$ 126, 145.
unbar m. "thous glomerata".
unbarā m. "threshold". G.
unro "threshold", *unard*
 "fig tree"; H. *unrī* f. "fig
 tree"; B. *duur*; O. *duurt*.
Dest. unmaro gīhadhāt (40).
 7; cf. 38, 8). *Pkt. umbāra*;
 M.S.D. of Rhins *udumara*;
Vedic udumbāra *Skr.*
udumbāra — \$ 64, 118, 127,
 138, 143,
ubhānem "to sift". G. *ubhānem*
 "to winnow the wheat",
ubheḷo m. "husked rice",
Dest. ubhānam uphānam;
pacānam (43, 13). — \$ 52.
ubhā adj. "erect, standing";
ubhēm "to lift". (f. *ubhūm*,
S. ubho, *Sim. udū*, *Pkt. udḍha-*
uddha, *ubha* *Skr. urdha-*
 — \$ 130.
ubhāra m. (poet.) "rising, diffu-

m "to throw, to scatter",
dhāna udhāyāna "to be
 ed, to be dissipated",
uddhūlayati "to sprinkle
 dust or powder." — \$
 145.
in "to up root". Pro-
 v a combination of *Skr.*
ilāna and of a *tadbhava*;
them, cf. *Pkt. ummūlāna*;
ummūlāna — \$ 138.
 c m. "petty expenses".
 ce of tatsamsa, compos-
 ite *Skr. upa-* and *Per. xarc.*
 harj. — \$ 101.
 "to come from, to be
 ", G. *upajum*, S. *upa-*
 "to produce oneself",
upajna "to grow up",
upadināva "to produce
 elf, to grow". pcpl. *upan*
 n". *Pkt. upajjai* *Skr.*
 lyate. — \$ 52, 125, 230.
 "to uproot". G. *upa-*
 ; S. *upajna* "to draw, to
 ver"; H. *upajna* "to
 flow, to fall, to be ruin-
 to be abducted". *Sim.*
ināva; *Skr. upajai*.
 125.
 "to fall (tree, nail)".
 posed of *Pkt. u-*, *Skr.*
 nd *Pkt. pad-* *Skr. pat-*;
 M. *padnem* "to fall".
 125.
 "to winnow", *upnem* n.
 moved grain". G.
um, S. *upānu*. *Pkt.*
iana *Skr. upavana* ?
 125.
 adj. "without saddle".
 1 *Pkt. u-*, *Skr. ut* and M.
 "saddle", — \$ 125.
 ay m. "means", G. H.
upay, S. *upāu*. *Skr.*
 — \$ 57.
 "fast". H. *upas*, *Sim.*
 . *Skr. upavasa* — \$ 61.

- sion (fragrance). G. *ubhar*
 "big volume but light
 weight"; *ubhro* "efferves-
 cence"; H. *ubhar* "inflating";
 S. *ubharu*, W. Pany. *ubbarua*
 "to get up, to rebound",
 Pany. H. *ubharna* "to lift,
 to pick up"; G. *ubharu* "to
 rekindle the fire"; E. B.
ubharan. Skr. *ubharati*. — \$
 52.
umagien, *umagienem* "to be
 known, to leak (news)".
 Pkt. *umagga*. Skr. *umagna-*
 "emerging from water." —
 \$ 138, 231.
umajien "to come to mind".
 Skr. *umajjana*. — \$ 138,
 252.
umajien "to become clear, dis-
 tinct (sound, impression)".
 G. *umaitum*, *umaitum* "to
 appear". Pkt. *umaitiha*.
 Skr. *umajsta* "obliterated",
 cf. for the meaning of
 causative ppl. *umajjita*.
 "polished, clean". — \$ 89.
umad "jet of water, spurt of
 blood", *umad* f. disturbance
 of the sea". G. *umad*, *umado*
 m. "fire-brand"; H. *umandna*
 "to inflate, to overflow, to
 abound". Desi. *ummandam*
hatha udrittam ca (52, 4).
 — \$ 71.
umalnem "to split, to open out".
 G. *umaltum* "to be on the
 point of bringing". Pkt.
umilla. Skr. *umilla*. — \$
 50, 138, 231.
umajiem "to wash". Skr.
 **umala*. — \$ 138, 145.
umajien "to compare". Skr.
umajna. — \$ 138.
umas m. "neausia, fermenta-
 tion". G. *umas* f. "disgust,
 swoon". Desi. *umachiam*
rustam akulam ca (57, 7). Skr.
- unmalhyale "to be agitated". —
 \$ 40, 103, 138.
ulainem "to turn, to reverse",
 G. *ulat*, *ulti* f. "vomiting".
ulium "the contrary, on the
 contrary", *ulti* "vomiting",
 S. *ulito* "reverse, strange",
ulti "vomiting". Skr. *ulu-*
ihati "to roll" — \$ 50, 109.
ulaja, *ullaja*, *ulhaja* m. "leap".
 G. *ulajyo* "leap", H. *ulajna*
 "to surge, to push". Skr.
ullala, *ullalati*. — \$ 148.
ulenphalem n. *uladhali* f. "spe-
 culation, adventure". Desi.
ullehadu lampujah (44, 6).
 — \$ 70, 77, 112.
ulu m. "idiot". G. *ulu*; H.
ulu "owl, idiot". Skr.
uluka. — \$ 149.
uter, *uerti* f. "surplus, residue".
 H. *ubarna* "to remain over",
ubra-subra "surplus, remain-
 der". Desi. *uvariam adhikam*
anipstam niscitam tapo gantam
celi panartham (54, 3).
 — \$ 77, 166.
ustem "morning light", Sim.
 us f. "sun-ray". Pkt. *usa*.
 Skr. *usta* "dawn". — \$ 157.
ustan n. "plantation of sugar-
 cane". Desi. *uchuranam*
ca ikjundajah
uchuranam "to leap, to splash".
 G. *uchalo* "leap, attack";
 G. *uchalum*, S. *uchalam*,
 Pany. H. *uchalna* "to leap".
 Pkt. *uchalai usalai*. Skr.
uchalati. — \$ 103.
usan n. "spring tide, sudden
 over flow". Sim. *usunanda*
 "to lift", cf. probably S.
osam f. "wave, bar", H.
usana "to boil". P. *ussapeti*.
 Skr. *uchraya*, *uchrayana*.
 — \$ 103.
usas m. "to sigh". W. Pany. H.

\$ 127. t. *unha-*, Skr. *usman-*.
 seem to be related to
armarhah. "This word does
aha ukolas catvaro pi
 Desi *uvva uvvara*
 burn", *ubharanu* "to
 pour, miasma", *ubaijanu*
 heat"; S. *ubhāro*, *ub f.*
ma "to be oppressed
 olence caused by heat,"
a "heat", *ubh m.* "heat";
aro "effervescence"; H.
 mal heat, hot air"; G.
 "heat of confinement,
a, usnakala-. — \$ 136.
 mer". Pkt. *unha-* Skr.
aro, W. Pany. *unhala*
m, Sim. *unu* "hot"; S.
ala, m. "summer". G.
 not", *un, unh n.* "heat",
).
 sultive termination. — \$
usira-. — \$ 88, 89.
va, P. *oiha-*; Pkt. *uia-*.
 Pany. *uih*, K. *wuih*, Sim.
 n, S. *uihu*, H. *umi*
 m. n. "camel" G.
 . *yuka*. — \$ 105, 174.
 i. *ua yuka* (51, 3), P. *uka*.
 juv; Arm. Ro. *dziv*.
 iunda, jum f.; K. *zauv*;
 f. "louse", G. ju; H. jun;
 \$ 156.
 . *usisa-*, Skr. *uchirsa-*.
 m, H. *usis*, *osis* from
 id distinguish G.
 Ved. Skr. *opasa-*. One
bhanaya jan niveśyate (56,
thānam śayane mastakot-
 i. "pillow", Desi. *usam*
 ipia-? — \$ 69, 121.
 drinking" Skr. *usikta-*,
 e particles during eating
 n. "repercussions of
 156.
 ra-. Skr. *uchvasa-*. — \$
 Apa. *usasa-*, Pkt.
 \$ 45. H. *ekal*. Pkt. *ekhallo*. — \$ 45.
ekamim "at one time". From
ek + kam in the locative. — \$
 172.
ekunis "nineteen". G. *ognis*; S.
univih, *unih*; Pany. *unni*; W.
 Pany. *unvi*; H. *unis*, see H.
agnis, *gnis*; Maith. *unais*;
 B. *unis*; Sim. *ekunisi*; K.
kunawuh. Pkt. *egunwimsa-*,
egunawisa-, *anawisam*, Skr.
 \$ 222.
ed f. "pressure of heal" G.
 Pany. H. B. *edi*, *edi* "heal".
 the etymology by Skr. *anghri-*
 "foot" is very doubtful.
 — \$ 77, 161.
enim in *enimkadun*, *enimkarun*
 "by these means", Instru-
maiem "in this way". Instru-
 mental of a stem of demons-
 trative of *e*-which is missing
 in Marathi, see \$ 203. G.
e, S. *i*, *hi*, *he*, Pany. *ih*, *eh*, K.
yih, H. *i(h)*, *e(h)*, B. O. *e*, Sim.
e, f. *a*, n. *gya*. Pkt. *ea* —. Skr.
eta-—The Marathi form is
 a combination of two pro-
 nouns, \$ 172.
eth, eihem adv. "here". S. *iti*,
 Pany. *illhe*, O. *eiha*, Sim. *eta*.
 Pkt. *eiha*. Skr. *atra* according
 to Hemacandra, which raises
 a difficulty from the point of
 view of phonetics; Vedic

\$ 156. ra-. Skr. *uchvasa-*. — \$
 Apa. *usasa-*, Pkt.
 n. "repercussions of
 e particles during eating
 drinking" Skr. *usikta-*,
 ipia-? — \$ 69, 121.
 i. "pillow", Desi. *usam*
thānam śayane mastakot-
bhanaya jan niveśyate (56,
 Ved. Skr. *opasa-*. One
 id distinguish G.
 m, H. *usis*, *osis* from
 . *usisa-*, Skr. *uchirsa-*.
 \$ 156.
 f. "louse", G. ju; H. jun;
 iunda, jum f.; K. *zauv*;
 juv; Arm. Ro. *dziv*.
 i. *ua yuka* (51, 3), P. *uka*.
 . *yuka*. — \$ 105, 174.
 m. n. "camel" G.
 n, S. *uihu*, H. *umi*
 Pany. *uih*, K. *wuih*, Sim.
 va, P. *oiha-*; Pkt. *uia-*.
 . *usira-*. — \$ 88, 89.
 sultive termination. — \$
).
 not", *un, unh n.* "heat",
ala, m. "summer". G.
m, Sim. *unu* "hot"; S.
aro, W. Pany. *unhala*
 mer". Pkt. *unha-* Skr.
 a, *usnakala-*. — \$ 136.
 "heat of confinement,
 mal heat, hot air"; G.
 aro "effervescence"; H.
 a "heat", *ubh m.* "heat";
 ma "to be oppressed
 olence caused by heat,"
 heat"; S. *ubhāro*, *ub f.*
 pour, miasma", *ubaijanu*
 burn", *ubharanu* "to
 Desi *uvva uvvara*
aha ukolas catvaro pi
armarhah. "This word does
 seem to be related to
 t. *unha-*, Skr. *usman-*.
 \$ 127.

āyitum "ready, free"; H.
āyitā; Sim. *āyati*, *āyiti* "de-
 pending on, belonging to".
 Skr. *āyatta*-. — \$ 57.

āitar m. "Sunday". G. *ātar*,
itar; H. *aitar*; S. *āṭitar*;
 W. Panj. *etar*. Skr. *āditya*-
vāra-. — \$ 57.

āumil, *vāumil* f. "mymsops
 Elengi". Skr. *vakula*-. — \$
 145, 150.

ok f. "vomiting", *oknem* "to
 vomit". G. *okum* H. *omkna*,
ukna; S. *okam*. Deśi. *okkam*
ustam, *vāntam* ity anye (60,
 16). — \$ 252.

ongal "bad, filthy". Skr.
amangala-. — \$ 98, 145.

ogal, *oghal*, *ohal*, *vaghal* m.
 "stream"; *ogajnem*, *oghalnem*
 etc. "to seep, to drip". G.

ogajum "to melt, to trickle".
 Deśi. *oggalo tatha oalo alpan*
stotāh (60, 15). *avagal*-. The
 aspiration comes undoubtedly
 from the contamination of
 Skr.-gh- "to moisten", or

from Skr. *ogha* "current",
 or lastly from M. *ojhar* (see
 this word). — \$ 78, 86.

omca m. "act of gathering to-
 gether cloth, bale; knot
 attaching the clothes to the
 belt". Skr. *uccaya*-. "act of ga-
 thering together." — \$ 60,

oj. n. "life, vitality". G. *ojum*
 "to be strong, to grow big";
 S. *oju* m. "height (altitude),
 force, rapidity." Pkt. *ujja*;
 cf. Deśi. *ojjalo balacan* (62,
 1) *ujjalla*-. *balāikārah* (41,
 2) Skr. *urjas*-. — \$ 106.

omjal, *omjhal*, *vamjal* m. "the
 cavity formed by joining the
 hands side by side". Sim.
adeli. Skr. *anyali*-. — \$ 78.
ojhar "trickling, current, water."

itthā "thus, really", which
 Pischel brings in, but which
 does not go well for the
 meaning. The meaning is
 a compound of Skr. *itā*,
 which is represented by Pkt.
 inscriptions. (see Fleet J.R.
 A.S., 1909, p. 1089) and
 of -*stha*-. the gradation of
 the dental cerebral (in
 O. *eiha*) is, in fact, a
 characteristic of this root,
 see \$ 110. — \$ 70, 206.

edhram "now" poet. Pkt. *eddaha*-.
 Skr. *etavat*- according to
 Skr. Grammarians, *idīsa*-
 according to Weber and
 Pischel; opinions equally
 difficult to defend. — \$ 124,

206.
erham adv. "now". G. *hev*, cf.
ero "such", cf. Apa. *emvahi*,
 of obscure origin. — \$ 70.

er adj. "other", cf. G. *erum*
 "there". Pkt. *iarā*. Skr.
itara-. — \$ 63, 143, 154.

erand m. f. "castor-oil plant".
 G. *erando*, *erankakāḍi*; H.
randi, *erand*, *and*. Skr. *eranda*-.
 — \$ 143.

emsim, *aism*, in compound
-yastim "eighty". G. *emsi*,
hemsi; S. *asi*; Panj. H.
Maith. assi; B. *asi*; O. *asi*;
 Sim. *asu*, *asura*; K. *sith*. Pkt.
astim, *asti*. Skr. *asiti*-. — \$

58, 77, 154, 166, 223.
ela f. pl. "cardamum". H.
ela, *ilaci* f. sing. Skr. *ela* f.
 sing. — \$ 145.

aiknem "to listen". Isolated word
 and of obscure etymology.
 Should we bring together
 Pkt. *ahikkhana*-, and Skr.
abhikṣ-. "to look"? — \$ 57.

aita pron. "that one, there";
āyā adj. "all ready"; old
 M. *aiti* f. "preparation". G.

nourishment put aside for being prepared, kitchen, centre of the house". Skr. *abhyaahārya* - "nourishment". — \$ 143, 161.

orapñem "to uproot, to tear to pieces". G. *rāṃp* f. "hoe, plough". Desi. *oddampia ora-mpia śabdaṃ naṣṭe tathākṛānte* (67, 15); cf. *rāṃpai rāṃphai takṣnoti* (237, 4). Skr. *rāph-* *iph-* "to injure", Ved. *rāpas-* "infirmit, disease", *rāphitā-* "miserable". — \$ 71, 78.

of f. m. "humidity", *olā* adj. "wet". Pkt. *olla*, *ulla*. Skr. *udra-* "aquatic animal", *udrin-* "abounding in water". — \$ 80, 141.

omra m. "kitchen", *ovra* f. "logings for pilgrims under the portico along a temple wall". G. *ordō*, *ordī* "apart-ment". P. *ovarka-* "room". Skr. *apavaraka-*. — \$ 78, 143, 152.

ovar for *ovar*. — \$ 161.

omvasnem "to perform certain rites after a vow (set for women)", *omvā* m. "the said rites". Pkt. *ovavāsa oāvā-*, *vāsa-*. Skr. *upavāsati*, *upavāsa-* "fast". — \$ 78, 152, 156.

omvālinem "to wave a platter containing offerings around the head of an idol". G. *ovālvum*. Skr. *avā+val-*. — \$ 52, 78, 145, 152.

ovla, *omvā* "impure". Pkt. *omalia*. Skr. *avā+mala-*. — \$ 145, 152.

out vulg. of f. "a stanza (in Marathi poetry)". Should we compare Desi. *oviam aropñam rudritam catu muktaṃ hitam*

— \$ 86, 107.
 "burden". G. *ojho*;
bojh (borrowed in G.
 M.). Desi. *vajjha*
vajjhamallo bhārāḥ. (266,
 Pkt. *vajjha*- Skt. *vahya*-
 nced by *voḍhum* etc. J.
 rpentier admits a pro-
 pe* "*voḍhya*-.—\$ 78, 107.
niḥ m. "lip". G. *oih*, H.
 h; O. *oih*; Sim. *oia*; K.
 h; Ro. *vust*. Pkt. *oiha*-,
 a- (besides *huiha*-, cf.
homi). Skt. *osiha*-. — \$
 78, 110, 168.
oḍhan n. "wrap"; *oḍni*,
 ni f. "shawl" m. G.
 ani, *oḍhanum*; S. *oḍhanu*
 cover, (with a cloak etc.)"
 ani "shawl", *oḍhako*
 elter." Desi. *oḍḍhanam*
 riyam (62, 7), *oḥāḍanti*
 (64, 16). Seems rela-
 to skr., *vah*-, cf. infn:
 hum etc. — \$ 89, 112.
 m, *onavem*, *onavnem*,
 vem "to bend, to stoop".
 G. *namavum*; S. *navum*,
navum; Pany. *nivana*; H.
 ma, *binana*; B. *nuyate*;
 numaiḍa. Pkt. pcp.
 wa-. Skt. *avanam*-. — \$ 78,
 4, 138.
 i "to entrust, to sell". Pkt.
 ei, *uppei*, pcp. *oppia*-,
 pia-; P. *oppita*-. Skt. *arpayati*
 interest from rpy-? Or has the
 ord been extracted from
 . *sompiem* < *samarpayati*?
 . \$ 30, 125.
linem "to wash lightly, to
 unge". G. *ohai* "alluvial
 posits, silt brought in by
 e river". Pkt. *ombalai*
 = *plavayati*, Hemac. IV,
 ; cf. Desi. 68. 13). — \$ 52.

- celi pañcārtham (66, 16) ?
In the *Alaṅkāraśāstra* (see. 2052)
the word is mentioned and
explained: *tathā mahāśāstrēṣu*
yosiddhīr oti geyā tu kāṇḍāne.
— S 64.
osaḡ for asoḡ. Skr. *aśoka*. — S
167.
osaḡ, *osaḡā* m. "lap". Skr.
uśaḡā. — S 80.
osaḡ, *osaḡ*, *uśaḡ* m. "space left
for passage". G. *osaḡm* "to
go away from"; H. *uśaḡā*
"to lift, to finish". Skr. *apaśara*
"exit". — S 156.
osaḡm "to over flow; to abate
(fever); to pass, (rain)". G.
osaḡm "to decline, to hesi-
tate"; S. *asaḡaḡ*, *asaḡaḡ*
"lack of rain, drought". Skr.
apaśara. — S 156.
osaḡā "verandah". G. *osaḡi* f.,
H. *uśaḡā*. Desi. *osaḡā alindāḡ*
(64, 15). Skr. *apaśaraḡā*.
— S 78, 156.
osaḡā m. "shade of trees". Skr.
avaśchada. — S 103.
ohai m. "reflex", *ohaiḡm* "to
ebb". G. of f. Desi. *ohaiḡo*
apaśito (66, 12). Skr. *apaśita* ?
S — 57, 114.
ohaiḡā for *vahaiḡā* "wife's
mother". Pkt. *vahaiḡā*;
Skr. **vadhū māḡi*. — S 64.
ohar m. "a sea-channel". Desi.
voharaiḡā *jalasya vahanaḡm* (266,
14). — S 142.
ohai m. *ohaiḡi* f. "streamlet".
vahaiḡo *vahaiḡi* *viraḡo* *trayoḡpy*
ele *laghujala* *pravaḡaśācakaḡ*
(250, 5). — S 142.
oi, *vai*, *vaiḡi* f. "line, conduit",
G. of f.; H. *bal*, *bhal* "side",
direction, manner"; S. *vaiḡi*
f. "turn", *vaiḡu* m. "curve",
turn". Skr. *vaiḡi*. — S 145.
olakhḡm "to know". G. *olakh-*
tum. Skr. *upalakṡana*. — S
- 78, 96, 149.
olaḡḡm, *olaḡḡm*, *vaiḡḡm*
"to be suspended at...". G.
to hold; to be attached
with...". *vaiḡḡm* "to be
suspended at..."; H. *bhaḡḡā*
"to climb at...; to hold on
to". Pkt. *vaiḡḡai*. Skr.
avaiḡḡ. — S 86, 145, 149.
olaḡḡm, *vaiḡḡm* "to be
suspended". cf. H. *bilaḡḡ*
"delay, slowness", *bilaḡḡā*;
Sim. *olaḡḡu* "suspended",
ilaḡḡaḡā "to approach".
Skr. *avaiḡḡ*. — S 145, 149.
authḡm for *ohaiḡm*. — S 57.
kamḡai m. *kamḡi*, *kamḡi* f.
"bracelet". G. *kamḡai*,
kamḡai (neut.); S. *kamḡai*,
Pari. *kamḡai*; H. *kamḡai*,
kamḡai; E.B. *kamḡai*, *kamḡai*,
gan; K. *kamḡai*, *kamḡai*.
Pkt. Skr. *kamḡai*. — S 82.
kamḡai m. "pebble". G. H.
kamḡai, S. *kamḡai*, W. Pari.
kakḡai "frost, ice", Nep.
B. Ass. *kamḡai*. Skr. *karkara*.
— S 82, 93, 143.
kamḡā, *kamḡā* m. "sort of
comb". S. *kamḡo*; H. *kamḡa*.
— S 55, 82.
kamḡoi m. "capsicum". Skr.
kamḡola, *kakḡola*. — S 82.
kac f. "difficulty". Desi. *kacaiḡ*
tathā koḡḡḡam *kāḡam* (69,
12); Pkt. *kacca*. Skr. *kṡya*
"affair". — S 30, 41, 101.
kacra m. "refuse". G. *kacra*,
S. *kacra* "remainder of
vegetable", *kicra* "sweepings",
H. *kacra* "chalk, filth",
cf. Desi. *kacso tathā kacraḡo*
panḡai (69, 13). Skr. *kac-*
cara "dirty". — S 101, 143.
kai m. "pain, labour". G.
kai "obstacle", *kaiḡm* "hard

doublet with *muṇḍa* — probably represented by *khaṇḍ*, *khind*. — \$ 52.
kaḍasana n. "hide or skin used as seat". G. *kaḍasan*. Skr. *kaḍasana*. — \$ 52, 111.
kaḍi f. *kaḍin* n. "ring". G. *kaḍi*. S. Pany. H. B. *kar*; K. *koru*. Pkt. *kaḍaya*. Skr. *kaḍa*. — \$ 46, 111.
kaḍa f. "bitter". G. *kaḍu*. S. *kaḍu*. H. *karu* *karu*, Sim. *kulu*. Skr. *kaiu*. — \$ 111.
kaḍhai f. "a frying vessel (hemispheric, with a handle)". G. *kaḍha*; S. *kaḍhi*, *kaḍho*; H. *kaḍaha*, *kaḍhai*; B. *kaḍ*, *kaḍai*; O. *karai*, *karhai*, *kaḍhet*, Skr. *kaḍha*. — \$ 92, 168.
kaḍhneni "to boil". G. *kaḍhun*; S. *kaḍhanu*; K. *kar*; Ro. *karav*? Pkt. *kaḍhai*, P. ppl. *kaḍha*. Skr. *kaḍha*. — \$ 46, 92, 118.
kan m., *kani* f. *kanu* n. "grain, particle". G. *kan*, *kani*, *kanun*; S. *kano*, *kani*, Pany. *kan*; W. Pany. *kani* "drop"; H. *kan*. Skr. *kana*. — \$ 134, 118.
kanis n. "ear of corn". G. *kanas*. Skr. *kanisa*. — \$ 40, 50.
kaner, *kanher* f. "oleander". G. *kaner* f.; H. *kaner* m. Pkt. *kanera*, *kanhera*—(probably under the influence of *kanha* < (*kisna*), *kanavira*. Skr. *kanavira*. — \$ 135, 170.
katii f. "knife". G. *kati* "knife", S. *kati* "dagger", H. *kati* "smith's tongs"; Ro. *kati* "scissors"; cf. Kan, Tam. *katii* "knife". Skr. *katika*, *katavika*. — \$ 114.
kamp, *kamph* m. "trembling"; *kampneni* "to tremble". G. H.

kasi, *kathyun*. Pkt. *ka*. Skr. *kaṣṭha*. — \$ 88.
kaḍai f. "dagger". G. *kaḍai* f., *kaḍai* m. Desi. *kaḍai* (70, 7). Skr. *kaḍai*. — \$ 109.
kaḍhi n. "throat". m. *kaḍhi* n. S. *kaḍhi*, H. *kaḍhi*, Pkt. *kaḍhi*. — \$ 88, 110.
kaḍhi "difficult". G. *kaḍhi*, S. *kaḍhi*, H. *kaḍhi*, Pkt. *kaḍhi*. — \$ 40, 110, 134.
kaḍu f. "itching". G. *kaḍu*. Skr. *kaḍu*. — \$ 88, 110.
kaḍu "side, belt". G. *kaḍ*, S. *kei* "dike"; *kaḍ*, *kar*, Pkt. *kaḍi*. Skr. *kaḍi*. — \$ 111, 195, 197.
kaḍhu f. "a small *kaḍhu*" In ated languages is found ilar word denoting "soup le"; G. *kaḍhi*; S. *kaḍhu*, *kaḍhi*; H. *kaḍhi*, *kaḍhi*; Desi. *kaḍhu* *ayodaru* 1, 10). See the words *kaḍhi*, *kaḍhi*. Skr. *kaḍhi* "old basket, fan or out mat". Desi. *kaḍhu* *ayodaru* (75, 1); cf. *kaḍhi* *ayodaru* (76, 12). — \$ 46, 121.
kaḍhu "small stack of plants". p n. *kaḍhu* *ayodaru* (73, 15). — \$ 46.
kaḍhu "crackle". G. *kaḍhu*, S. *kaḍhi*, H. *kaḍhi*, W. Pany. *kaḍhi*. Skr. *kaḍhi*. — \$ 62, 111.
kaḍhi n. "goldsmith's hammer; scissors". Pkt. *kaḍhi* "to sculpt"; seems to be a denominative going

karāṃ, *karāṃ*, S. Pany. *kāmb-*, K. *kōmp-*, Sim. *kāpāṃ* — S 85, 125.
kāpūt m. "bad son", G. *kāpūt*, S. *kāpūt*; *kupūt*, H. *kāpūt*, *kupūt*. Skr. *kupūtra-* — S 171.

kābra "grey, variegated", G. *kābar*, S. *kubiro*, cf. *kābari* "jay"; Pany. *kābra*; H. *kābar*, *kābra*; Sim. *kābara-*, "panther", Skr. *kābura-*, *kābura* — S 48, 50, 127, 141.

kāma, cf. M. *kām* — S 152 (78, 1). Caus. drawn from. cf. Desl. *kāmaṃ* *upabhunkte* Pany. *kāmaṇḍa*; H. *kāmaṇḍa*, *kāmaṇḍa*; S. *kāmaṇḍa*, "profits", *kāmaṇḍa*, "to earn", G. *kāmaṇḍa*, "to earn, to acquire", *kāmaṇḍa* — S 48, 50, 127, 141.

kāma m. "lotus (*Nymphaea esculenta*)", H. *kāmaṇḍa*, *kāmaṇḍa*, "drug extracted from Nephthar", probably G. *kāmaṇḍa*, "scented rice", Skr. *kāmaṇḍa* — S 171.

kāra, cf. S. *kāra* "arm", Skr. *kāra* — S 143.

kāra, *kāraṇi* m. n. "a bitter fruit", S. *kāra* "unripe musk-melon", cf. M. *kāra* "bitter", Skr. *kāra* — S 51.

kāra f. "coconut, skull", Pkt. *kāra* "cup", Skr. *kāraṇi-* — S 51, 109.

kāramāṇḍa m. "metal-box", G. *kāramāṇḍa*, Skr. *kāramāṇḍa-* — S 111.

kāraṇi "to do", Pcp. *kēla*; caus. *kāraṇi*, *kāraṇi*, Pcp. n. Sing. *kāraṇi*, H. S. K. Pany. H. etc. *kāra*; R. *kēra* (Arm. R. *kāra*); Pkt. Skr. *kāra* — S 92, 143, 152, 229, 232, 239, 252, 280, 281.

karuṇ post position "thanks to", — S 40, 109, 121, 143, 152.

kalol, *kalol*, *kalol* f. "gam-horses", H. *kalol*, *kalol* f. "gam-bol", Skr. *kalola-* — S 76.

kāmaṇḍa n. "black magic", Pkt. *kāmaṇḍa*. According to Hema candra, Skr. *kāmaṇḍa* — (see. Pischel, S 246).

kāva, *kāvaṇi* f. "feronia elephantum", S. *kāva*; H. *kāva*, *kāva*; O. *kāva*, *kāva*; Skr. *kāva*, *kāva*; *kāvaṇi* — S 42, 69, 110.

kāva m. "cowrie used as coins", G. B. *kodī*, H. *kāva*, *kāva*; Sim. *kāvaṇi*, *kāvaṇi* — S 46, 115, 152.

kāva m. "mouthful", G. *kāva*, *kāva*; P. *kāva*, *kāva*; Sim. *kāvaṇi*, *kāvaṇi* — S 40, 49, 111, 152.

kas m. "test on the touch-stone", G. H. Sim. *kas*, S. *kas* — S 156.

kas m. "to cause pain", G. *kas* m. "to cause fatigue", *kas* m. "to suffer", *kas* m. "curvature", Skr. *kasā* — S 46, 157.

kas m. "to bind", *kas* m. "cord, link", *kas* m. "leather thong", W. Pany. *kas* "saddle-rope", Sim. *kas* "whip"; Pany. *kas* — S 46, 157.

karat m. "saw", G. *karat*, H. O. *karat*. Skr. *karapāra-* — S 40, 109, 121, 143, 152.

karat m. "for", — S 194.

kāṣa- — § 156. "door-handle; secret
 ivance". G. *kāṣ*; S.
 f. "barrage", *kāṣa* f.
 nce, machine"; Pany.
Skr. kāṣa- — § 41, 145.
 'to be understood, to be
 ble; to appear". G.
 m "to understand", Pany.
 S. *kīṣan* "to learn".
kāṣa- — § 46, 145.
 m. "nauclea cadamba",
kādamb, *kadam*. Pkt.
nda- *Skr. kādamba-*
 46, 118.
 1. "shackle". H. *kālāva*,
kālāva "embrace".
kālāva- *Skr. kālāpa-*
 46, 52, 145.
 1d M. *kāṣaya*, oblique
 of interrogative pro-
 a kon. — § 204.
 1. "pinnacle; water-pot".
kāṣi, S. *kāṣu*. Pany.
 H. *kāṣa*, Bih. *kāṣa*
kāṣa- — § 46, 145.
 m. "dispute". G. *kāṣo*,
 ilo, H. *kālāh*. *Skr. kālāha-*
 39, 79, 145.
 "bud". G. *kālī*, *kāṣiyo*;
 any. H. *kālī*. *Skr. kālīkā*.
 \$ 46, 63, 145.
 why?". G. *kām*, Ro.
 "where". Apa. *kāham*
 ah). — § 204, 206.
 "cattle". Rather than
 1 *Skr. kvaṭh-* whose
 and Marathi corres-
 dent *kāḍh-* (cf. s.v.
 um), this word seems
 be related to Kan. *kāy-*
 heat", which is also
 id in other Dravidian
 ects; Telugu *kāgu*, *kāyu*,
 u *kāyī* Tamil and Mala-
 kay. — § 92.
 1. (childish word), *kāṣa*

kām, *kānu*; Pany. *kām*; N.
kāṣ; Sim. *kā*; H. *kānu*
 "crowing". Pkt. *kāya-*;
 Des. *kāyalo priyāḥ kākāṣa*
 (91, 11). *Skr. kākā-* — §
 39, 92, 98.
 G. *kāṅkḍī* f. "cucumber".
kākāḍ n., *kākḍī* f.; S. *kākḍī-*;
 Pany. H. *kākḍī kākḍī*; E.B.
kākḍī; Sim. *kākḍī*; et.
kakḍuwa "crab". *Skr. kar-*
kāṭikā - — § 47, 69, 82, 93,
 111.
 f. "arm-
kāḥ, *kāṅḥ*, *kāṅḥ* f. "arm-
 pit". G. B. O. *kāḥ*, H.
kāṅḥ (dial. *kāḥ*), Ro.
kāḥ; cf. s.v. M. *kāṅḥ*. Pkt.
 (Jaina) *kākḥa-*. *Skr. kākṣa-*
 — § 69, 92, 95, 96, 104, 168.
kāṅg m. "millet". G. *kāṅg*.
Skr. kāṅg-, *kāṅku-* — Cf. S.
kāṅgini, H. *kāṅga* from *Skr.*
kāṅguri- — § 39, 82.
kāḡḍā adj. "wily" seems to be
 borrowed from H. *kāḡḍā*
 "crow", cf. G. Pany. H.
kāḡ, S. *kāṅgu*, Kanarese *kāḡ*,
kāḡi "crow". — § 98.
kāṅgyā m. "tuck of the dhoti",
 girdle. Seems to be borrowed
 from H. *kāḥa*; cf. W. Pany.
kāṅch "tight drawers for
 games". *Skr. kākḥa-*, *kac-*
chaitikā. — § 69, 101.
kāḡ n. "work". G. Pany. H.
kāḡ, S. *kāḡu*, W. Pany. *kāḡ*
 "ceremony". Pkt. *kāḡa-*.
skr. kāḡa- — § 106.
kāḡai n. "lamp-black used as
 collyrium". G. *kāḡai*, S.
kāḡalu, H. *kāḡai*, Pany. *kāḡai*.
Skr. kāḡala- — § 47, 106.
kāṅem "to cut". *kāṅem* "cut",
 G. H. E.B. *kāḡ*, S. K. Sim.
kāḡ, Pany. *kāḡi*. Pkt. *kāḡi*.
Skr. kart- — § 48, 114.
kāṅia m. "thorn". G.H. B.O.

kānda m. "onion". G. *kāndo*, H. *kānda*. Skr. *kanda*. — \$ 92.

kān m. "ear". G.H. B. O. *kān*, S. *kann*, Panj. *kann*, K. Ro. *kan*, Sim. *kana*. Pkt. *kanna*. Skr. *karna*. — \$ 92, 185.

kānda adj. "inhabitant of karnatik"; subst. m. "mode of karnatic music". G. *kāndi* "Kannarese", G. *kāndo*, S. *kānio* "musical mode". — \$ 47, 92, 111, 135.

kānhu, kānhoba m. local name of *Kisna*. S. *kānu*, H. Panj. *kānh*; with the meaning of "black". Sim. *kūn*, K. *krēhōnu*. Pkt. *kānha*. Skr. *kisna*. — \$ 30, 39, 92, 136.

kāpa n. "cloth". G.B.O. *kāpaḍ*, Panj. *kāppai*, H. *kāpia*, S. *kāpau*, K. *kāpur*, Sim. *kāpal*. P. *kāppaia*. Skr. *kāppaia*. — \$ 40, 47, 92, 111, 125.

kāpneṁ "to cut". G. *kāp*, S. *kāp*, Panj. *kāpp*. Sim. *kāp*, Panj. *kāpp*. "to cut"; H. *kānp* "slice". P. *kāpp*. Skr. *kālp*. — \$ 92, 125, 230.

kāpur m. "camp-hour". G. S. *kāpur*, H. B. O. *kāpur*, Sim. *kāpura*. Pkt. P. *kāpura*. Skr. *kāpura*. — \$ 47, 125.

kāpus m., *kāpṣi* f. *kāp*, *kāpas* m. "cotton". G. *kāpus* n., Sim. *kāpu*, H. B. *kāpas*, S. Panj. *kāpāh*, K. *kāpas*. P. *kāppāsa*. Skr. *kāpāsa*. — \$ 47, 85, 92, 125.

kāmbiā m. "sheet". Sim. *kāmbiā*, G. *kābio*, *kāmal*, S. *bala*; Panj. *kāmbal*, *kāmmal*; H. *kāmbal*, *kāmmal*; B. *kāmbal*, *kāml*, O. *kāmal*. P. Pkt. *kāmbala*. — \$ 92, 127. Skr. *kāmbala*. — \$ 92, 127. G.H. *kān* n. "work, affair".

kānta, S. *kānti*, Panj. *kānda*, Ro. *kando*, Sim. *kātava*. Pkt. *kāntika*. — \$ 109.

kāhi f. "trunk, stick". G. Panj. *kāih*, Sim. *kāia* "timber"; S. *kāihu*, B. H. *kāih*, K. *kāin*, Ro. *kāst*. Pkt. *kāiha*. Skr. *kāsiha*. — \$ 110.

kādhneṁ "to draw". G. *kādhvun*, *kādhādvun*, S. *kādhānu*, Panj. *kādhāna*, K. *kāḍun*. H. *kādhna*, B. *kāḍite*, O. *kāḍhibā*, Arm. Ro. *kas*, Palestinian Ro. *kāl*. Pkt. *kāḍḍhai*. Skr. *karsati*. — \$ 112, 231.

kāṇa adj. "blind of one eye". G.S. *kāno*, Panj. B. *kāna*, H. *kāna*, O. *kāna*, Sim. *kāna*, K. *kāna*, Skr. *kāna*. — \$ 46, 134.

kānt m. "shavings of food", *kāntān* n. "morsel", f. "harmful insect". G. *kātaro* "insect"; S. *kai*, H. *kai* "cut". Skr. *kartana*, *kintana*. — \$ 114.

kāidem n. "skin or leather". G. *kāidi*. Pkt. *kāti*, *kitti*. Skr. *kitti*. — \$ 114, 163.

kāntneṁ, *kāntneṁ* "to spin, to turn". G. *kāntvun*, Panj. *kānta*, H. *kāna*, S.K. Ro. *kāt*; cf. G. *kānt* "spindle", H. *kāti* "woman-spinner". Skr. *kart*. — \$ 114.

kātya f. pl. "pleiads". Sim. *kāti*, S. *kātum*; cf. H. *kāik*, Panj. *kattak*, "mouth of *kātika*". Pkt. *kātia*. Skr. *kātika*. — \$ 30, 114.

kātar, *kātri* f. "scissors". G. *kātar*, S. *katar*, Panj. *kātar*, *kāti*, H. Panj. *kātarni*, B. *kātaran*, O. *kātura*, Sim. *kātura*; Ro. *kat*. Cf. Desi. *kājari ksurika* (70, 7). Skr. *kajari*, *kartarika*. — \$ 47, 114.

merchant, H. *kacm* 'gaur-
ner'?, Pkt. *kaccha* 'lawn'.
Skr. *kakṣa*-, *kaccha*-'herb,
prairie, marshland'. — S
141, 103.
kāsa, *kāmsa* n. m. 'tortoise'.
Pany. H. *kachua*, H. *kach*,
S. *kachamun*, *kachum*, B.
kāchim, O. *kacim*, Sim.
kāsup, *kāśba*. Skr. *kacchapa*-,
Ved. *kāśyāpa*-. — S 47, 69,
102, 103, 152, 157.
kāsar, *kāmsar* m. name of a
caste; 'vessel-makers of
bronze'. H. *kāmsagar*, Nep.
kassar. Skr. *kāmsyakāra*-.
— S 143, 157.
kāmsen n. 'brass'. G. *kāmsun*,
S. *kāmyho*, Pany. *kāmsi*, H.
kās H. B. O. *kāmsa*. Pkt.
kāmsa-, *kāsa*-. Skr. *kāmsya*-.
— S 157.
kāst 'scribe' (name of a
caste). G. *kāyat*, H.
kāyath. Skr. *kāyastha*-.—S61.
kāl m. 'time, dead'. G. *kāl*,
S. *kālu*, Pany. H. K. *kāl*,
Sim. *kala*, P. Pkt. Skr. *kāla*-.
— S 145.
kāla adj. 'black', G. *kālo*, S.
kāro, Ro. *kālo*, Pany. H. B.
kāla, O. *kala*, Sim. *kālu*.
Pkt. *kālaa*-, P. *kāla*-. Skr.
kāla-. — S 46, 145.
kāmkini f. 'a little bell', G.
kāmkini, H. *kāmkini*, Pany.
kāmgini 'ear pendant'. Skr.
kāmkini. — S 50.
kin n., *kina* m., *kinem* *kinhem*
n. 'colloquy'. H. *kin*. Skr.
kina-. — S 134.
kir, *kir* 'certainly'. Pkt. *kira*.
Skr. *kila*. — S 41, 142.
kiran m. 'ray'. G. *kiran* *kim*,
S. *kirini*, Pany. *kiran* *kiran*, H.
kiran. Skr. *kirana*-. — S 40,
134.

kam, P. Pkt. *kamma*.
karma. — S 92, 138,
'what?'; *kā* 'is it?';
for the same use H.
B. ki, etc.). Skr. *kādik*-.
204.
'because of'. S. *kāraṇi*,
āraṇ; cf. G. Pany. *kāraṇ*
se?, G. *kāraṇ* *sar*, *kāraṇ*
because of?; K. *kāraṇ*
use?; *kāraṇa* 'because of';
kāraṇa 'object, cause'.
kāraṇa. — S 46, 197.
kāraṇa f. *kāraṇam* f.
rinda?, *kāraṇam* 'its
'?; H. *kāraṇida*, *kāraṇida*;
cably S. *karno* 'tree with
red white flowers'. Deśi.
vandie a sihanahit; Comm.
iahi karamandika (286,
). — S 49, 51, 153.
esterday?, G. *kāl*, E. B.
H. *kāl*, S. Pany. *kāh*
esterday?, K. *kōli-kēih*
y after tomorrow?, Sim.
'morning'. Pkt. *kalla*
esterday?, P. *kalla*-'morn-
'?; Skr. *kalya*-. — S 148.
f. 'bamboo for transport
loads on the shoulders'.
kāvaḍ, S. *kāvāhi*, H.
war. Skr. *kamaṭha*-. — S

f. adj. 'highly excited
m fear, anger, surprise'.
H. B. *kāyar* 'disgusted,
ud, lazy'. Skr. *kātara*
\$ 143.
ams f. 'udder, cutting of
ments'. S. Pany. H.
ch m. and f. K. *kac*,
n. *kāsa* 'arm-pit'.
i. *kaccha*-. Skr. *kakṣa*. Cf.
kakh. — S 104.
n. 'prairie'. G. *kās*
wn', Sim. *kāsa* 'coppice';

'kut', Yagnoti kui see (Gauthiot, *Gramm. Sogdienne*, p. 51).

— \$ 42.

kudnem 'to jump'. G. *kudum*,

S. *kudānu*, Pary. *kuddana*, H. *kūdna*, B. *kudan*, O. *kudiba*.

cf. Desi. *kuddano rasakah*

(84.5). Skr. *kurdana*. — \$

44, 115, 123.

kudāl m. 'hoe'. G. *kodālo*, S.

kodri, Pary. *kudāl*, H. *kodāl*,

B. *kodāl*, Sim. *udalu*. Skr.

kuddala. — \$ 44, 80, 123,

145.

kupin f. 'piece of cloth covering

the sexual parts'. G. H.

kopin, S. *kopini*, Pary. *kupin*.

Skr. *kaupina*. — \$ 45.

kumpha 'fruit of *kumbha*'. Skr.

kumbha-phala. — \$ 172.

kudā 'hunch-back', *kudti*, f.

'snail', G. *kudō*, S. *kubo*.

Pary. *kubba*, K. *kobu* H.

kubba, *kubia*. Should be

separated on the one hand,

Sim. *kuda*, on the other hand,

H. O. *kūja*, B. *kunja*, cf. M.

khyā 'dwarf', with an ini-

tial aspirate which recalls M.

khuba 'protuberance, hump,

snail" (see these two words

later). Skr. *kubhra* 'the

humped buffalo'. — \$ 84,

89, 127.

kumbh m. 'jar'. G. Pary. H.

kumbh, S. *kumbhu*, *kumbu*,

Sim. *kumba*. Skr. *kumbha*

— \$ 128, 138.

kumbhar m. 'potter'. G.

kumbhar, S. *kumbharu*, Pary.

H. *kumhar*, B. Apa. *kumar*,

Sim. *kumbukaru*. Pkt. *kumbha-*

ara, *kumbhara*-Skr. *kumbhakara*.

— \$ 61, 128, 138, 141, 258.

kurađ f. 'axe'. G. *kurađo*, S.

kuraio, Pary. *kuraia kulhāia*,

Bih. *kođar*, B. *kurađi*, O.

kurađi kurađi. Pkt. *kurađa-*

riage alliance'; S. *mu*, *kuiambhu*; cf. H.

na 'related'. Skr.

mba. — \$ 109.

'where?'; cf. *kuihne*,

me 'from where?'. B.

a; S. *kaihi* 'the first ele-

it of S. *kithi* Pary. *kithi*

in, is different. Seems

de N. acc. neut. sing. of

kvastha adj. 'finding

self where?'. — \$ 76, 110.

n. 'well, pot'. G. H.

l, S. *kuni*, Pary. *kunal*,

kempiya. Skr. *kunda-*

\$ 111.

tem 'to curl over, to

p', cf. H. *kuduk* 'ball

ring'. Skr. *kuiati* 'to be

ved'. — \$ 111.

kudo m. 'measure of

in'. Skr. *kuiapa*, *kudava-*

\$ 111, 280.

ln. 'ear-ring'. G. Pary.

dal, S. *kumdhalu*, *kunru*,

B. O. *kumdal*, Sim. *korn-*

Skr. *kundala*. — \$ 170.

m. 'echites, antidysen-

a'. Skr. *kuija*. — \$ 60,

kud 'false, perfidious'.

kudum, Pary. *kūja*, Sim.

; G. *kud*, S. *kūru* 'false-

d'; Pkt. *kūda*, P. *kūja-*

kūja. — \$ 92, 111.

'hut'. Sim. *kili*; cf. S.

h 'stable, house', Pary.

i 'enclosure for animals',

n 'hut', H. *kūhi*

use?' Skr. *kui*. — \$ 111.

m. 'dog'. G. *kuro*; cf.

j. H. *kuita*. To be

rated from *kukkura*;

de both are expressive of

dish words, see Sainean,

T. Vol. XIV, p. 220 (To

Iranian examples cited

e, we can add Sogdian,

- "hip", Pany. *kuchf*. "corner",
kuchai "hip, bosom", K.
kôch "lap", Ro. *koc* "knee",
 Sim. *kus kis*; on the other
 hand, G. *kukh*, S. *kukki*, Pany.
kukkh, H. *kokh*, cf. M. *kukha-*
 vart. Pkt. *kucchi*, Skr. *kuksi*.
 — S 92, 104.
kul n. "family", G. O. *kul*, S.
kulu, Pany. *kul f*, W. Pany.
kull, H. *kul m*, Pkt. *kula-*
 — S 145.
kekat n. "Pandanus odora-
 tissimus"; *kekad* n. "type of
 palm", G. *ketak*, S. Pany.
 H. *ketki*, Skr. *ketaka-*. — \$167,
 172.
kedhavat "what a long time",
 From *kedha* "how big" (see
 Barnes, II, p. 333-334) and
vel "time". — \$ 63.
kenem n. "merchandise", H.
kinda "to buy", B. *kena*
 "purchase", K. *kan-* "to
 sell", *kalasa*, kre "purchase",
 Ro. *kin-* "to buy", Skr.
krayana- "purchase". — \$ 51,
 77, 92, 134.
kela adj. "done", G. *kayo*,
kidho, *kito*, Pany. *kila*, *kina*,
 H. *kilya*, Ro. S. *kerto*, Sim.
kala, Pkt. *kaa-*, *kaya-*, P. *kaja*.
 Skr. *kita-*. — \$ 62, 165, 229,
 252, 256.
kevda m. "Pandanus odoratissi-
 mus", G. *kevdo*, S. *kevo*, Pany.
 H. *kevia*, Sim. *ke*, Skr.
ketaka-. — \$ 55, 63, 77.
kes, *kems m*. "hair", G. *kes*
 (plur.), S. *kesu*, Pany. H.
kes, *ke*; Ro. *kes* "silk", Pkt.
kesa. Skr. *kesa-*. — \$ 70, 77,
 156.
kemsar m, *kesri m*. "lion". G.
kesri, S. *kehari*, Pany. H.
kehar, *kehri* "lion", Skr. *kesa-*
ra-, *kesara-*, *ketarin-*, *kesarin-*.
 — \$ 70, 156.
- Skr. *kuhāra-*. — \$ 112, 167,
 168.
kurund m. "corundum", S.
kurindu "pumice-stone",
 Pany. *kurund*, H. *kurand*,
 Sim. *kurundu*. Skr. P.
kuruinda. — S 64, 123.
kula, *kulla*, *kulha m*. "buttock",
 G. *kulo*, H. *kūla*. Desi. *kullo*
griva (cf. Pany. *kulha* "part of
 buffalo-hump on which the
 yoke is placed"), *asamarhas*
 (cf. M. *kol* "impotent, po-
 werless", Pany. *kūla* "soft,
 tender") *chinapuchas ceti*
tryarthah (92, 5). — S 148.
kunvar m. "small boy", *kunvar*
f. "young girl", G. *kunvar*
kunver, S. *kunvara*, Pany.
kamvar kavar (*kvar f*. virgi-
 nity), W. Pany. *kunvar*, H.
kunvar kunar, Sim. *kunaruva*.
 Pkt. *kunara*, *kumara*; *kuari f*.
 Skr. *kumara*, *kumari*. — \$ 42,
 152.
kuva m. "well", g. *kuvo*, S.
khuu, K. *khuu*, Pany. *khuu*,
kuu, H. *kuam*, Nep. *kuva*,
 B. O. *kuu*. Skr. *kupa*. — \$
 64, 92, 152.
kusal f. "sorceress", cf. Pany. H.
kusal "health", G. *kasilyum*
 "epidemic, cholera", Skr.
kusala "prosperous, clever".
 — \$ 142, 145, 156.
kusumb m. "dried, seaflower",
 carthamus tancetorius. G.
kasumbho, S. *khuumbho*, Pany.
kusumb, *kusumbh*, *kusumh*, H.
kusumb, *kusumbh*, *kusum*,
 Bih. *kosum*. Skr. *kusumbha-*
 — S 127, 138.
kuikarni m. "treasurer, village
 record keeper". Composed
 of *kul* (kula) "family", and
karni (*karanika-*) "archivist",
 — \$ 44.
kus f. "stomach". S. *kuchiri*

U. *kudā*. Pkt. *kodha-*. Skr. *kusīha-*, *kōśha-*; cf. the play of words in *varakodhi* "good leper; covered with a foulard (varaka-)" ascribed to Bāṇa by Mervunga (see Etinghausen, *Harsa*, p. 126). §— 80, 88, 92, 112.
koṇ (neut. *kāy obl. kasa*) "who?"; G. *koṇ*. Pany. *koṇ*, H. *kauṇ*, H. *kauṇ*, *koṇ*; Ro. *kon*. Apa. and old *koṇ*. *kavaṇa-*. Skr. *kāḥ punaḥ?* — § 58, 78, 204.
koṇ m. "angle, corner", G. Pany. *koṇ*, H. *kon*; cf. H. *kohṇi*, Ro. *kunī* "elbow", P. Skr. *koṇa-*. — § 78, 134. *kōḥimbir*, vulg. *kōḥirib* *kōḥirib* f. "coriander", G. *kōḥimīr*, H. *kōḥimīr* *kōḥimīr*. Skr. *kustumbarī*. — § 71, 89, 122, 138, 167.
kon m. "corner; lying in (period when the woman lives in a secluded part of the house)"; *koṇa konyā* m. "corner, corner-stone", *Deśi* *koṇo gīhakoṇaḥ* (87, 2). — § 134.
kopnem "to be angry", G. S. Pany. H. *kop-*, Sim. *kō* "anger", *kipeṇaṇa* "to be irritated", Pkt. *kūppai*; P. *kup-pati*; caus. *kopeti*. Skr. *kūpyati* — § 80.
kopar, *kōmpar* m. "elbow", G. *kopariyūṇi*. Pkt. *koppara-*, *kūppara-*. Skr. *kūppara-*. — § 69.
kōmenē "to wither", S. *kōmai-jāṇu*, Pany. *kumāvan*. *Deśi*. *kum-māṇam* *kunīṭṭaram* *kurumāṇam* *tramaḥ* *api māṇāya rīham* (84, 18). — § 30.
koykamal n. "lotus (nymphaea pubescens)". S. *kūṇi*, H. *koi-komī*; on the other hand G. *kamaḥ*, S. *kamāvalu*, Pany. *kaul*,

kelem n. "banana", G.
S. kelho, Panj. H. *kela*,
ala. Pkt. *kaali*, *kayali*,
kadali, *kadala*. — \$ 39,
 92, 145.
 much", G. *kaink*, H.
kaek. Skr. *eka-eka*.
 56.
 n. "ruse, machination",
atib, Braj. *kaitan*. Pkt.
 . Skr. *kaiva*. — \$ 56.
 oil, *koyai* f. "cuckoo".
oyai, S. Panj. H. *koi*, O.
 i, Sim. *kevilli kovulla*. P.
kokila. — \$ 64, 145.
 "fortress", G. Panj.
 oi, S. *koiu*, K. *koih*. Pkt.
 . (Deśi. *kotiam nagaram*,
 . Skr. *kotia*. — \$ 109.
 "core, ten millions", S.
 Panj. *koi* "much", Sim.
 Skr. *koti*. — \$ 109.
 n. "shop, store", G. S.
 , Panj. H. *koiha*, K.
 i "room", Sim. *koinva*,
 P. *koiha*-Skr. *kosha*,
 aka. — \$ 78, 110.
 n. "circle, enclosure",
 Panj. H. *kundal*, Sim.
 ol, S. *kunru* "ear-ring",
 kr. *kundala*. — 80, 111.
kohdem, *kuhedem* n.
 barrasment, "enigma",
koyō, *kohō* "enigma",
un "falsehood", *koriko*
 p", Panj. *kūa* "false-
 i, liar", Sim. *kulu* "false,
 cedient", Desi. *kūdo*
 i (86, 3), Skr. *kūa*.
 80, 161.
 n. "earthen plate in
 h are put oil and the
 of a lamp", G. *kōḍiyum*.
kōḍiam laghuṣaravahi
 15). — \$ 63.
 of m. n. "leprosy", G.
 i *kōḍ*, S. *korihō*, Panj.
 oih, Nep. kor, B. *kudh*,

- kundāka*-“kitchen”. Skr. root *kudī dāhe*. — S 146.
kolāmbem n. “pot with a large mouth”. D. *kolambo tatha kollaro pitharam* (87, 15); P. *kolamba*-. — S 145.
kolī m. “fisherman, water-carrier (name of a caste); sort of spider”. S. *korī*, “weaver; spider”, G. *kolī*, H. *kolī*; name of a caste, *Deśī. kolio tiantuāgo jālakāra-kirmis ca* (93, 5). Skr. *kaula*, *kaulika*-. — S 78, 145.
kolēm n. “basket containing rice or grain”. G. *kojiyo* “mouthful”; H. *kaulī* “packet of wheat given to a village functionary”. Skr. *kavala*-. — S 145.
kolēm n. “hump of buffalo”. *Deśī kolo grivā* (87, 1); *kullo grivā* (92, 5). — S 80, 145.
kaul n. “tile”; *kaulār* n. “roof of tiles”. — S 143.
khacnem “to set (precious stones)”. G. *khac* “to press strongly”, H. *khacna* “to be fixed, inserted”. *Deśī. pr. pcpī. khacya*-. Skr. *khacayati*. — S 48, 95, 101.
khajūr m. “wild dates”, *khajūri* f. “date tree”. G. *khajūr* n. “date”, *khajūri* f. “date-tree”; S. Pany. *khajūr* f., H. *khajūr* m. “date, date-tree”, Sim. *kaduru*. Skr. *khajūra*-. — S 50, 95, 106.
khajānis n. “bed”. Skr. *khajānga*, “club”, etymologically “foot of bed”; cf. M. *khajī*. — S 48, 95, 109.
khāḍīar, *khāḍ* adj. “jarring, importunate”. G. *khāḍīal*, H. *khāḍīal*, H. *khāḍīal* f. type of steatite used for writing on the board or for white-washing”. G. S. *kojāpa*-“dried (tree)”; cf. P. *kaśihaṅgārāḥ* (88, 13), P. *koya karigāṅṇiḥ* (88, 7), *koila koyāl kolsā* “fire-brand”. *Deśī. kolsa* “fire brand”. G. *koylo burn, to consume*, *kolaṅga tamed*; cf. *kolamjñem* “to be skinned”, *kojāpñem* *maṇḍa*-. — S 71, 80, 146, 120.
kūhaṇḍa, *kohaṇḍa*-. Skr. *kus-komāṇḍu*. *Deśī. kohāḍi*, Pkt. H. *komhar*, Sim. *komāḍu*, n. “gurd”. G. *kohjūm*, *kolumi kohjēm*, *korhājēm*, *kohājēm*, *kojāpa*-. — S 92.
kohu, Pany. *koh*, K. *kruh*. Skr. *kos* m. “league”. G. H. *kos*, S. *komala*-. — S 140, 145.
kumol, Ro. *koilo*. Skr. H. *komai*, Pany. *kūla*, K. G. *komai kumjūm*, S. *komalu*, *komjā* adj. “young, tender”. 148, 149.
kolāhala-. — S 52, 78, 145, *kolhāl* m. “city, howling”. Skr. *Skr. kroṣṭī*-. — S 92, 148.
sigālāḥ (82, 16); P. *koitihu. kulhoṣṭgālāḥ** (93, 5) *kulho* *Deśī. kolhuo...sigālāḥ* (93, 5) Sim. *koīa*. Pkt. *kuiha-koihua*; *kohlum kolumi*; H. *kolha kola*; *kolha, kola* m. “jackal”. G. *Skr. kuljā*-. — S 80, 148.
wall-. H. *kol*, K. *kul* “river”, *game*-. G. *kolo* hole in a *kolī* f. whole for a children’s *kullo...asamarthah*. — S 148.
kol “incapable, impotent”. *Deśī. — S 78.*
singer, knee); *kola*-“side”. Skr. *kora* “articulation (a near”, Pany. *kol* “near, by”. G. Pany. H. *kor*; S. *kolī* “to, kor f. “side, direction edge”. 145, 153.
kumudakamala-. — S 64, 138, H. *kumval* “Nile-lily”. Skr.

any. H. *khaḍi*, O. *khaḍi*, Skr. *khatika*, *khaḍika*. — \$ 95.
 tin, *khaḍan* "vicious, difficult (animal)". Deśi. *khaḍ-*
 to *matlaḥ*. Skr. *kathina*. — \$ 95.
 nem "to dig". G. S. *khan*, K. *khan*, Ro. *xan*, Sim. *minava*. Skr. *khan*. — \$ 49, 5, 170, 229.
 item n. "instrument for digging holes". H. *khanṭi*, ih. *khanṭi*. Skr. *khanṭiraka*. — \$ 95.
 nem "to work hard, to tire oneself out, to sell oneself". S. Pany. H. *khaḥ*; K. *khaḥ* "to await the end of un". Skr. *kṣapita* "destroy", *kṣapānam* "destruction". — \$ 48, 95.
 adj. "biting, piquant", *harad* f. "sketch, draft". G. S. *har* "uncouth"; G. S. *harḍo*, H. *kharḍa* "draft", *est*-*kharadānam rūksam bhag-* *im ca* (98, 13). Skr. *kharā*. — \$ 46, 95, 163.
 nem "to suffer from spermatorrhea; to emit semen". *kharuṃ* "to fall", S. *varuṃ* "to degenerate", *any.kharuḍa* "to disintegrate", *churun* "to go to stool". *kr. kṣarati*. — \$ 46, 75, 95. *ana* . "Digambar Jaina". *kr. kṣapānaka*. — \$ 46, 95, 12.
 m. "articulation of shoulder". G. *khabho*, Pany. H. *kha-* . Deśi. *khaṇḍa skandhaḥ* (93, 1). cf. Skr. *kaphaṇi* "elbow", id probably Lat. *scapula*. — \$ 45, 95, 152.
 adj. "vile, naughty". G. *ai khal*, H. *khal*. Pkt. Skr. *ala*. — \$ 95, 145.

khal, f. "paste for cakes". G. *khol* m., S. *kharu* m., f., Pany. *khal* f., H. *khal* m. *khal* f. "oilcake". Deśi. *khalitilapin-* *ḍika* (95, 11). Skr. *khalā*. — \$ 93, 145.
khal, *khalim* n. "area". G. *khalit khalum*, S. *kharo*, K. *khal*, H. *khalā*. Skr. *khalā*. — \$ 95, 145.
khalim "to stop". G. *khalum*. Pkt. *khalai*. Skr. *skhal*. — \$ 46, 95, 145.
khalbalum "to be undecided, in revolution", Pany. *khalbalāna*, H. *khal-* *balāna* "to boil, to be agitated", Pany. H. *khalbali* "turm oil". Skr. *skhal*. — \$ 95.
khal "pit". S. *khaṭhi* Pany. H. *khal*, Deśi. *khalā parikha* (96, 4). Skr. *khalaka*. — \$ 95.
khaṇ adj. (in compound) "glutton", f. "pastry". G. *khaṇ* "destruction"; Pany. H. *khaṇ*, K. *khaṇ* "glutton". Skr. *khaḍuka*. — \$ 95.
khanik, *khaḥ* f. arm-pit". H. *khaḥ*, Ro. *khaḥ*. Metathesis of *kānikh*. \$ 95, 168.
khaḥ f. "itching", *khaḥim* "to scratch". S. *khaḥi*, Pany. H. *khaḥ*, Ro. *xandz*. Skr. *khaḥu-* — \$ 39, 41, 48, 95, 106, 190.
khaḥim n. "pastry", *panckha-* *jem* "five condiments used in sacrifices (whose names begin with *kha*)". G. *khaḥ*, S. *khaḥu*, Pany. *khaḥa*, H. *khaḥa* *victuals*". Skr. *khaḍya*. — \$ 47, 95, 106.
khai f. "bed". G. *khai*, S. *khai*, Pany. H. *khai*. Pkt. *khalia*. Skr. *khalia*. — \$ 48, 95, 109.
khaṇḍ f. "break, piece, sugar",

any. H. *khaḍi*, O. *khaḍi*, Skr. *khatika*, *khaḍika*. — \$ 95.
 tin, *khaḍan* "vicious, difficult (animal)". Deśi. *khaḍ-*
 to *matlaḥ*. Skr. *kathina*. — \$ 95.
 nem "to dig". G. S. *khan*, K. *khan*, Ro. *xan*, Sim. *minava*. Skr. *khan*. — \$ 49, 5, 170, 229.
 item n. "instrument for digging holes". H. *khanṭi*, ih. *khanṭi*. Skr. *khanṭiraka*. — \$ 95.
 nem "to work hard, to tire oneself out, to sell oneself". S. Pany. H. *khaḥ*; K. *khaḥ* "to await the end of un". Skr. *kṣapita* "destroy", *kṣapānam* "destruction". — \$ 48, 95.
 adj. "biting, piquant", *harad* f. "sketch, draft". G. S. *har* "uncouth"; G. S. *harḍo*, H. *kharḍa* "draft", *est*-*kharadānam rūksam bhag-* *im ca* (98, 13). Skr. *kharā*. — \$ 46, 95, 163.
 nem "to suffer from spermatorrhea; to emit semen". *kharuṃ* "to fall", S. *varuṃ* "to degenerate", *any.kharuḍa* "to disintegrate", *churun* "to go to stool". *kr. kṣarati*. — \$ 46, 75, 95. *ana* . "Digambar Jaina". *kr. kṣapānaka*. — \$ 46, 95, 12.
 m. "articulation of shoulder". G. *khabho*, Pany. H. *kha-* . Deśi. *khaṇḍa skandhaḥ* (93, 1). cf. Skr. *kaphaṇi* "elbow", id probably Lat. *scapula*. — \$ 45, 95, 152.
 adj. "vile, naughty". G. *ai khal*, H. *khal*. Pkt. Skr. *ala*. — \$ 95, 145.

- "hole"; Desi. *khanam lathā* (93, 10). Skr. *khalam* — \$ 93.
- khal* f. "nourishment"; Old M. *khalā* f. "eaten"; G. *khalā* n. "provisions", Pany. *khalā* f. "eaten", Pany. *khalā* f. "nourishment", *khalā* "eaten", S. *khalā* "nourish-ment; eaten". Desi. *khalā* (93, 16). — \$ 88, 93, 169, 229.
- khal* f. "itching". For *khal* — \$ 106.
- kham* m. "shoulder" G. *kham* *khamdho*, Pany. *kamha*, H. *kāmdhā*, O. B. *kāmdh*, Sim. *kāmda*; S. *kāmdho* "hump of buffalo", *khamdiyo* "burden carried on shoulder". Pkt. *khandha*. Skr. *skandha*. — \$ 93, 169.
- khapar* n. "earthenplate, tile". Pany. *khapar*, H. *kāpar*. Pkt. *khapara*. Doublet with s-prefixed with Skr. *karpāra* (cf. old H. A. scribi, see Uhlenbeck s. v.). — \$ 47, 84, 93.
- kham* m. "pillar". G. H. *kham*, Pany. B. O. *khambha*. Pkt. *khambha*. Ved. Skr. *skambhā*. — \$ 68, 93, 127.
- khar* m. "salt, potassium". G. *khar* m. H. *khar*, S. *khar*; cf. G. Pany. H. *char*, H. *char* f., S. *char* m. Pany. H. *char* f., S. *char* m. Ro. *char* "ashes". Pkt. *chara*, *chāra*. Skr. *kṣāra*. — \$ 93, 104.
- khasen*, *khasen* "to cough". G. Pany. H. *khas-khas*, S. *khas*, Ro. *xas*, Sim. *khangh*, cf. *kāssa* "to cough"; cf. K. *sas* "cough". Pkt. *khasia*. Skr. *kās*. — \$ 48, 84.
- khal* f. "barg, leather". G. H. *khal*, S. K. *khal*, Pany. *khal*; cf. Arm. Ro. *xar* "sack". Desi.
- khamdum*, *khamdum* "to break". G. Pany. H. *khamd*, Sim. *kād* "to break", G. *khamd*, Pany. K. H. *khamd* f. "sugar", S. *kharu*, H. *kharu*, K. *khamd* f. Sim. *kād* "piece", Pany. *khamd* "half", Ro. *xandi* "little". Pkt. Skr. *khand*, *khandā*. — \$ 30, 68, 75, 93, 111.
- handa* M. "sword". G. Pany. H. B. *khamd khamda*, S. *kharu*, K. *khadak*, Ro. *xando xaro*, Sim. *kadua*. In this word is found again the first element of Skr. *khadga*, which in its turn is related to Lat. *clades*, *gladius* and Celtic **klad-yo* (see Vendryes, Mel. Saussure, p. 309-310). The nasal can come from con-tamination with the family of Skr. *khand* "to break". — \$ 93.
- khadā*, *khadā* m. "hole". G. *khadā*; S. *khad* f., Pany. *khad khad* f., K. *kho* m. Ro. *xar* f. Desi. *khad khamd*. Skr. *khad* "to break". — \$ 75, 93, 170.
- khan* f. "query, mine". G. *khan*, S. *khan*, H. K. *khan* "mine"; Pany. *khan* "source of birth (egg, sperm, growth)"; Sim. *kān* "crowd" Pkt. *khan*. Skr. *khan*. — \$ 93, 134.
- kham* "to eat". G. S. Pany. H. B. O. *kha*, K. *khe*; Māyā *kha*, Xover *kho*, Sim. *ka*, Ro. *xa*, Sim. *ka*. Pkt. *kha*. Skr. *khadati*. — \$ 46, 93, 229, 230, 231.
- khai* n. "dung-hill", *khai* n. "wound, sore". Pany. *khai* m. "hole; dung-heap", H. *khai* "hole serving for grain storage". Pkt. *khalia*-

halla carma (93, 10). — S

04, 148.

ñem "to be vexed, to be

rritated". G. S. *khy-*, Pany.

F. *khyh-*, P. Pkt. *khy-*; cf.

Deśi. *khyjiam upālabhah*. Skr.

hidyate. — S 44, 95, 106.

ñd f. mountain-lip, hole".

ñd f. "valley, pass". H.

hind "hole, fissure". Rela-

ed to the family of *khand-*,

ossible contamination with

hid-. — S 30, 75, 95.

lkit f. "window, back-door".

khaḍḍi "court-yard, street".

. Pany. H. B. *khiriki* "small

oor, window". Deśi. *khaḍa-*

ki laghudvaram. — S 75.

ñem "to flow (talking of

emen or urine)". H. *kherua*.

Pkt. *khirai*. Related to Skr.

ñi f. "Mimusops kauki".

I. *khirni*. Skr. *ksirni*. — S 95.

f. "rice cooked in sweet-

ilk". G. Pany. H. *khir* f.

f. S. *khiro*, K. *chir* *khir* m.

milk", Ro. *khir* "butter,

rain", Sim. *kira*, *kiri* "milk".

kt. *khir*. Skr. *ksira* "milk",

sirika "sweetmeats pre-

ared with milk". — S 95.

f. "pin, nail". G. *khiro*, S.

ilo kiro, Pany. *kil* f. kill m.,

kyulu, H. *kil* *khir*. P. Pkt.

hila-. Skr. *kila-*, *kila-*

Atharvaveda, Tait. Br.).

— S 84, 145, 149.

a, dial. *komja*, *komjha*, adj.

dwarf". H. O. *kūja*, B.

yj, Sim. *kuda*. Pkt. *khyja-*,

yja-. Skr. *kubja-*. — S 44,

4, 85, 106.

ñem *khyñem* "to be arrested,

to be obstructed, to lack";

hoi. f. "loss, falsehood";

ñem, *khyñem* "to gather,

tear". G. *khyñum* "to be

Finished, to betray", S.

khuianu "to mark", Pany.

khuina "to be finished"; G.

Pany. H. *khoi* "loss, falsehood",

K. *khoi* "counterfeit";

G. H. *khuñi* "to gather",

Pkt. *khuñai* (*ñudai*). cf. Skr.

khuñd-khuñd "to break". — S

68, 95, 107, 109.

khuḍakñem "to have a cramp",

khuḍa adj. "affected with

cramp". S. H. *khuḍa-khuḍa-*

"to crack". Apa. *khuḍukkai*

"to cause harm". — S 94, 95.

khaubalinem "to be agitated". S.

khoḅhu choḅhu, H. *choḅ* "agi-

tation, anger". Pkt. *khoḅai*,

khubai. Skr. *khubhyati*. — S

95, 169.

khubā m. "hump, snail". G.

kubdum, S. *kubira*, Pany.

kubba "hunchback"; S.

kubbu, Pany. H. B. *kubb*, K.

kauḍ "hump"; cf. Skr.

kubhra "buffalo". — S 85, 89.

khuñem "to open (fig. sense)".

G. H. K. *khol*, S. *khol-khol*,

Pany. *khuñh*. Seems related

to Skr. *ksur-khur* "to cut",

khuḍ "to break". — S 95.

khuḍa adj. "atrophied". G.

khoḍum, H. *khoḍa*, Sim. *kor*

"paralysed". Pkt. *khoḍa-*.

Skr. *khoḍa* a less attenuated

and etymologically less

correct form (cf. Latin

scurus) than *khuḍa*. — S

95, 146.

khuḍ m. "horse-shoe". G. Pany.

H. *khuḍ*, S. *khuḍ*, Sim.

kuraya; K. *khor* "foot",

khuḍa "heel". P. Skr. *khuḍa-*.

— S 95.

khenkad m. "crabbed, crayfish".

H. *khenkda*, *khenkda*; S.

kamkita, B. O. *kamkita*, Sim.

kakuluc. Skr. *karkala*. — S

77, 84.

khoi f. "room". G. *kholi*. Desi. *khuilam kuit* (96, 11). — \$

148.

gamth f. "knot", *gamthinem* "to be a land". G. H.

gamth-, S. *gamth*-, Pany. *gamth*-, K. *gand*-, Ro. *ged*-, B. *gant*-, Sim. *gai*-. Pkt.

gant-, P. *gant*-. Skr. *granthi*-, *granth*-. — \$ 97, 110.

Pkt. *gant*, P. *gant*-. Skr. *granthi*-, *granth*-. — \$ 97, 110.

gamd m. "cheek, temple" *gamd* f. "buttocks". G. H. B.

gamd, Sim. *gada* "cheek"; G. Pany. H. B. *gamd*, S.

gamdi "buttocks". Pkt. Skr. *ganda*-. — \$ 97, 111.

gadgañem, *gadgañem* "to rum-ble, to boom (lighting etc.)".

Desi. *gadayadi* (Var. *gadadi*) *vajrantgosah*. — \$ 62.

ganem "to count". G. *ganum*, Pany. *gima*, H. *gima*, K.

ganar-, Ro. *gen*-, Sim. *gan*-. Pkt. *gani*. Skr. *ganayati*. — \$

46, 97, 134. *gadai* n. "dirtiness", adj.

"dirty". S. *gadai*, G. *gadum*, H. *gadla* "dirty". The elem-

ent *gad* seems to go back to **gid*- or **gard*-, cf. Persian

gil "dirtiness". — \$ 97, 123. *gadhā* m. "donkey". G.

gadhādo *gadhēdo*, Pany. H. *gadhā*, Gavi *gada*, Kalasa

gardok, X ovar *gudox*, Maia *gadda*, Sim. *gaduba*-. Pkt.

gaddaha-, P. *gaddabha*-. Skr. *gardabha*-. — \$ 48, 97, 115,

170. *gandh* m. "odour", adj. "stinking". G. Pany. H.

gandhaum "to stink, to putrify", H. *gandha* "stinking",

Ro. *khan* "stink". D. *gandho* *durgandha* (99, 16). Skr.

khedem n. "hamlet". G. *khed*

"culture", *khedum* "village", Pany. *khedā* "village, ruined

village", H. *khedā* "cultivated village", ruined village", Ro.

kherau "town". Pkt. *khedaya*-. Skr. *khejaka*-. — \$ 95.

kher khair m. "acacia catechu", G. *kher*, Pany. H. *khair*, Sim.

kihiri. Pkt. *khaira*-. Skr. *kha-dera*-. — \$ 95, 143.

kherij adv. "in addition", Ar. Pers. H. *kharij* "exterior".

— \$ 77. *khemva* m. "act of rowing",

Pany. H. *khemva* "to row", Pany. *kheva* "a boat-man,

price of passage, boat"; K. *khev* "cable for towing". Skr.

kship "to send", cf. *kshipanika* "boat-man". — \$ 77, 95.

khel m. "play", *khelem* "to play", G. Pany. S. H. B. Ro. *khel*-, G.

khelo "actor", Sim. *keli*, *kida* "play". Pkt. *kida* *khedda*,

Apa. *khelana*-, *khellai*. Skr. *khelayati*. — \$ 80, 84, 146.

khop n. "paralytic", f. "vice"; *khopā* m. "paralysis, cramp".

G. *khopum*, B. *khopda*, Sim. *khora* "paralytic"; G. *khop*

f. "vice", H. *khori* "vice, wickedness", *khop* "male-

diction, disease". Pkt. *khopā*-. Desi. *khopo*.. *khanyah* (98,

17); Apa. *khopi* (dosa-). Skr. *khopa khora*-. *khop* n. "tree-trunk, saddle-

bow", *khopi* f. "stake, pillar", G. H. *khop* "piece of wood",

H. *khora* "to drive in", S. *khoranu* "to drive in

(stake)". Desi. *khopo sima-* *kasiam* (98, 17); *tantukkhodi*

vayakatanitopakarām (159, 9). Skr. *khopa* "stake for

tying elephants". — \$ 95, 111.

galanarā. Pkt. P. Skr. *gar-*
 — S 97, 140, 145.
gala m. "throat, neck". G.
galum; S. *garu giru* "neck",
galu "throat", *galu* "cheek";
 Pany. H. *gal*, *gala*; Sim.
gala; cf. Ro. *kulo* "neck".
 Pkt. P. Skr. *gala*-. — S 46,
 97, 140, 145.
gat, *gā*, f. "cow", *gati* "a
 cow (term of affection)". G.
gā *gā*, S. *gāni gā*, Pany.
gāni gā, H. *gāi gā*, B. *gāi*,
 K. *gā* (cf. Grierson Pis.
 Lang. p. 67), Sim. *gāva go*
gā. Pkt. *gā*, *gāva*. P. *gāva-*
gāti. Skr. *gāh*-. — S 46, 57, 97.
gau f. "lullaby". Ved. Skr.
gāu-. — S 57, 97.
gājñem, *garajñem* "to thunder,
 to resound". S. *gāj* "thun-
 der"; G. *gājñem*, Pany. *gājñā*
garajñā, H. *gājñā garajñā* "to
 thunder"; cf. K. *gagarāy*
 "thunder". Pkt. *gāj*-.; cf.
Devi. gājñā saddo mīgāra-
nādhvānā. Skr. *garajāna*-. — S
 47, 97, 106.
gānjñem, *gāndhñem* "to torment".
 G. *gānjñem* "to subjugate, to
 intimidate", H. *gānjñā* "to
 agitate, to churn the
 butter, B. *gānjā* "to
 insult". Apa. *gānjidu* (*bidi-*
gam); cf. Desi. *gāgijām tatha*
gāgijām mathitham (101, 16) ?
 Skr. *gānjāna* "contempt",
gāda "disease", or *gandhāyate*
 "to wound" ? — S 106.
gānjā m. "dried Hemp". G.
gānjā "Hemp flowers", Pany.
gānjā "Hemp for smoking";
 S. *gānjō*, H. *gānjā* "Hemp",
 Hemp leaves". Skr. *gānjā*.
 — S 97, 106.
gādñem "to bury". G. H. B.
gād-. Pkt. *gādda* "hole". Skr.

ganana-. — S 45, 74, 171.
nūtr n. "wine of cow". Sim.
gomu. for *gomutr*, tatsama.
 — S 45, 74, 171.
at, *gharat* f. "respectable
 women", Skr. *gihasthā*.
 — S 87, 88, 169.
odar adj. "pregnant
 (woman)". S. *garakūtr*; cf.
 S. *garo* "heavy". P. Pkt.
garu-. Skr. *gurūdara*-. — S 64,
 143, 171.
ai f. "snake-poison". G. *garal*
 n., Pany. *garal* f., H. *garal*
 m. Skr. *garala*-. — S 97, 145.
ra, *garda* m. "hole". H.
gar, *gardōda*. Skr. *garta*-.
 — S 164.
rhāñem, *garāñem* "to comp-
 lain of, to supplicate". Pany.
gall, *gāl*, H. *gāl*, S. B. *gār*
 cf. "abuse"; K.
 S. *garhānu* "to inform", K.
garun "to inform oneself,
 to demand", Ro. *khar* "to
 call" ? Pkt. *garīhai*. Skr.
garhāna "reproach". — S 97,
 143.
casñem "to seek". Pany.
garetan "to seek, to steel".
 Pkt. *garasai* Skr. *garēsajati*. —
 S 46, 51, 97, 152, 156.
vi m., *gavian* f. "shepherd".
 S. *garānu*, Pany. *garāl*, H.
 Nep. B. *goal*. Skr. *gopāla*-.
 — S 52, 97, 171.
hva, old M. *gahru* adj. "deep,
 intense". Pany. *gahru* "dark",
 H. *gahra*. Pkt. *gahira*-. Skr.
gabhrā-. — S 24, 50, 97,
 143, 159.
hūm m. "wheat". G. *gahum*
ghaum, S. *gehūm*, E. B. *gōma*,
 Sim. *goyama*, Ro. *gic*. Skr.
godhūma-. — S 41, 45, 64,
 74, 97, 153, 159, 171.
linem "to drip, to fall". G.

- garbhāgāra* m. "check". G. H. *gal*, Pany. *gallh*, W. Pany. *gallh*, "check"; S. *galu* "check", *galo* "part of throat below the cheeks". Skr. *galla* "the cheeks". Skr. *galla* "lower part of the cheeks" (word noticed as *grānya* by Vāmana, see Regnaud, *Rhet.* Sanskr. p. 41). — \$ 97, 148.
- gānti*, *gāu* m. n. "village". G. *gām*, S. *gānu gānu*, Pany. *gānu*, H. *gānu*, K. *gām*, Basgali Kalasa *grom*, Ro. *gav*, Sim. *gama*, Pkt. P. *gāma*, Skr. *grāma*. — \$ 91, 137, 152.
- gāvihā* m. "villager"; *gāvihan* n., *gāvihal* n. "site of a village". Skr. *grāma* + *stha*, *sthāna*, *sthala*. — \$ 110, 122.
- gāvā* "village-functionary". Desi *gamaudō*... *grāmapra-dhāna* (102, 5). Skr. *grāmakuṭa*—.
- gīrha* m. "aquatic demon, eclipse". S. *gīrah* "planet, mouthful", Pany. *gīrah* "mouthful"; cf. Ro. *gerao* "to hide". Skr. *graha*. — \$ 75, 162, 163.
- gilēm* "to swallow". S. *gīram*, B. *gilite*, Sim. *gilinaḍa*. Pkt. Skr. *gil*. — \$ 44, 97, 140, 145.
- gidh*, *gid*, *gidhād* m. "vulture". G. *gid*, S. *gijh*, Pany. *gidh*, *gijh*, W. Pany. *giry*, H. *gidh*, K. *gred*, Sim. *gidu* "greedy". Pkt. *gidddha*, P. *gijjha*. Skr. *gidhra*. — \$ 41, 44, 88, 97, 124.
- gim* m. "hot season". Sim. *gim* "hot", P. *gimha*. Skr. *grīma*. — \$ 97, 138.
- garla* or *gāḍha*? — \$ 48, 89, 114.
- gāḍi* f. "vehicle". G. H. etc. *gāḍi*, K. *gōḍi*. Desi. *gāḍḍi* *gantri* (99, 3). — \$ 47.
- gāḍha* n. "donkey". S. *gāḍahu*, Sim. *gāḍunbu*. Pkt. *gāḍāha*. Skr. *gāḍabha*. — \$ 47, 48, 97, 115, 170, 283, 291.
- gāḍha* adj. "heavy, compact". Pany. H. *gāḍha*, S. *gāharu*. Pkt. Skr. *gāḍha*. — \$ 46, 97, 112.
- gān* f. "cavity containing water at an elevated place." G. *gān* f. "mine, quarry, store-room", Pany. *gān* m. "small field surrounded by a channel inside another channel to retain water", S. *gān* f. "mine, hole containing water", K. *gān* m. "cave". Skr. *gahana*. — \$ 62, 97.
- gānem* "to sing". G. *gārum*, S. *gānu*, Pany. *gānu*, H. *gāna*, K. *gēun*, Pasai *gē*, Maiyā *gēla* "to sing", B. *gāun* "song"; Sim. *gā* goes back to Skr. *gāya* or *gāḥa*. Pkt. *gāna*. Skr. *gāna*. — \$ 97, 229, 252.
- gat* n. "parts of a bad frame". G. H. *gat*, Sim. *gata* "body". Pkt. *gatta*. Skr. *gātra*. — \$ 97.
- gāḍi*, *gāḍi* f. "wooden bar parting animals; barrier before an idol". Desi. *gattāḍi* *tatha gāni gavadani* (99, 10). — \$ 47.
- gābh* m. "embryo". S. *gābu*, Pany. *gabbh*, H. *gābh*, Sim. *gaba*; cf. K. *gabin* "bosom", Ro. *khabni* "pregnant". Pkt. P. *gabbha*. Skr. *garbha*. — \$ 97, 128.
- gābhar* m. "sanctuary". Skr. — \$ 48.

B. B. III, 237). — S 76.
gurutū n. "cow, buffalo",
gurem n. "cattle", *gudākyā*
 "shepherd". Pany. H. *gorū*,
 Ro. *guru*. Skr. *gā-* + *rūpam*.
 — S 66, 97, 172.
gū m. "excrement". G. H. B.
 Sim. *gū*; S. *goh*, Pany. *guhā*
 "cow-dung", K. *guh* "dung-
 heap". P. Skr. *guhā*. — S
 97, 161.
gūj n. "secret". G. *gūj*,
 S. *gūjho*, Pany. *gūjyh*, H.
gūjhi "secret", K. *gūj*
 "kernel". Pkt. *gūjha*. Skr.
gūjya. — S 88, 97, 107.
gūl *gūd* m. "raw sugar, mol-
 asses". G. *gōl*, S. *gūd*, Pany.
 H. *gūl*. Pkt. *gūla*. Skr.
gūda. — S 97, 146.
gerū f. "ochre". G. *gerū*, S.
gerū, Pany. *gerū gerū*, H. *gerū*
gerū, B. *gerū*, K. *gerū*
 "brown". Pkt. *geria*, *geriya*.
 Skr. *garika*. — S 77, 97,
 143.
gela adj. "gone". G. *gā*, Pany.
gā, Mith. *gel*, B. *gelo*, H.
gāyā, -*gā* (in future), K.
gāu gāu, Ro. *gelo*, Sim.
gāya. Pkt. *gāa*. Skr. *gāa*.
 — S 62, 97, 165, 200, 229,
 242, 256.
geh n. "house". G. H. B. *geh*,
 Sim. *ge geyā*. Pkt. P. Skr.
geha. — S 159.
gokran f. n. "ear of cow, objects
 having that shape". Skr.
gokarna. — S 162, 163.
goihā m. "cattle-pan", *goihī*
goih f. "story". G. *goih* *goih*
 ("confidence"), Pany. *goih*
goi, H. *goih*, *goihī*. Pkt.
goihā, *goihī*. Skr. *goihā*,
goihī. — 78, 97, 110.
god adj. "sugared, soft". G.
godi "softness", Ro. *gudio*

ni m. "vacuum", Pany.
gugāl, S. *gugurū*, Pany.
ngul gugāl, H. *gūgāl*. Skr.
ngulu. — S 40, 97.
gūh m. "bouquet". G. *gūh*,
 Pany. H. *guchā*. Pkt. Skr.
uccha. — S 101.
 m. "quality"; *gunim* "to
 multiply; to repeat (a
 lesson)". G. Pany. H. B.
gun, S. *gun*, K. *gōn*; S.
 Pany. H. *gun* "to multiply,
 o count". Pkt. *guna*-
 "quality", *gun* "to learn".
 Skr. *guna*; *gunana*. — S 97.
gunem, *gunim* "to mix up",
gūth f. "knot", *gūthā* m.
 "contract, monopoly". G.
gunthum "to plate, to tie",
 S. *gunthānū* "to weave (a
 net)", Pany. *gunthā* (part.
uddha) "to braid, to kneed",
 H. *gunthū* "to interlace, to
 kneed", *gūthū* "to tread",
 Sim. *gotanavā* "to attach";
 Pany. *gūth* f.; K. *gūth* m. "plated
 hair", G. *gūth*, S. *gūth*, H.
gūthā "contract, monopoly".
 Pkt. part. *gūthā*; Desi *gūthi*
bandhanam icchā vacanam lā
stomālyamceli pancārthā (106,
 16). cf. Skr. *granthā*. — S 30,
 97, 110.
mpha, *gūphā* f. "forest-retreat
 of a Yogi, cradle, cave", G.
 S.H. *gūphā* f., K. *goph*. Desi
gunpho gūphī (102, 13). Skr.
gūph "to accumulate", *gūph-*
 "to braid" (cf. Ro. *khu-*),
gūph- "to hide"? — S 71, 86,
 126.
rgurēm, *ghurgurēm* "to
 grunt, to growl". G. *gurūm*
ghurakum, S. *gurān*, Pany.
ghurānā, H. *gurānā*, *ghur-*
ghurānā. cf. Desi. *ghugghuri*
lāhā ghurghuri māndūkāh
 (109, 8); imitative word

iration, D. *gnamue* to
 erspire", K. *gam* "sadness,
 ain", Ro. *kham* "Sun", Pkt.
hama. Skr. *gharma*-. — \$
 9, 138.
 ; *ghao* m. "wound", *eka-*
hāyīm "at one blow", G.
ha, *ghav*, S.H. *ghāu*, Pany.
gha. Pkt. *ghāa*-. Skr. *ghāla-*
 - \$ 55, 57, 99.
niem "to rub, to skin", G.
has-, S. *ghainch*-, Pany. H.B.
has-, Ro. *khos*-, Sim. *gah*-.
 kt. *ghasai*, p. *ghainisai*. Skr.
harṣai-. — \$ 99, 231.
 r m. "grass, hay", G.H.B.
has, Pany. *ghah*, K. *gāsa*,
 Ro. *khas*. Skr. *grāsa*-. — \$ 99.
niem "to pour, to throw", G.
 I. *ghal*-, Pany. *ghall*-. Apa.
hallai (*ksipai*). cf. Skr.
gharti and *galati*-. — \$ 99,
 29.
 i n. "clarified butter", G.,
 Pany. H. *ghi*, Pany. *gho*.
 . *gihu*. B. *ghi*, S. *ghia*, K.
 hyau, Sim. *gi* *giya*. Pkt.
 ha- *ghia*-, P. *ghala*-. Skr.
 hira-. — \$ 30, 31, 66, 99.
niem "to resound, to conti-
 nue, to inflate, to ferment",
 S. *ghumvum* "to blow", S.
 humanu. Pany. *ghumma*, H.
 humna "to roll", cf. O.
 hur-. Pkt. *ghummai*. Skr.
thurnati-. — \$ 99, 138.
saijem "to churn, to shake",
 S. Pany. H. *ghus*-"to insert,
 o enter", Arm. Ro. *khusel*
 "to wipe, to sweep", Desi.
husalai mathnati (109, 13).
 skr. *ghis*-. — \$ 30, 99.
niem *ghepnem* "to take",
 iha *gha ci vidya* "art of taking",
 ihe (added to nouns of
 number) "to gather", S.
 inhanu, O. *ghen*, H. *gahna*,
 um. *gamauda* (pcpl. *galla*,

group. *gi*- and Ro. *gelac*,
 "to bring"; Pany. *gah* "act
 of taking"; K. *he* "to take?"
 Pkt. *geinai ghepbat*. absol.
gahimna, *ghetna*; Pkt. *gen-*
hali. Skr. *ghināti*, *gibhāyati*,
graha-(Indo-Ira. **ghrabha*-)
 — \$ 30, 31, 80, 99, 165, 168,
 229, 231.
ghoi m. "draught", *ghojnem*
 "to swallow", *ghuighui* "by
 mouthfuls, by one draught",
 G. *ghoi*, Pany. *ghuit*, H.
ghomi; S. *ghuiaknu*, H.
ghumina ghatakna, O. *ghuiana*,
 Desi. *ghuitai pibati* (109,
 12), Apa. *ghumiai*, Pkt.
ghoitai-. — \$ 76, 80, 109.
ghoda m. "horse", G. S. *ghodō*,
 Pany. H. B. *ghoia*. K. *gur*,
 Waiala *gur*, Gawarbat *Pasai*
gora, Garwi *gor*, Maiya *gho*,
 Ro. *khuro* "colt", Skr.
ghoiaka-. — \$ 99, 111, 194.
 ghov, *ghoho* m. "husband" Desi.
gamanā gāmaudō gāmagoho goho
ele cataro pigramaphadānar-
thāh; *goho bhata ity anye* (102,
 5). — \$ 78, 99.
ghoms, *ghos* m. "bouquet", Skr.
guccha-. — \$ 84.
ghojnem "to shake", G. *ghojnum*,
 Pany. H. *gholna* "to melt",
 B. *gholait* "to mix", Pkt.
ghul-. Skr. *ghurn*-. — \$ 99,
 111.
 c, old m. *ci*, particle of empha-
 sis (enclitic). Chaitisgarhi
 c, G.S. j. Pkt. *ccia*, *ccca*. Skr.
caiva.
cakva m. "casarca rutila" (see
 Hobson Jobson, s. v. Brah
 miny duck). G. *cakvo*, S.
cakuo, P. H. *cakva*, Sim.
sakva. Pkt. *cakka*-. Skr.
cakravāka-. — \$ 48, 60, 101.-
canicarenm "to stagger, to hesi-

- tate", *canical* adj. "trembling", G. *canical*, S. *canicalu*, Pany. H. B. *canical* "hesitant" or "active"; Sim. *sasal* "agitation, hesitation, eye," cf. Desi. *canicario bhramarah* (113, 6) Skr. *carcariti*, *canicala*-cf. *canicarin*. "honey-bee". — \$ 101.
- cad*, *cadak*, f. "smack".
- G. *cad*, B. *cadcad* "crack-ing", Pany. *carakna* "to crack", H. *carai* "to crack", Apa. *cadakka*-Skr. *caiaaiati*. Expressive word; cf. the cited Dravidian forms. \$ 94.
- cadhiem* "to climb", G. *cad-* *cadh*-S. Pany. H. O. *cadh*-; Sim. *sada* "rise". Pkt. *cadai*. — \$ 46, 252.
- cana* m. "grams". G. Pany. *cana*, S. *cano*, H. B. *cana*, K. *cana*, Skr. *cana*. — \$ 46, 134.
- catra* adj. "clever". Skr. *catura*. — \$ 163.
- calkor*, *calkar*, *colkor* m. f. "quarter of a cake, fruit", M. *cal*. m. "quarter" + *kor* f. "edge, quarter of a cake". — \$ 45, 171.
- cariem* "to graze". G. S. Pany. H. B. Kalacha Garvi Ro. *car*. China *cer*, Maiya *sar*, P. and K. *car*- "to gather, to peck at", Pkt. P. Skr. *car*. — \$ 49, 143.
- carit* n. "acts, exploits". H. *carit*, Pany. H. *caritar*, Sim. *siri* "morals". Skr. *caritra*. — \$ 121.
- cauiein* "to fall into debauchery, to go mad". G. *cauiein* "to be reborn", Sim. *henaxa* "to fall". Pkt. *caui*. Skr. *cyar*. — \$ 46, 101, 152.
- cauda*, *cavis*, see *cauda*, *cavis*. *ca* adj. used to form adjective of relationship called "gene-tive". — \$ 202.
- cak* n. "wheel". G. H. B. *cak*, S. *calu*, Pany. *cak*, K. *carakh*, Sim. *sak*. Pkt. *lakka*. Skr. *akra*. — \$ 48, 93.
- cahniem* "to taste", *caim* "to lick". G. S. H. B., *cah*-; Pany. *cah*- "to taste", K. *cah* "to suck"; G. H. *cai*, S. *cat*, Pany. *cai*, Ro. *car*- "to lick". Pkt. *cakkhai* "to eat, to taste", *cadai* "to eat", Skr. *cas*- "to eat" (not found in the text) cf. Pers. *cas* "lunch", *cas*- "to taste", with reference to *cas*- "to take", cf. Skr. *casie cakate* "to see, to say". \$ 47, 109.
- caiu* m. "wooden ladle, ore". Pany. *caiu* "wooden mortar" We should undoubtedly separate on the one hand *cadum* "hallow in a spoon, lamp, mouth, (term of contempt), and on the other S. *cad*, Pany. *caii*, H. *caii*, Sim. *sal* *saliga* "earthen pot", Ro. *caro* "plate". Desi. *caiu daruhasai* (111, 4.) — \$ 47, 109.
- cad* f. "desire, affection". G. *cad* f. "worry", S. *cad* "desire", Pany. *cai* "predilection", Skr. *caiu* m. n. "caress". — \$ 111.
- cat* m. f. n. "spinning wheel, spindle". G. *cat*, Desi. *catto tarkuh* (111, 4). Skr. *catira*. — \$ 121.
- cand* m. "moon". G. H. *cand*, S. *candu*, Pany. *cand*, W. *cand*, Pany. *can*, Maith. *cand*, Ro. *con*, Sim. *sanda*, Pkt. *canda*. Skr. *candra*. — \$ 68, 123.
- capai*, *capda* adj. "flat, low". G. *capai*, H. *capia*, S. *capitru* "flat", K. *capaihal*

calis "foam", G. *calis*, S. *calih*,
Pany. *cali*, H. *calis*, B. *calis*,
K. *calijih*, Sm. *calijih*,
calis, Pkt. *cali*, *calijih*,
calis, P. *calijih*, *calis*,
calis, Skr. *calijih*, — S
141, 216, 228.
cikun adj. "sticky", G. *cikunum*,
Pany. *cikun*, H. *cikun* "sticky",
Ro. *cikun* "grease", cf. M.
G. *cik* "resin", Pany. *cik*,
"soft", H. *cik*, "deposit of
soot", Ro. *cik* "dung, earth",
S. *cik* "effluvious", *cikam*,
"muddy", Skr. *cikana*,
— S 93.
ciksa *ciksa* f. "suspicion, ap-
prehension", G. *ciksa*, Skr.
cikṣa, — S 162, 163.
cike "a little", *cikar* adj.
"little", Desi. *cikha* *alham*
eastu *amuddhara* *ceti* *dyaitha*
(119, 9). Karmese *cikha*
"little", *cikhe*, *cikhe* "spot", — S
94.
cikhal m. "mud", G. *cikhal*,
Pany. *cikhar*, Sm. *sikal*,
Desi. *cikhallo* *kardama* (115,
5). Skr. *cikhalā*, — S 101.
cimam "to construct, to plug",
G. *cimam* "fold", S. *cimam*,
Pany. *cimā* "to pile up, to
fold", H. *cimā* *cumā* "to-
gather, to build", Ro.
cimac "to shake", Pkt. *cimā*,
Skr. *cimol*, — S 101, 230.
cimnem "to think", G. *cimnem*,
cimnem, S. *cimam*, H. *cimna*,
Skr. *cimna*, — S 71.
cital m. n. "spotted deer", G.
cital "spotted serpent", Pany.
cila adj. "spotted", H.
cital, Desi. *citalam* *mandiam*,
citalam *rameniyam* *ity* *ang*
(112, 8). Derived from Skr.
citra, — S 121.
cila *cila* m. "leopard", G.

da "plain", b. *capad*
alm, Pany. *capar* H.
ti "cow-dung-cake", Skr.
pala, — S 48, 109, 111,
i m. "Magnolia", G.
nfum, S. *cambo*, Pany.
nba *camfa*, K. *camba*, H.
nba, Sm. *sapu*, Skr. *cam-*
ka, — S 68, 71, 125.
n. "leather", G. H. B.
n, S. *camu*, Pany. *camu*,
m. Ro. *cam*, Sm. *sama*,
t. *camma*, Skr. *camma*, — S
8.
ir m. "leather-worker",
H. *camar*, S. *camaru*, Pany.
nar *camiar*, K. *cam*
nar, Sm. *sommaru*, Pkt.
maraa, Skr. *camakara*,
\$ 61, 138, 143, 161.
yar "four", G. Pany. H.
S. B. O. *cari*, Maith.
i, China *cari*, K. *cari* (cf.
ierson, *Pis. Lang.*, p. 37),
o. *star*, Arm. Ro. *tsar*,
m. *halara*, har. Apa. *cari*,
t. *callari*, Skr. *callari*,
— S 61, 143, 216.
m. "Buchanania latifolia",
esi. *caropyalazikshah* (119,
i. — S 101.
m "to go, to advance",
B. O. *cal*, Pany. *call*, S.
cal; K. *cal* "to run
way", caus. Ro. *calau* "to
at, to shake" Sm. *sal-*
o shake, to overthrow",
t. *calla*, Skr. *calati*, — S
i, 143, 254.
m "to masticate", G. *cau*,
Pany. *cabb*, H. B. *cab*; cf.
cop "bite"? Miklosich
rongly connects Ro. *cam*
sheek" (Skr. *jambha*). Skr.
rayati, — S 152, 250, 253.
nba, proper noun. — S

"crushed fruits". H. *cinda*
 "crushed rice". Pkt. *cimīḍha-*
civīḍha- Skr. *cipita-*. — \$ 44,
 152.
cukī f. "pinch". S. *cuko* "some
 drops", H. *cukia* "handful".
 Deśi. *cukko mustih* (116, 13).
 — \$ 44.
cuknem "to stray, to mistake".
 G.S.H.B. *cuk-*, Pany. *cukk-*.
 Pkt. *cukkai bhras̥yati*, see
 Pischel \$ 566 and n. 4;
 cf. Skr. *cukka* *vyathane* ?
 — \$ 44, 93, 252.
cuka m. "wild sorrel". S. *cuko*,
 H. *cūkā* B. *cūk*; G. *cuko*,
 Pany. *cūkā cūkā* "some vege-
 table". Skr. *cukra-*. — \$ 44,
 93.
cume f. "a medicinal plant".
 Skr. *cucur-*. — \$ 101.
cūḍa m. "bracelet". G. *cūḍo*, S.
cūḍo, Pany. H. *cūḍa*. Deśi.
cūḍo valayavali (118, 6). cf.
valayavāḥu *cūḍakāḥyam*
bhujābhājanam (255, 7). — \$
 44.
cunī f. "coarse bran having some
 grit mixed". Pany. H. *cūni*
 "dust of precious stones or
 grain of crushed grains".
 Deśi. *cunio renu vicchurita iti tu*
cūṛitaśābadaḥ (117, 18).
 Skr. *cūṛika-*. — \$ 135.
cūḍa m. "cement". G. *cūḍo*,
cūḍo, Pany. H. *cūḍa*, K. *cūḍa*,
 Sim. *hūḍu*. Pkt. *cūḍa*. Deśi.
cūḍaio cūḍahataḥ (117, 18);
cūḍaio...vyatikarāḥ (119,
 14). Skr. *cūḍa* — \$ 44,
 135.
cumbnem "to kiss". G. S. *cum-*,
 Pany. *cumm-*, H. *cūm-*, Ro.
cumb- *cum-*; K. *cūmun* "to
 implore, to flatter". Pkt.
 Skr. *cumb-*. — \$ 138.
cumbai cumbhai n. "a ring
 (of cloth or grass) to be put

citto, S. *cito cito*, Pany. *citta*,
 H. *citā*; cf. Ro. *cicay* "cat".
 Skr. *citraka-*. — \$ 44, 101,
 121.
citari m. "painter". G. *citaro*,
 Pany. *citera*, Sim. *sitiyara-*.
 Skr. *citrakara-*. — \$ 44, 61,
 121.
cipnem cepnem "to crush". G.
cipwum "to press, to fold";
 Pany. *cipniā* "to press, to
 piece"; H. *cepuā* "to
 paste"; S. *cipani*, B. *cipite* "to
 crush"; K. *cipun* "to hide".
 Skr. root *cip-* "to crush"
 (see *Śikṣāṇucaya* ed. Bendall,
 p. 182, note 1), *cipita-* "flat-
 tened". It is allowed to
 think that the vowel of the
 root rests on an old *i*, cf. on
 one hand. M. *cupp*, S. *cipu*
cupu, H. *cup* etc. "silence",
 and on the other hand M.
cāpniem, H. *cāpuā* etc. "to
 crush, to print", and M.
cāpai, Skr. *carpaia-* "flat"
 (see S.V.). — \$ 80.
ciraknem "to crack; to have a
 sudden & scanty stool".
 Pany. *cirakna*, H. *cirakna*; K.
cir- "to bring out water
 by crushing or twisting".
 cf. Deśi *cirikka..tanudhara*
pratyūśas ceti (119, 10);
 derived from the root M.
cir-, G. S. Pany. H. B. *cir-*
 "to tear", cf. M. etc. *cir*
 "tear", K. *ciran* "hole"; Skr.
cira- "strip of cloth, rag",
 root *ciri himsāyam* ? — \$ 50.
cirir, cirirām, cirirī adj. "in
 a dizziness". Deśi. *cirirā*
tathā cirirā jaladhara (116,
 5). — \$ 163.
cimvar civar n. "filaments encir-
 ling the jack fruit". Skr.
cikura- "hair". — \$ 143.
civāḍnem "to crush", *civāḍa* m.

one name to another, G.
cuntū, Pany. cūca, K. tica,
Ro. curī, Skr. cūka 'bosom',
and on the other to Skr.
cācu-, Ml. cone 'beak'. — S 80.

come, cūnc, fōnc f. 'beak', G.
cām, loc, S. cūmī, Pany.
cūmī, K. comī 'chin', H.
comē, B.S., comī Sim. hoja-
Pkt. cancū; Desī. cūncūtī
cancūcūlukas ca (120, 1). Skr.
cānu-. — S 68, 80, 101, 170.
coj m. n. 'marble', H. Pany.
coj. Desī. cūjam āsarjam;
olsamyogē; itī cojjam ity api
(116, 14). Skr. codya-. — S
80.

cor m. 'chief', G. Pany. H.B.
Ro. cor, K. cur, Sim. hora.
Pkt. cora. Skr. caura-. — S 29,
78, 143, 186.

cotis, caris, cyaris 'twenty-
four', G. cotis, S. coth, Pany.
caubi, K. cōunh, H. caubis,
B. cabbis. Pkt. cautisa cautisa-
cautisha. Skr. calurimśal-
— S 39, 216.

colnem 'to rub, to friction' G.
colum. cf. Skr. curna. ? — S
141.

cauk m. 'tower, building, quad-
rangular space', G. cok,
Pany. H.B. cauk, K. coh. Desī.
cankkam cataviam (111, 11).
Skr. caluska-. — S 36, 93.

cauth f. 'the fourth day of the
moon', G. Pany. H. cauth,
S. colhi; K. coh 'a quarter-
nary fever', Skr. calurithi.
— S 36, 108, 114, 216.

cauthā adj. 'fourth', G. colhum,
S. coho, Pany. H. cautha, B.
cautha, O. cauth. Pkt. cautha-
coltha-. Skr. calurtha-. — S
29, 36, 108, 114, 216, 226.

canda caada 'fourteen', candas

er a load up on the head", *cummal cumli*; Sim. sum-
"crown", P. *cumbata*.
\$ 86, 138, 146.
r. "paternal uncle", Pkt.
"father-in-law", *itaya-*
Skr. *kūlla-and-tāta-*.
\$ 60, 101, 141.
f. "impatience", Pany. H.
il. Desi. *culuculoi spandati*
8, 5).
"torch", cf. Desi. *cululi*
7 (117, 4).
"husks and fragments
grain given as food to
le", *cūn n.* "scrappings
coconut", Pany. H. *cūn*
an, flour, dust", Pkt.
a-Skr. *cūrma* — \$ 135.
"furnace", G. *cūlo cul*. S.
i, Pany. *culh*, H. *culhi*.
culi. — \$ 148.
"pupil", G. *cēlo*, S. *cēlu*,
j. *cēla* "disciple, slave", K.
"disciple, slave", K.
H.B. *cēla*. Desi. *cillo*
ā *cēdo balaḥ* (114, 15).
ij. *cēra* and Desi. *cēda* go
k undoubtedly to Skr.
- "slave"; the Marathi
d is related to a Dravi-
a root, Kanarese *cillara*
i *ciru* "pettiness", Tamil
"a little" etc. — \$ 148.
rem *cavaṇim* "to wake up,
excite", *cēnim cēnim* "to
re up", G. *cēvum* "to
eat", Pkt. *cēyana*. Skr.
na. — \$ 55, 77.
dj. "real, pure, beautiful",
cokkhum, Pany. *cokkhā*,
cokh. Skr. *lokṣa*. — \$ 96.
m. "caress, coquetry",
conclām (neu. pl.), Pany.
colā. Desi. *cummulām*
thamām saṣṣāta ca (120,
expressive word un-
bly related to on the

- jāru* Pany. H. *jāl*, K. *zāl*, Sim. *dāla*. Skr. *jāla*-. — \$ 46, 103, 145.
- jinkien* "to vanquish". S. *jit*-, K. *zēn*-. Skr. *ji*- — \$ 70.
- jien* "to live"; n. "life". G. Pany. *jiv* S. *ji*-, H. *ji*-, B. *ji*-, K. *zuv*-, Ro. *jiv*-. Pkt. *jai*, *jianta*-. Skr. *jivati*-. — \$ 44, 63, 105.
- jien* "to be absorbed, to be digested", G. *jiravum* "to digest", Pany. *jirā jirā* "to grow old, to absorb, to infiltrate", Sim. *diṇāvā* to grow old, to decompose", Sim. *dirini* "old woman", K. *ziri* "old man", H. *jiri* "oldage, digestion". Pkt. *jiai*. Skr. *jirpati*-. — \$ 44, 105.
- jien jirim jirum* n. "cumin-seed", G. *jirum*, S. *jiru*, Pany. *jiri jirā*, H. *jirā*, Sim. *duru*. Skr. *jiraka*-. — \$ 105.
- ji*, particle of respect, consent; used with the names of non-Brahmins. G. Pany. H. *ji*, S. *jiv*, *ji*. Skr. *jivā* "long live!", — \$ 105.
- jibh*. f. "tongue". G. Pany. H. *jibh*, S. *jibha*, Kalachachina *jib*, K. *zēv* (Iranian? see Grierson, *Pis. Lang.*, p. 78), Ro. *cib jib*. Pkt. *jibbha* (Jaina) and *jihā*. Skr. *jihvā*-. — \$ 105, 128.
- jiv* m. "life". G. H. *jiv*, S. Pany. *jiv*, K. *zuv*, cf. Sim. *divi* (*jivita*-.). Pkt. *jivā-jivā*-. Skr. *jivā*-. — \$ 105.
- jivā* f. "bow-string". H. *jivā*, *jivā*; Sim. *diya*-. Skr. *jivā*-. — \$ 44.
- jui* f. "Jasminum auriculatum". G. *jui*, *jui*, H. *jūhi*. Skr. *jūhika*-. — \$ 44, 64, 105.
- jund* adj. "old". G. *junum*, S. *jhuṇo*, H. *jūn jān*, Sim. *dunū*. Pkt. *jūna-jūna*-. Skr. *jirna*- Vedic *jūrṇa*-. — \$ 44, 105, 135.
- junbnein* "to yoke together, to join, to arrange". G. *junbunum*. Pkt. *jupbat*. Skr. root *yup-* (*ekikarne sami-karane*). — \$ 105.
- junvāl, jūl* n. "group of twins, pair". Pany. *jūla* "yoke", Sim. *yuala* "pair". Pkt. *juala*-. Skr. *yugala*-. — \$ 64, 105.
- juvā* m. "game of dice". G. *juvum*, S. *juvā*, Pany. H. B. *jūa*, Sim. *duva du*. Pkt. *jūa*-. Skr. *dūtā*-. — \$ 44, 55, 105.
- juvār, juār* f. "sorghum". G. *juvār*, S. *juār*, H. *juār*. Deśi. *jonalā jovār, dhanyam; jovār* *śabdopī deśya eva* (130, 10). — \$ 64.
- jūm, junv* n. "yoke". H. *jū*, Sim. *yu* "period of two months". Pkt. *jua*-. Skr. *yuga*-. — \$ 64, 105.
- jūg* n. "age of the world". S. *jūgn*, H. *jūg*. Skr. *yuga*-. — \$ 98, 105.
- je* "particle of respect, invocation" for example *je rājā*. G. *je*. Skr. imperative. *jaya*-. — \$ 105.
- je* f. archaic for *ji* fem. of *jo* "who". — \$ 203.
- je, jem* "that" (neut. and conjunction). G. *je*, W. Pany. *je*, S. Pany. *jo*. Nom. Acc. neut. of *jo* "who", cf. Skr.

109, 111, 114, 230.
 jōt n. "yoke". G. Pany. jōt n. "harness", S. jōt n. "cord", H.B.O. jōt, Ro. jōt, Sim. jōt, Skr. yoktra-. — \$ 29, 78, 105, 121.
 jomdhā m. "sorghum". cf. undoubtedly Desi. jomdhām jōvā; dhānyam (130, 10). — \$ 136.
 jōpānem "to watch over". The first element is found again in G. jōvum, Pany. jōhā, H. jōvā jōhā "to look". Desi. jōvā jōhā (130, 3). Skr. dyōta-, jōtis-. — \$ 55, 56, 105.
 jōst, see M. jōst m. "astronomer, astrologer"; jōski f. jōspānā m. "profession of astrologer". G. jōst dōst, S. jōst, Pany. jōst, jōst, H. jōst, K. zichi. Skr. jōtisika-. — \$ 38, 50, 78, 105, 156.
 jām "until". See jām.
 jhākañem "to shake", jhāka m. "sudden blow". G.S.H. jhāipai "speed". G. jhāipai "haste"; S. jhāipai, H. jhāipai "quick". Cf. jhāñem, jhād f. "continuous rain". G. jhād f. jhād, S. Pany. H. jhād, B. jhād "tempest". Desi. jhād nīrantaravṛstih (131, 11), and jhādajhādīsu vādāpam (VII, 84) and the corn. vādāpam lāgāhamam nīrantaravṛstīca (268, 1).

\$ 206, 277.
 jād f. jēsīh, jēsīh m. nūth of jyaīśha. G. Pany. jēih, S. jēih, K. zēih. r. jyaīśha-. — \$ 105, 110.
 m. "the first and the ongest colour from Fron". jēih m. "wrestler". H. jēih "elder", S. jēih, jēih "husband's elder other". B. jēih "father's brother". Pany. jēihā, jēihā "elder, superior, excellent." H. jēih "champion wrestling, wrestler", K. iñh "elder", Sim. deiñh better". Pkt. jēihā-. r. jyesīha-. — \$ 105, 110. jēihā adj. "inasmuch as". jēih. S. jēih jēihā, Pany. jēihā jēihā, K. jēih H. nā, B. jāta, O. jēte. Pkt. tiā-, remade on etia- (Skr. it-, see s. v. M. ituka). ... 206.
 n "to make a meal, to eat". jāmum. Pany. jēihā, H. nā jēihā, B. jēihā "meal". r. root jīm-, jēihā-. \$ 152.
 nīm "if, when". G. S. Pany. "if". Pkt. jai. Skr. yadi-. \$ 206.
 lative pron. "who". G. O. S. Pany. H. jo, B. je jīm, jih; Sim. yam-, rel. particle. t. jo. Skr. ya-. — \$ 58, 5, 203.
 adj. "suitable, worthy". jog, S. jogu, Pany. jog ga, H. jog yoga, K. jogy t. jogga-. Skr. yogya-. — \$ 98, 105.
 m. f. "pair, junction", hiem jūñem "to join". G. S. H. jođ, S. jōm; G. S. H. jođ-. Pkt. jođ-. Skr. 277.

- musical instrument". Skr. *jamyha* "sound of high wind", *jharjhar* "a drum or a flute". — S 69, 169.
- jhamit* m. "the hair of the pubis," f. "hanging mat". G. *jhamitum*, S. *jhamita*, Pany. *jhamith jhami*, H. *jhami*. Desi. *jhamiti laghurdhakēṣāḥ* (131, 11). — S 107.
- jhaḍ* n. "tree, bush". G. *jhaḍ*, S. *jhaṇu*, "tree"; Pany. H.B. *jhai* "bush". Skr. of lexicon. *jhaia*- Cf. *jaḍ*-. — S 84.
- jhalār* f. "fringe", G. S. Pany. H. B. *jhalār*, Skr. of lexicon *jhallār*. — S 47, 148.
- jhalā*, cld M. *jālā* ppl. "been", Skr. *jāta*-. — S 84, 161, 202, 229, 261.
- jhiyem* "to wear out, to become weak". S. *jhiyū*. Apa. *jhiy*-. Skr. *kṣiyate*. — S 107.
- jhiṇā* adj. "worn out". G. *jhiṇum* "skin, small"; S. *jhiṇo*, Pany. *jhiṇi*, H. *jhiṇa* "weak". Pkt. *jhiṇa*-. Skr. *kṣiṇa*-. — S 107.
- jhiyem*, *jhiyhem*, *jhiyinem* "to combat". Pany. *jhiyā*, *jhi- jhi*. f. "lie". G. *jhiwim*, Desi. Pany. *jhiṭh*, H. *jhi*. Desi. *jhiṭhām alikam* (133, 13). — S 107.
- jhem* particle of emphasis, used as *jo* see *jem*, *jo*. — S 84.
- jhemḍā* m. "flag, banner". S. *jhemḍo*, Pany. H. *jhemḍa*. Pkt. *jhaa*-. Skr. *dhvajya*- m. — S 68, 107, 130.
- jhemḍum* parkia biglandulosa (the birds look like balls of red velvet, clot of blood vomitted upon the bite of certain serpents)" Desi. *jhemḍuo kandukāḥ* (134, 4). — S 107.
- Kannada *jaḍi jidi*, Telugu *jaḍi* "rain, trouble; (adj.) continuous." — S 107.
- jhaḍnem* "to wither". Pkt. *haḍai*. Skr. *śad*-. — S 46.
- jhaḍnem* "to be active" *jhaḍap* f. "bond", *jhaḍpād* f. "violent agitation". G. *jhaḍap* "jump, rapidity", S. *jhaṭap* "blow", H. *jhaḍap* "heat", Desi. *jaḍai tware* (128, 3); Apa. *jhaḍappadahim* (*vegaiḥ*) — S 107.
- jhani*, *jhanem* "by chance, even if". See *janu*. — S 84.
- jhapjhap* "suddenly, quick", G. Pany. H.B. *jhapjhap*, Pany. *jhap* "alive", H. *jhap jhapai* "jump, elan", G. *jhapplāva-* run "to rush". Skr. *jhampa-* "jump" (cf. *kṣap*-. ?). — S 107.
- jhanem* "to flow, to drip". G.S. H. B. *jhar*-. Pkt. *jharai*. Skr. *Sk. yabhati*. — S 46, 107, 168, 232, 283.
- jhai*. f. "Sun-stroke"; *jhalak* f. "lighning", *jhalaknem* "to shine". G.S. Pany. H. *jhalak*-. Desi. *jhaia migatirina* (131, 11); Apa. *jhalakkia*- (*dag-dha*-.) Skr. *jval*-. — S 107.
- jhanikan* n. "cover". See *ḍham-* kan.
- jhanikar* n. "thick bush". G. *jhanikharam* H. *jhanikar*, Pany. *jhanigar*. Desi *jhanikharo suska-* taruḥ (131, 17). — S 107, 169.
- jhamy*, *jhamyri* f. "cymbals, castanets". G. H. *jamyh* Pany. *jhamy* "sound of a

“stupid”, H. *ihumih* “trunk”
leafless branch, amputated
arm”. Deśi, *iumio chinna-*
karah (137, 2. cf. Skr. *pras-*
tumpati (*gauh*). see. *ganajāiha*
140). — \$ 110.
thuli, *thuli* f. “coarse flour”. S.
thulhai, Pany. *tholh* “bulk,
corpulence”, Ro. *thulo* “big,
coarse”, Arm. Ro. *thulan*
“curdled milk”, Sim. *tul*
“big”. Pkt. *thulla*. Skr.
thula. — \$ 110, 122.
therem “to stand erect”,
iebrēm “to lean against”,
iebrēm “to put to keep”.
Pany. the “place”, *theni*
“deposit”, *theda* “set stone”,
thi the imp. of verb “to be”,
H. *tha* adj. “been”, Maith.
thik “to be”, K. *thao-thao*.
“to hold”, Arm. Ro. *thana*.
“place”. Pkt. *ut-theri*, *tha-*
beside *thai*. Skr. *sthita*, *stha-*
(*tisithati*). — \$ 45, 77, 110,
230.
thomb m. stake”. G. *thomb*,
thamlo, S. *thambhu*, Pany.
thamm, H. *thamb*, Sim.
thamba. Pkt. *thambha*. Skr.
stambha m. — \$ 79, 110.
damkh f. “bite” *damkhnem* “to
bite, to prick” G. *damkh*,
S. *damgu*, *damganu*, Pany.
damg, *damk*, *damgga*, H.
damk, O. *damkiba* Pkt. part.
damka, cf. Pkt. Deśi *tham-*
kuna, *dhemkuna* “bug”. Skr.
damf. — \$ 119.
dabba m. “a little box”. Pany.
H. *dabba*, Bih. *dāba*, *dāba*.
Skr. *daroi* f. — \$ 119, 127,
152. Cf. M. *dam*.
dambh, *dambh*, m. “hypocrisy”;
dambhi, *dambi* adj. “hypo-
crite”. K. *dam*, *dambi*. Deśi.
dambhio dyutakarah (139, 4)
Skr. *dambha*, *dambhin*. — \$ 119.

salabhaḥ (137, 7). — \$ 119.
H. *ihag*, Pany. *ihag*, *ihag*;
K. *ihag* “to pick the pocket”;
Pkt. *thag*. Skr. *sthaḥ* “to
hide” — \$ 110.
thaknem “to hold on”. Apa.
thakkei (*tisithati*). — \$ 94,
110.
thāda adj. “straight”. Pany.
thādhā, H. B. *thād*, Sim. *tada*
“hard”, K. *thod* “high”.
Pkt. *thādhā*, P. *thaddha*.
Skr. *stādhā*. — \$ 47, 110,
169.
thān n. “stable, place”. *thānem*
n. “post”. G. *thān thānum*, S.
thānu, Pany. *thān thān thān*,
H. *thān*, B. *thān*, Sim. *tan*
thān, Ro. *thān*. Pkt. *thān*,
thāna. Skr. *sthāna* n. — \$
110.
thāy m. “place”. Pany. *thahi*, H.
thai. Deśi. *thāo utkṣiptaḥ*;
thāo arakṣa ity anye (137, 17).
Skr. *stha*. — \$ 110.
thar adv. “entirely, suddenly”;
thānem “to be fixed, to conti-
nue”. G. *thar*, S. *tharīthap*
“at the moment”, Pany.
thar “cold, frozen”. Cf.
Deśi. *tharīam*. . . . *urdhwasthi-*
tan (238, 6) ? Skr. *sthāvara*.
— \$ 110.
thāz m. “bottom, place”. H.
thāz m. f. “place”. Apa.
ihāz m. f. *sthanan* n. ? cf.
ihāz. Skr. *sthanan* n. ?
under M. *thā*. — \$ 110, 152.
thi f. “woman”. K. *tsy* (cf.
Grierson, *Pis. Lang.*, p. 79),
H. *tiyā*, B. *tiy*. Skr. *stri* f.
— \$ 110, 174.
ihumihān “trunk, amputated
member”. G.
“trunk, one armed person to
break off a piece”, S. *ihulhu*,
“leaf-less, dry” Pany. *ihoih*

dāho "burning desire",
 Pany. dāh "thirst in fever",
 K. dazum "to burn". Pkt.
 dajhai. Skr. dahyate. — \$
 47, 49, 89, 230.
 dāl f. n. "sort of basket". G.
 dālum, S. dālī, Pany. dāl, H.
 dāl, dālā, B. dālā dālī. Desi.
 dāllam pītikā (138, 16).
 — \$ 119.
 dāva adj. "left". G. dābum
 dābhūm, S. dāu. H. (dial.)
 dāva; where this word is
 used, the word for "right"
 does not go back to Skr.
 dakṣiṇa. Desi dāmo tathā dāno
 vāmakarāḥ (138, 9). — \$ 47.
 dāh, dāho m. "burn". G. Pany.
 K. dāh "burn", S. dāh afflic-
 tion", H. dāh "rage". Pkt.
 dāha. Skr. dāha. m. — \$ 119.
 dāhai m. "tree-lopings",
 dāhīa "plant, branch with
 leaves". G. dāl, S. dāru, Pany.
 H. B. dāl "branch"; Desi.
 dālī śakhā (139, 10). Skr.
 dala-n? — \$ 161.
 dāl m. "pile", G. dālo, Pany.
 dāla dala, H. dālā. Desi.
 dālo losiāḥ (138, 16). — \$
 119.
 dīmb m. "son". H. dīmb "new-
 born", B. dīmb "egg, small
 animal". Pkt. Skr. dīmbha-
 m. — \$ 119.
 dūlēm "to balance, to roll". G.
 H. dōl, S. dōl-dōr, K. dūl-
 Skr. dōlayati. — \$ 119.
 dōr, dōy, dōrī f. "head". G.
 dōk f. "neck", dōkum n.
 "head", dōr "laddle", dōko
 "penis, nothing at all"; S.
 Pany. dōr "laddle"; H. dōr
 "laddle, oar, head", dōva
 dāva dōhrā "laddle", Maith.
 dōr, Ro. roy "spoon"; K.
 dēka "fore-head". Desi. dōo

1. "fear", G. Pany. H.B.K. aid of", G. Pany. H.B.K.
 2. "fear", S. Pany. H.B. dar- "to be
 aid of". Pkt. dara- darai,
 daro. Skr. diryate, darati.
 \$ 119.
 1. "hollowed cocoanut used
 vessel". H. dāva dōva
 ddle", Sim. dati. Skr.
 vi f. — \$ 119, 127, 152.
 M. doi and dābba
 n "to bite", dāms m.
 osquito, bite". G. dāms,
 y. dās "bite", H. dāsna
 bite". Pkt. dāsai. Skr.
 15a. — \$ 120, 253.
 i f. "south-wind". S.
 119, Pany. dāhna, H.
 119, B. dāin, O. dāhan, K.
 119, "right"; K. dakhin
 119, Sim. dakina
 119, meridional". Pkt.
 119, dāhina. Skr.
 119. — \$ 47, 52, 96, 119.
 m. n. "wild and moun-
 119, region around Nasik";
 119, dāngya m. "customs
 cer". H. dāng "summit",
 119, "dry earth, high
 d, G. dāgli "head, brain",
 119, "observation post
 a field", drag "eminence",
 119, "custom-post". Desi.
 119, bhaanopari bhūtilam
 119, 3). Skr. dranga-
 119, and custom posts
 mountain passes". Cf.
 119.
 119.
 119, "to burn" G.H. dāgh
 119, "procession", S.
 119, "funeral pyre", K.
 119, "burn"; S. dāgu, Pany.
 119, H. dāghna "to set on
 119, Pkt. dāgha. Cf. Skr.
 119. — \$ 49.
 119, "to be hot". G. dājhum
 119, be burnt", S. dājhinu

dhūmḍh- S. dhūmḍh- Pany.
dhūmḍh-dhūmḍ- Desi. dhāṁḍ-
hallai bhrāmāi dhāṁḍholai
gagaveśayati (142, 2). — \$

dhāḷa m. "branch", see dhāḷa.
dhāḷa adj. "loose, slack". G.
dhilum, S. dhilo dhilo, Pany.
dhilla, H. dhila, B.O. dhil,
Sim. ihil ihil til; K. dil dal
"softness". Pkt. dhilla-; cf.
Desi dhello nirdhanah (142,
11). — \$ 119.

dhūsnem "to rush in head
down". Pany. dhūsnā, H. dhasna
S. dhusu "violent hurry". Pkt,
dhūsai (bhrāmāi). — \$ 119.

dhēmik f. "bellowing". G.
dhiknu "to bellow". Desi.
dhikkai viśabho garyati (142,
7). — \$ 119.

dhēka m. the curved piece of
wood which passes over the
head of the lai (roller of
oil mill) dhēki f. an appa-
ratus with a lever for pound-
ing lime, rice etc.; Desi.
dhēmka harsah kupaṭalāceti
dyarthā (143, 3). — \$ 119.

dhēkun, dhēmikum m. "bug". Desi.
dhāṁkunō tathā dhēmikumō
maikunah (141, 12). — \$ 77,
119.

dhēr f. "pile". Pany. dher, K.
aliniyāram (138, 16). — \$ 112.
ner. in the names of the
Deccan towns (Amalner,
Amner, Atner, Badnera,
Dhanera, Jamner, Koner,
Pamer, Pimpalner, Sangam-
ner, Saoner, Shimer) and
of Rajasthan (Bahner,
Bikaner, Bhatnair, Buner,
Raner, Sangner, Sankh-
nera, Susner); the excep-
tions in Maratha country
are very rare: Simar near

daruhastah (140, 9). — \$

64, 94, 119. Cf. M. dav.
G. dōngar m. "mountain".

dhungar, S. dōngaru, H.
dōngar. Desi. dūngaro sailah
(140, 8). — 119. Related to

N. dāng?

don, doni f. "boat, ship". H.
doni, Sim. dena. Pkt. P. doni-
Skr. droni f. "vat". — \$ 119,

123.

dōmb m. (name of caste)
undertaker's mute". G.

dūmu, Pany. dōmra "roaming
musician (caste)", H. B.

dōm "under taker's mute,
basket-worker", K. dūmb

"night-watchman"; Ro.
rom, Arm. Ro. lom, Pales-

tenian Ro. dom "gypsy",
man". Desi. dūmbō svapacah

(140, 8). — \$ 119.

dōhā, dōhāi m. "desire of
pregnant woman", Sim.

dōia. Pkt. dohāia. Skr. dohada-

m. — \$ 79, 118.

dōia m. "eye". G. dāio. Skr.
dola m. "agitation". — \$ 78,

119, 145.

dōli f. "swinging litter, dooly".
S. Pany. H. doli, K. duli.

Desi. dola sibiḱa; andolana-
vācakas tu dolaśabdabhavaḥ

(140, 9). Skr. dola f. — \$ 119.

dhakā, dhakā m. "shock, blow".
G. dhak-dhak-, S. dhiko, Pany.

dhakkā K. daka, H. dhakkā
dhakkā, B. dhak, O. dhakā-

— \$ 94, 119.

dhāṁknem, jhāṁknem, "to cover",
dhāṁkan, jhāṁkan n. "to lid";

G. dhāṁkrum, S. dhaknū, Pany.
dhaknā, H. dhaknā dhāṁknā,

B. dhakite "to cover". Pkt.
dhakkai: Desi. dhāṁkan piddha-

nikā (141, 12). — \$ 94, 119.

dhāṁdhulnem dhūmḍhālnem "to
search carefully". G.H.

121.
tadphād f. "shake rattle",
tadphādīnem "to shake
violently". S. tarphān, B.
tarphā, G. Pany H. tarphar-
Apa. tadaphādai (ullāmyati,
akulibhātati, capalāyate).
— \$ 146.
tan n. "grass". G. tankhājum
"straw", Pany tū, H. tinkā,
Sim tānā. Pkt. tānā, tīnā. Skr.
tīnā-n. — \$ 30, 31, 121, 134.
tānā m. "stack of straw of
rice etc.". Skr. tīnā- +
ākara m. — \$ 52, 61.
tamt, tam f. tamt m. "thread,
fiber, cord of musical in-
strument". G. tamt tamtu,
S. tamdu, Pany. tamd, H.
tamt tamt tamtu, Sim. tānā
tatu. cf. Desi. tantukkhodī
vāyā: tantropakaramam (159,
9). Skr. tantu- m — \$ 39,
68, 121.
tallā adj. "low, infamous",
tallāmal m. "the best part,
cream, quintessence". Pany.
tall, H. tal "element, esse-
nce". Apa. tallu- Skr. tallita-
n. — \$ 121, 129.
tan f. n. tanu f. "body". G. tan,
Pany. tan, G. S. H. B. tanu,
Sim. tanu. Pkt. tanu- Skr.
tanu- f. — \$ 39, 121.
tar, tarhim, tarim "then". Skr.
tari. — \$ 38, 39, 70, 121,
143.
tarnem "to float, to swim, to
pass". G. S. Pany. K. H. Pany.
tar- Pkt. Skr. tar- — \$ 46,
121, 252.
tarna adj. "young". G. tarun,
Pany. tarn, H. tarun, Ro. terno,
Sim. turun- Pkt. Skr.
tarna- — \$ 46, 50, 121, 134.
tarnād, tarod "cassia auricu-
lata". H. tarvar, Desi. tara-

Recent form : Thus as F. W. Thomas has indicated to me, it is found 14 times in *Storia do Mogor* of N.ucci (W. Irvin, Transl., ex), similarly *Janneere* the year 1621 in *The British Factories in India* (Ed. Forster, Oxford, 1906, 15) and *Janneere* in the tion of same collection concerning the year 1636 (281). Similarly several *Neri*, *Nereim* are found in Maratha country. In arat, a form like *Champar* is less usual : cf. *Girnar*, *Nara* : in Bengal *Nara* and *Mohner*, *Dinara* side *Dinanagar*, *Dinapur*. still in *Rajasthan Bijnaur*, or. Sim. *nuvaru* 'town', *naara*. Skr. *naagara*. -n. \$ 62.

adv. "sound of cracking, marks crust etc.," *taita-* "to be cracking, to be ready to crack." *tadād*, Pany *taitai*. H. "cracking", G. *taāak-* Pany. *taitaavuna*, H. *tna* "to crack", K. *trai* and of thunder". Skr. *it* adv. —One should mainly separate Pany. *t* "to be drawn, tense, t", Ro. *trd* "to draw", Pkt. *tađ* for Skr. *tan-* \$ 146, 163.

m. "dispute", G. *iamio*, o, S. *iamiu*, Pany. *iamia*, *iamia* *iamia*. cf. Desi. *am pisiam* (157, 4) ? \$ 119.

"edge, bank". G. Pany. *lai m*. Beng. *lai*. Pkt.

Panj. *tacchā*, W. *tachun*, Pkt. *tachun*, Pkt. *tachar*, Skr. *takṣaṇi*. — § 47, 104, 121.
āṣis (in compound) "forty", G. S. Panj. H. B. *talis*, K. -*toṣiḥ*. Pkt. *cattāṣaṃ*. Skr. *cattāṣṣat*. — § 223.
taṭu f. "palate", S. *tarun*, Panj. H. B. *taṭu*-Skr. *taṭu*-n. — § 46, 121, 145.
ti- (in compound) "three", G. Panj. H. Sim. *ti*-, S. *ti*-, K. *trē* *trē*-. Pkt. P. *ti*-. Skr. *tri*-. — § 121, 215.
tidem n. "a buttock", Deśi. (Pāyā lacchī) *tiya*-. Skr. *trika*-. n. — § 63, 121.
tika, *tilla* adj. "as much", S. *te* *tinu*, H. *tina*, K. *tyut*-. Pkt. *tettia*-, *tettula*-. — § 206.
titar m. "francolin partridge", G. H. *titar*, S. *titru*, Panj. B. *titar*; cf. Sim. *tit* "spot", *titmucā* "spotted deer", Pkt. Skr. *titira*-m. — § 42, 44, 121, 143.
tirka adj. "oblique", *tirsa* adj. "squint (eye)", G. *tiracchum* *tirkas*, Panj. H. *tirchā* "oblique"; S. *tirku* "reflect-ion of light"; Sim. *tirisana* "animal" (cf. Skr. *tiryag-yoni*-.). Pkt. *tiriccha*-. Skr. *tiryak*-, *tiryagikṣa*- or *tiryag-akṣi*? — § 143.
ivam f. "a tripartite leaf", S. *ipānu* "indigotera with tripartite leaf" Skr. *triparna-m*. — § 44, 152.
isra adj. "third", H. *isra*, Panj. *israt* f. "third person, arbitrator; third time", S. *ihara* "third time". — § 226.
isai m. f. "zanthoxylon Rhetsa (thorny tree)". Ro. *trusul*

m. "fever", *tāpīrēm*, to shine, to get irritated". G. Pany. H.B. *tāp*, *tāpu* f., K. *tāp* "fever", "heat of Sun", Ro. *thāp* (ab) "hot"; G. *tāp* "to warm one- self", S. *tāp*, Pany. *tāp-tāp*, B. Pany. *tāp*, H. *tāp*, B. P. Skt. *tāpa*-m., *tāpyate*. - \$ 47, 48, 121, 230.
m. "boat", G. *tāpo tāpha*, *tāpa*; cf. Pany. *tāphu* "land", Middle Indian pl. *tāpaga* Periphus. — \$ 11, 125.
f. "rust", *tāmbem* n. "cop- per", G. *tāmbum*, S. *tāmo*, Pany. *tāmba tāmba*, K. *tām*, *tām tāmba*, B. *tāma*, Sim. *mba*, "copper". Pkt. *tāmba*- sr. *tāmba*-n. — \$ 121, 127. m. "star", G. *tāro*, S. *tāru*, Pany. H.B. *tāra*, K. *tāruk*, m. *tāru* turn. Pkt. Skt. *ra* f. — \$ 121, 143.
n. "pool (of liquid)". Pany. *tal* "pond". Desi. *tallam* *talam* (164, 7). Skt. *lla*- (*grāmya* word accord- ing to Vāmana, see Regnaud, *het. Sanskrit*, p. 141). The relation of *talla*- with *tāda*- inverse of that between l. *tād* and Skt. *tāla*-; old l. *tala*, *tād*
m. "act of heating metals red", *tāriem* "to heat, to eat". G.H. *tā* S. *tā*; Pany. *tan*; G. *tārum*, S. *tānu*, B. Pany. *tānu*, H. *tāna*, B. *ōate*, K. *tānum* *tōarun*, Ro. *ar*- (*tā*-) "copper", Pkt. *va*- Skt. *tāpa*-, *tāpayati*. - \$ 46, 121, 152, 230.
em "to chip, to cut with

111, 230.
lodi f. "name of a rag". G. S. H. *lori*. Skr. *trojaki* f. — \$ 80, 109, 111.
tomdel adj. "corpulent". H. *tomdail tomdil*. Pkt. *tundilla*. Skr. *tundila*. — \$ 80.
tol m. "weight". S. *toro tora*, G. Pany. H. *tol*; S. *tor*, K. *tol*. "to weigh". Sim. *tul* "similar". Pkt. *tulla*. Skr. *tulya*. — \$ 78, 148.
thaknem, *thāknem* "to be tired, embarrassed". G. B. *thak*, S. K. H. *thak*, Pany. *thakk*. Pkt. *thakkai* "to stop". — \$ 48, 110, 122.
thand adj. "cold". G. *iadhun* *thandun*, Pany. *thanda* *tham-dha*, H. *thanda*. — \$ 119.
thana m. *than* n. "breast". G. *than*, S. *thanu*, Pany. *than*, K. *tan*, H. B. O. *than*, Sim. *tana*. Pkt. *thana*. Skr. *stana* m. — \$ 122.
tharar adv. "trembling". *tharaknem* *tharthanem* "to tremble". G. *tharakum* *thartharum*, S. *tharkanu*, *tharthiluvum*, S. *tharkanu*, *tharthiluvum*, S. *tharkanu*, *tharthiluvum*, H. *thartharna* *thalthalna*, B. *thurthurle*, *tharthar* "shock". Pkt. *thara-tharai*; Desi. *tharaharianam* *kampitam* (166, 13). Skr. *tharattharayate*. — \$ 122, 158.
tharu m. "handle". Pany. *thari*; Desi. *tharu tsarui* (165, 10). Skr. *tsaru* m. — \$ 46, 122. (f. M. *saru*.
thava m. "troop, crowd". Pkt. *thavaa*. Skr. *stabaka* m. — \$ 46, 122, 152.
thai n. "plantation, spot". G. O. *thai*, B. H. *thal*, Pany. *thal*; S. *tharu* "desert"? Pkt. *thala*. Skr. *sthalā* n. — \$ 122, 145.

Pany. *toh tuha*, S. *tuhu*, *toh*, H. *tus*, Sim. *toho*. *tusa* m. — \$ 156.
 ost-position "to". — \$ name of a town". Skr. *vara*. — \$ 62.
 "thirteen". G. O. *ter*, *terahan*, Pany. *teram*, H. *terah*, B. *tero*, Sim. *telesā*, K. *terah*. Pkt. *terasa-teraha*. *trayodasa*. \$ 118, 143.
 "oil". G. Pany. H. B. n. Ro. *tel*, S. *telu* K. *til*, i. *tela*. Pkt. *tella*, *tela*. *taila* n. — \$ 29, 77.
 "toshine, to burn". Sim. i "gleam". Pkt. *tea*, *va* (pradipyate). Skr. s-n. — \$ 55, 63, 121.
 i "to dissolve, to ooze". *ij. iemna* "to soak", Sim. "to wet". Ro. *tindo* et". cf. Desi. *timinam* *radaru* (161, 4). Cf. Skr. *ita*. — \$ 152.
 "them". G. *ta*, S. *ta* *ten*, Ro. *te* "when", Pkt. i. Skr. *tada* (K. Ro. *ta* *nd* = Skr. *tatha*). — \$ 56. *tasa* adj. "such". G. *um*; Pany. H. *taisa*; cf. Ro. Pkt. *tadisa*. Apa. *taisa*. *tadisa*. — \$ 30, 31, 57, 143, 156.
 n. "loss". G. S. *ioio*, G. Pany. *ioita*, H. *ioia*, B. i. adj. Apa. *uijan*. Skr. n. "to break", G. S. Pany. B. *lor*. Pkt. *lodai*. Skr.

sthāvara-adj. — \$ 61, 110,

122.

thāla m. "metal plate". G.

thālo, S. *thālu thālu*, Pany.

H. *thal*, Sim. *tali*. Pkt. *thāla*-

Skr. *sthāla*-n. — \$ 46, 122,

145.

thir adj. "calm, serious". G.

Pany. H. *thir*, S. *thiru*, Sim.

tara tira; H. *thir* "difficult".

Pkt. *thira*-. Skr. *sthira*-. —

\$ 122.

them post position, "to". —

\$ 199.

them b *them* m. "drop". G.

uthero; Sim. *tem* "humidity".

Cf. Desi. *thero binduh* (167, 9);

thipai. Skr. *stimpai*. — \$ 84,

Pkt. 122.

ther adj. "decrepit". S. *theru*

thor n. "trunk". S. *thumthu*,

Skr. *sthavira*-. — \$ 58, 122.

thor n. "trunk". S. *thumthu*,

H. *thunt*, B. *thont*, O. *thont*.

— \$ 119, 122.

thoda adj. "a little". G. *thodun*,

S. *thoro*, Pany. H. *thora*; cf.

Sim. *tika* "little, small"? Pkt.

thoa-. Skr. *stoka*-. — \$ 64, 122.

thor adj. "big". G. *thor*, Ro.

thulo; S. *tholhi*, Pany. *tholh*

f. "bulk". Pkt. *thora*-. Skr.

sthurā-sthūla. — \$ 80, 122,

140.

dand *dand* m. "baton". G.

dand, *dando*. S. *dand*; Pany.

danna, *dann* "punishment".

h. *dand*, *dand*, *danna*; K.

dan "handle", *dona* "pestle";

Ro. *ran*; Sim. *dada* "punish-

ment, fine". Pkt. Skr.

danda — \$ 111, 123.

dant, *dant* m. "tooth, elephant-

tooth". G. H. *dant*, S.

dandu, Pany. *dand dand*, K.

Ro. *dand* Sim. *data*. Pkt.

tha f. "bottom, base". S.

thahu, Pany. H. *thah*, B. *tha*.

Pkt. *thāha*-. Desi. *thānam*

sthānam; undam *gambhīrajalam*;

pīthu vīstīnam; *lātra trayēpi*

thāha sabbah; *thāho dirgha ity*

anye (168, 5); cf. *thāho*

nilayā (165, 10), and see

Pischel \$ 88. Skr. *sthāgha*.

(Lüders Bruchstücke Fragm.

I Recto l. 3 : *sthāgham*

labhate "establishes oneself;

it need not be corrected in

sthānam; cf. *sthāgho gādhah*,

Hem. *Uṇādi*-109). — \$ 41,

61, 122, 161, 169.

thāng m. "exact place or

bottom". G. *thag*, H. *thāng*.

Desi. *thagho gādhah* (165,

10). — \$ 122, 169. Cf. the

preceding one.

thāp m. "to establish, to fix".

G. S. Pany. H. *thap*-. Apa-

thāp (stāpā-). Skr.

sthāp (stāpā-). — \$ 122.

sthāp m. "to stop",

H. *thāma*, B. *thāman* "ap-

peasement"; Sim. *tabanava*

"to place"; S. *thambhanu*,

Pany. *thammhā* "to sup-

port". *stambhate*, *stābhate*.

— \$ 79, 122, 127, 169,

230.

thar m. "residence, support,

constancy", *thānam* "to

stop, to rest", *thānam* "to

stop, to rise again; to

restore, to detain". G. H.

thavar thāra, Sim. *thavura*

"fixed"; S. *thāra* "calm";

Pany. *thaur* "residence"; G.

Pany. *thar* "to co-agulate,

to congeal". S. *thar* "to

become cold, to be calm";

H. *thar* "determination,

co-agulation"; O. *seihare*

"there". Pkt. *thāvara*-. Desi.

thāro ghanah (166, 13). Skr.

droit "strong", *droih* "hard-
ened". Deśi. *samdaṭṭayam*
samlaṅgam; *kaṭṭayābhāve*
samdaṭṭam iṭy *api*, *samdaṭṭam*
samghaṭṭa iṭy *anye* (280, 2).
— \$ 109, 119.
daḍh f. "molar tooth, check".
G. *daḍh*, S. *ḍaḍhi*, Panj. *dāhai*,
darh, H. *ḍarh*, B. *ḍar*, Sim.
daja. Pkt. *daḍha*, P. *ḍaiha*.
Skr. *daṁṣṭrā* f. — \$ 76, 112,
119.
daḍha adj. "courageous, strong".
Panj. *ḍuḍḍha* B. *daḍ*, K.
dor, Sim. *daja* "fat", *daḍi*
"hard". Pkt. *daḍḍha*. Skr.
dr̥ḍha. — \$ 30, 31, 111.
daḍhi f. "beard". G. *daḍhi*, S.
Panj. *ḍarhi*, H. *ḍarhi*, K.
dor, Sim. *dali*. Skr. *daṁṣṭrikā*
daṁṣṭrā "now". Sim. *dan*. Pkt.
daṁ, *daṁṣṭrā*. Skr. *idaṁṣṭrā*.
— \$ 134, 174.
dad f. "dare", *ḍadar* n.
"herpes", G. *ḍadar*, S.
ḍadar, Panj. *dadd* *ḍadhar*,
B. *ḍadru*, Sim. *dada*. Skr.
dadru-f. — \$ 119, 123.
daḍnem "to press, to oppress".
G. H. B. O. *daḍ*-, S. K. *daḍ*-,
Panj. *daḍb* "pressure", Ro.
dab "blow". — \$ 127.
dabh m. "sacred grass Poa-
cynosuroides". G. *ḍabh*,
dabh, S. *dabhu*, Panj. *dabbh*,
H. *ḍabh*, K. *darb*. Pkt.
dabbha-. Skr. *darbha*- m. — \$
178.
dar n. "door". S. *daru*, K. *dar*
dar, Sim. *dora*. Pkt. *dara*-.
Skr. *dura*- n. — \$ 130.
dav m. "forest, forest on fire".
G. H. *dau*, B. *dab*, Sim. *dava*.
P. Skr. *dava*-. — \$ 152.
davan f. "cord". G. *damanī*, S.
ḍavanu, Panj. *dauu* *dauu*

1. "discard". Pkt. *danda*-.
duandva- n. — \$ 130, 135.
m. "leather-pot". See.
ḍau,
daṁbhi "hypocrite,
ocrisy". see *daṁb*, *daṁbhi*.
a, *darōḍa* m. "attack".
a band of thieves). G.
ḍo. Deśi. *daḍavado* *ḍhai*
9, 17). — \$ 78, 170.
1. "dew, humidity". Deśi.
in *jalām* (169, 1). \$ 123.
em, *deḍnem* "to run". S.
Panj. H. *dau*-, K. *dor*-.
1. *dravati*. — \$ 57, 78, 123.
aha "ten". G. H. Maith.
J. *das*, S. *ḍaha* *ḍah*, Panj.
dah, K. *dah* (cf. Grierson,
Lang, p. 37), Ro. *des*,
n. Ro. *las*, Sim. *dasa*
1. Pkt. *dasa*-, *daha*-. Skr.
1. — \$ 39, 156, 160, 220.
m. "tenth day of the
ight fort-night of Āṣvina".
ḍara *daserā*, K. *das* *ḍhar*, H.
ḍra. Skr. *daśaharā* f.
\$ 52, 220.
n. "curd". G. *ḍahim*,
y. *ḍahim* f., H. *ḍahi*, B. *ḍai*,
1. di. Pkt. *ḍahi*-. Skr.
hi- n. — \$ 46, 123, 159.
"army; leaf". G. O.
S. *ḍalu*, Panj. K. *ḍal* *dal*,
1. *dala*. Skr. *dala*- n.
\$ 123, 145.
1. "to crush". G. H. *dal*-.
1. *dala*- n. — \$ 123, 145.
ḍajvi m. "general". Skr.
ḍpati- m. — \$ 152.
viniem "to show". G.
huuim; Sim. *dakhinau* "to
". Pkt. *dakhava*; P.
khati. Cf. Skr. Aor.
akṣi, root. *dars*-. — \$ 30,
1. "thick". G. *ḍai*
ense"; S. *ḍajo*, Panj.

- dām*, H. *dāman dāvan*. Skr. *dāmanti* f. — \$ 39, 46, 152. *dānem* "to show", cf. *pro-bably* H. *dāo* "strategem, feint". Pkt. *dāvai*. — \$ 30, 152.
- das* m. "slave". G. Pany. K. H. B. *dās*, S. *dāsu*, Sim. *das*, Greek Ro. *das* "Bulgarian". Pkt. Skr. *dāsa* m. — \$ 123, 156.
- dānem*, *dāhanem* "to burn" (act. neut.). G. S. Pany. *dah*, H. *dāh-dāh*; O. *dāh*; K. *daz* (neu. ; part. *dod* = Skr. *dag-dha*); Sim. *dahan* "fire"; Geiger puts aside Sim. *dav* "to burn". Pkt. *dāh-dah*. Skr. *dahati*. — \$ 49, 52, 54, 123.
- diva* m. "lamp". G. *divo*, S. *diāhu*, Pany. *dia*, H. *diya* *diva*, Sim. *divu*. Pkt. *diva*. Skr. *dipa* m. — \$ 61, 123, 152, 172.
- disnem* "to appear, to look". Sim. G. H. Q. *dis*, S. *dis*, Pany. *diss-diss*; K. *dés* "to see". Pkt. *disai*. Skr. *disyate*. — 30, 157, 230.
- di* m. "day". G. *di*, S. *dio*. Pkt. *dīaha*; Desi. *dio divasah* (171, 7). Skr. *divasa* m. — \$ 63, 160.
- dih* f. "sight". S. *dīhi*, H. *dih*, K. *dremih*, Sim. *dīu* "view"; cf. G. *dihum*, S. *dīhu* "seen". Pkt. *dīhi*. Skr. *disi* f. — \$ 30, 110.
- dī*, *dīdh* adj. "one and a half, and a half". G. *dōdh*, S. *dēdhu*, Pany. *dēdh dīdh*, *dēdhu*, H. *dēdh*, Maith. *dēorha*, B. *dēd*, O. *dēdh*, K. *dōd*. Pkt. *divāddha*. Skr. *divi + ardhā*. — \$ 63, 88, 89, 115, 214, 225.
- dir* m. "brother-in-law". see *der*.
- Pkt. *duddha*. Skr. *dugdha* n. Arm. Ro. *luth*, Sim. *dudu*.
- duddh* n. "milk". G. H. *duddh*, S. *dōdhu*, Pany. *duddh duddh*, B. O. *duddh*, K. *dōd*, Ro. *thud*, Pkt. *duddha* n. — \$ 159, 161.
- adj. — \$ 159, 161.
- 16). Skr. *duhka* n. and cf. *duhalo*. *dubhaga* (172, 9), Desi. *duham asukham* (172, 9), *suka*, from Skr. *sukha*); Pkt. *duha* (according to Pkt. Pany. H. *duhai* "complaint", *duhil*, Pany. *duheli* "difficult", *duhi*, *dui* f. "disagreement". S. — \$ 226.
- dusra* adj. "second". H. *dusra*. Skr. *duhyate*. — \$ 123, 230.
- S. Pany. *dubh*. Pkt. *dubhai*. *dubhnem* "to yield milk (cow)". — \$ 127, 145.
- "old man". Skr. *durbala*. *dubla* "weak", Sim. *dumbui* S. *dubiro dōblo*, Pany. H. *dubla* adj. "weak". G. *dubal* (177, 2). — \$ 40.
- duddhi*. Desi. *duddhini*. *tumbi* *duddhi*; *duddhi* f. "gourd". G. 130, 214.
- duuna*. Skr. *doigunia*. — \$ 63, *duna*, Sim. *diyuu*, Pkt. *diuna*. Pany. *dūna*, H. *duna dūna*, B. *duna* adj. "double". S. *dūnu*, 225.
- duvitya*. — \$ 106, 130, 214, 225.
- ducca* *bīa* *bījya*. cf. Skr. *dūjja*, H. *dūja*, Pkt. *dūja*. *bījo*, S. *bījo bīo*, K. *bīya*, Pany. *dūja* adj. "second, other". G. m. — \$ 44, 78, 89, 93.
- dukāl*, H. *dukāl*. Skr. *duškāla* *dukāl*, *dukāl* m. "famine". G. *doi*, *karma*. — \$ 172.
- dukām* n. "double-work". Skr. m. — \$ 63, 156, 160.
- diasa* *divasa*. Skr. *divasa*. *doh*, Ro. *dīves*, Sim. *davasa*. *dīmhum*, Pany. *deh dīm*, K. *dis* m. "day". G. *dis dahādo*, S.

sky", Arm. Ro. *leval* "god".
 Pkt. *devaula*, *denla*. Skr.
devakula-n. — \$ 59, 77, 145,
 152, 280.
 des m. "country". S. *desu desu*,
 Panj. H. *des*, K. *dis*, Arm.
 Ro. *lesi lesuav* "village", Sim.
desa. Pkt. *desa*. Skr. *desa*-
 m. — \$ 25, 77, 156.
 deh m. "body". G. B. *deh*, S.
dehi dehi, Panj. H. *deh* f.
 Pkt. *deha*-m. n. — \$ 77, 159.
 dain m. "distress". H. *dain* K.
 din. Pkt. *dainna*. Skr. *dainya*-
 n. — \$ 56.
 don f. "trough". G. *doni dohi*,
 B. *duni*, Sim. *dena* "boat";
 Panj. *dun valley*, K. *dran*
 f. "marsh-land"?
 P. *doni*. Skr. *droni* f. — \$ 120,
 123, 134. cf. M. *don* "boat".
 don "two". Konkani *doni*,
 Maith. *dun*; Panj. *do do*,
 H. *do*; Avadhi *doi doi*,
 Maith. O. B. Ro. *dui*, K.
 2ndh. Obl. *don*; Sim. *de*; G.
 be, S. *ba*. Pkt. *donni*, *beni*
 pl. neut. of *do due*, be;
 Apa. *dui*, bi, instr. *dohim*,
 Skr. *dvau*. — \$ 130, 193,
 214.
 dor m. "rope". G. *dor*, S. *dori*,
 Panj. H. *dor*, K. *dur*, Ro.
dori (all feminine). Desi.
davaro tantuh (169, 15), *daro*
talha doro kaisutram (170,
 17). — \$ 153.
 dohiem, *duhiem* "to milk". Panj.
doh, S. *duh*, H. B. *doh*, K.
dy-, Sim. *dor*. Skr. *dohati*.
 — \$ 123, 159.
 dva. ppl. of obligation of
denem. — \$ 52, 152, 154.
 dhaj n. f., *dhaja* f. "banner". G.
 S. Panj. *dhaj* f., Panj. *dhaja*
 f., H. *dhaja* m., Sim. *dada*, K.
 doz. Skr. *dhvaja*-m. — \$ 130.

adj. "far off". G. Panj.
 H. B. *dur*, S. *dur dur*,
 dur. Sim. *duru*, Pkt. Skr.
 ra. — \$ 123, 143.
 H. "temple". See *deval*.
 nem "to see". G. H. B. O.
 th, S. *dek*h, Panj. *dek*h-
 th, Ro. *dikh*, Arm. Ro.
 h; Pkt. *dekkhai*. Skr.
 f. — \$ 30, 252, 253.
 "money given at marri-
 es by the bridegroom to
 e father of the bride". G.
 ; S. *deju* "dowry"; H.
 eja *deja dabez*, K. *daj*
 lowry" seem to result from
 e contamination of the
 me word with Pers-*jahaz*.
 it. *dejya*. Skr. *deya*. — \$
 6.
 n "to give". Sim. G. H. B.
 , S. *de-dia*, Panj. *de*, *dev*,
 di, Ro. *da*. Pkt. *dei*. Skr.
 -*dati*. — \$ 62, 136, 183,
 9, 231, 252.
 n m. "commercial deal-
 gs". Panj. *den den*, K. *den*,
 den, B. *dena* "debt";
 dinnala, Sim. *dunna*, Ro.
 io "given". Pkt. *dinnia*.
 \$ 80, 229, 231.
 tir m. "husband's younger
 other", G. *devar diyar*, S.
 u, Panj. *deur*, K. *dryu*, O.
 ur. Pkt. *diara*, *devara*. Skr.
 ara-m. — \$ 63, 123, 143,
 3.
 "delay". G. H. B. *der*, S.
 , Panj. *der der*. Pkt. *dihara*.
 r. *der* "long". — \$ 167.
 n. "god". G. *dev*, S. Panj.
 u, H. *deo*, B. O. de (name
 a family), K. *div*. Pkt.
 r. *deva*-m. — \$ 77, 152,
 7, 186.
 deu n. "temple". S.
 vali, Panj. *devala*, H.

- dhāt, dhātī* adj. "courageous". Pany. *dhātīh, dhātīa* "heavy" (it seems that there has, here, been a contamination of meaning with Skr. *dīdhā-*, see *M. dādā* as also *M. dai*). Pkt. *dhātīha-*. Skr. *dhīṣia-*. — \$ 30, 169.
- dhān* f. "riches, luck". G. Pany. *dhān, S. dhānu, H. dhān, K. dhāna, B. dhan* (all masc.). Pkt. *dhāna-*. Skr. *dhāna-* n. — \$ 124, 134.
- dhānī* f. "desire, satiety. Desi. *dhānī bhāryā* (cf. *dhānīa bhryā*, 178, 3) *pariyāptīr*. (179, 15). — \$ 134.
- dhānīm* "to hold". G. S. Pany. *H. B. dhar-, K. Sim. dar-, Arm. Ro. thar-*. Pkt. *dhara-*. Cf. Skr. *dhārayati*. — \$ 46, 124, 143.
- dhavālar* n. "house with white-washed terrace". Pany. *dhavālar* "palace". Skr. *dhavālarā-āgāra-*. — \$ 61, 163. *dhavai* adj. "white". G. *dhavajum, S. dhavuro, Pany. H. dhavala, B. O. dhola*. Skr. *dhavala-*. — \$ 165.
- dhād* f. "assault". G. S. H. *dhār. Skr. dhātī f.* — \$ 111. *dhān* n. "grain, rice". G. H. B. *dhān, Pany. dhān, K. dānē, Sim. dan.* Pkt. *dhānīa-*. Skr. *dhānya-* n. — \$ 135.
- dhāngand*, *dhāma* m. term of abuse for the Mādhyandina of Yajurvedi. S. *dhāma f. Pany. dhāmma dhāmanh* "festival"; H. *dhāmyām, name of a sect*; cf. Sim. *dam* "religion", *dāmitu* "good". Skr. *dharmya-*. — \$ 138.
- dhānīm dhānīm* "to run", Pany. *dhānā, H. dhānā, K. dhāna*, Ro. *thav-*, *dhāna*, K. *dawn*, Ro. *thav-*.
- dhūm* f. "vibrant sound, humming". Pany. *dhūm dhūm, H. ming*. Sim. *dani, Pkt. dhūmī-*. Skr. *dhūmī-* m. — \$ 76, 130. *dhūp* m. "incense", *dhūpāngira* m. "a live coal brought to enkindle orant incense". Pany. *H. dhūp, K. dūph*. Skr. *dhūpa, angāra-* n. — \$ 44. *dhūv* f. "daughter". Sim. *du*.
- dhūvān* n. "water in which wheat has been washed". G. Pany. *H. dho-, S. dhua-, B. dhom-dhu-*, Sim. *dov-, Ro. thov-*; K. *duw-* "to sweep"? Pkt. *dhua-*. Skr. *dhuno-*. — \$ 64, 172, 229, 230.
- dhūtārā* m. "imposter". G. *dhūtārūm*; cf. S. *dhut dhūto, Pany. dhūta, H. dhūta, Sim. dut*. Pkt. *dhūta-*. Skr. *dhūta-kāra-*. — \$ 44, 114, 119.
- dhūka* f. "anxiety". Pkt. *dhukkā-dhukdhukkā, B. dhukdhukmī* "pulpitation" Pany. *dhakidhaki* "pulpitate". S. *dhukdhuknem* "pulpitate". S. f. — \$ 64, 153.
- dhūv* "tobacco". Skr. *dhūmika* Sim. *dum* "smoke"; Ro. *dhūam, B. dhuyām, K. deh, Pany. dhūm, Pany. H. O. dhui f.* "fog". cf. S. *dūmham*, Skr. *dhairya-* n. — \$ 143.
- dhūv* m. K. *dhūv dōr, Sim. dhūv*, G. S. Pany. *dhūv f., H. dhūv* m. "patience, firmness". — \$ 30, 169.
- dhūv* Pkt. *dhūvīha-*. Skr. *dhīṣia-*. *dhūv* S. *dhīh, Pany. H. dhīh*. *dhūv* adj. "courageous". G. *dhūv* "push". Skr. *dhūvams-*. — \$ 130.
- dhūv* H. *dhās-*; G. *dhās-, dhās-* "to way, to tumble in". Pany. *dhāsajnem, dhāmsajnem* "to give". — \$ 152.
- Pkt. *dhāvai, dhāi*. Skr. *dhāvati-*.

given through the nose." G. S. B. *nath*, G. B. *nāth*, W. Pany. *nath*. Deśi. *nātha* *nāṣārajjuh* (143, 5). Skr. *nastaka*-m. *nasta* f. — \$ 48, 122.

nantar "after". cf. Sim. *not*, Pkt. *nanta*- "infinite" (Skr. *ananta*-). Skr. *anantaram*. — \$ 174.

naroti f. "skull, hallowed half of cocoanut, cow yielding little milk". cf. Deśi. *naroti bilam* (145, 10). — \$ 48.

narda narda m. "a bridegroom, a young boy arrived at the age of marriage, husband". Skr. *narda-varaka*-m. — \$ 46, 57, 172.

nava m. "wish". Deśi. *namisiam* *upayacitakam*; *navasiam* *ity anye* (145, 3). cf. Skr. *nama-syati* "to pay homage"; *namah* n. "homage", meaning influenced by Iranian. Per. *namaz*, Balouchi *namas* *nava* "prayer". — \$ 152.

nav nau "9". G. H. Maith. *nau*, Pany. *naum*, S. *namum*, B. *na*, K. *nav nau*, Sim. *nava nama*. Pkt. Skr. *nava*- — \$ 152, 219.

navad "90". G. *nevum*, S. *nave*, Pany. H. *nave*, Maith. B. *nabbai*, O. *nabe*, K. *namat*; Sim. *anu* (under the influence of *asu* "80"). Pkt. *nauti*- *navai*. Skr. *navati*- — \$ 223.

navā adj. "new". G. *navum*, S. *namium*, Pany. *navam*, H. *navā*, B. *nai*, Sim. *navā*, K. *nov*, Ro. *nevo*. Pkt. Skr. *nava*- — \$ 46, 152.

nahan nhan n. "ablution" *nāhnem* "to take a bath"; G. *nāhnu* "bridegroom bath"; Pany. *nhānuā*, H. *nhānā*, Ro. *mand*,

iwarbati zu, Garwi *dui*, Pany. H. *dhi dhiya*, S. *dhiu*, B. *jhi*, O. *jhia* *Maivā*, Sina *di*. Pkt. *dhua dhia*. *r. duthir*-f. — \$ 64, 124.

i n. negation; in compound : *nage naye nalage* "not wanted, not proper", *hve* "is not", *nasnem* "not exist"; *nāhim* "not"; *nako* "don't"; *numajnem* "not understand"; *heniem* *lakheniem* "not to know"; *liem* "not to give" etc. etc. *na n.* Pkt. P. Skr. — \$ 51, 57, 70, 135, 237, 7, 274.

nahi f. "river". S. *namim*, *nai*, Gambi *nei*, Sim. Pkt. *nai*. Skr. *nadi* f. — \$ 57, 135, 161.

i adj. "nose-cut, camus". *nakium* and *nakkatium*, H. *tia*. By syllabic superposition, from *nak+kai*- — \$ 48, 2.

m. n. "nail". G. H. B. *kh m.*, Pany. *nakh* f., *tad-ava* is also found in H. *nai*, Pany. *nahum nahi* m., Ro. "nail", G. *nahium* "skin at the nail". Pkt. *nakkha-f. Deśi*. 143, 10). Skr. *tha*-m. n. — \$ 48, 96.

va adj. "useless, bad". *naihanum*; Pkt. *naiha-r. nastā*- — \$ 48, see also *nai*.

m "to go with difficulty, be embarrassed". G. *ium* "to obstruct, to event". Pkt. *nadai*, *nadijjai*; *si. nadio vancitah* (cf. M. *liem* "to steal, to strip"); *pdila* *iti anye* (143, 12). *r. nai*, cf. *unai*- — \$ 111, 5.

- nay, Sim. *nānava* "to take a bath"; K. *śraṇ* is an adapted tatsama. Pkt. *ñhāna*. Skr. *śnāna*-n. — S 52, 136.
naī *naī* m. *naī* f. "tube, lotus stalk, Tibia." G. *naī*, S. *naṇu*, Pany. H. B. *naī*, K. *naīd*, H. B. also *naṇu*. Pkt. *ñhāna*. Saur. *nāvida*-. Skr. *nāpita*-m. — S 46, 57, 62, 136, 152, 280.
nak n. "nose". G. H. B. *nak*, S. *naku*. Pany. *nak*, Ro. *nakh*, Arm. Ro. *lank* (of **nank*). Pkt. *nakka*-. cf. Desi. *nakko ghṛāṇam mukas ca* (135, 5). Skr. *nas*-, *nās*-enlarged into **naska*-. the old form is represented only by Sim. *nahaya*. — S 48, 94.
nak. affixed by courtesy to the names of Mahārs and Parvatis as Rāmaṇak. Skr. *ṇayaka*-m. — S 61.
nagar, *nāgor*, *naṅgar*, *namgor*, m. "plough". H. *naṅgar* *naṅgal* *laṅgar*, B. *naṅgal*, Sim. *nagala* *naṅala*; S. *laṅgaru*, G. Pany. K. *laṅgar* "anchor", Ro. *nanari* "comb". Pkt. *nan-gala-laṅgala*-. Skr. *laṅgala-laṅgala*-n. — S 98, 142, 170. *naṅgi* f. "liana". Skr. *laṅgalika* f. — S 98, 142, 145, 146, 170.
nāga, *nāga* adj. "naked". G. *nāgum*, S. *naṅgo*, Pany. H. *naṅga*, O. *naṅga*, K. *nanga*, Ro. *nango*; Arm. Ro. *ngalel* "to make naked"; H. B. *nāga* "mendicant", Sim. *nāga* *naṅga* "little sister", term of affection. Pkt. *nagga*-. Skr. *nagna*. — S 47, 55, 98.
nāṇḍi m. "tail of scorpion". G. *laṅgur* *laṅgul*, Sim. *nagal* *nagula* "tail". Pkt. *naṅgola*- *naṅgula*-. Skr. *laṅgula*-n. ? — S. 146, 170. *nāc*-. S. K. *nac*-, Pany. *nacc*-. Pkt. *naccat*. Skr. *nityati*. — S 47, 101, 230.
naī adj. "bankrupt"; *naīa* *nāīha* "vile, mischievous". Pany. *naīa*, H. *naīh* "destroyed". *naī* *naī* "vicious, vile", ed. Sim. *naīa* "destroyed". — Cf. M. *nāīhara*. Pkt. *nāīha*-. Skr. *naīa*-. — S 47, 48, 88.
naī f. "artery, tube". G. Pany. H. *naī*, S. *naī*. Skr. *naī* f. — S 111, 146. *naīem* n. "coin". G. *naīum*, S. *naīu*. Skr. *nāīaka*-n. — S 46.
naīu m. "grand son". H. B. O. *naī*, Sim. *naīu*. Pkt. *naīua* *naīia*-. Skr. *nāīr*-m. — S 47, 121.
naīem n. "relationship". G. *naīum*, G. S. *nato*, Pany. *naīa*, H. *naīa*; cf. Sim. *na* (P. *nāī*-.). Skr. *jāīitva*-n. — S 130, 135, 172.
nāī "is not; not". G. *nāī*, Sim. *nāī* Arm. Ro. *nāī*. Pkt. *nāīhi*. Skr. *nāī*. — S 122, 135.
naīd f. "jar with a big mouth". S. *nāī*, Pany. *naīd* m., H. *naīd* f. Desi. *naīdam* *ikṣunḍi* *ḍānakāṇḍam* *kunḍākyo* *bhāṇ-ḍāvisasas celi* *dyartham* (154, 17).
naīndiem "to reside; to continue thrivingly; to come to-gether." H. *nāīna* "to reside in peace, to reside", Sim. *nadan* "joy"; G. *naīd* *zum* "to break" (for a sacred object). Skr. *nandana*-. — S

m. "term of respect for me person". Pany. *nāna*, *nāno*, H. B. *nāna* "maternal grandfather". Desi. *nāno*. *śiḥo bhrātā* (155, 5). — \$

5. r. f. "woman", G. Pany. H. *nārī*, S. *nārī*, B. *nārī*, Sim. *nārī* m. Pkt. *nārī* n. pl. Skr. *nārī* f. — \$ 39.

nārāj m. "coco nut". G. *nārāj*, S. *narelu nāru*, Pany. *nārāj*, H. *nārīyal*, Sim. *nārīyal*. Pkt. *nārīla*, *nārīlāra*. r. *nārīkela* m. — \$ 42, 63, 145.

nau, *naukā* f. "boat". G. *naut*, S. *naukā* Pany. H. *nau*, B. *nau*, Sim. *nau*. t. *nāva*. Skr. *nau*, *nāva* pax f. — \$ 135, 152.

nāu n. "name". G. *nām*, *nānum*, Pany. *nām*, H. *nū*, K. *nau*, Ro. *nau*, Sim. *nā*. Pkt. *nāma*, Apa. *nāum*. r. *nāman* n. — \$ 39, 152.

a. "ruin, loss", *nānem* "to corrupt, to be corrupted". B. *nā*, Pany. *nās* f. S. *nāsu*, *nās* m.; Sim. *nahanāva* to destroy"; H. *nāsna* "to run away, to fly away". nj. *nāsāna* "to chase". *nās* (Arm. *nās*) "to oneself, to go away". t. *nāsana*, *nāsai*. Skr. *nā* m. *nāsana* n; *nāsyati*. \$ 46, 156.

nāth m. "master". H. *nāth*; but every where *nāth* not usual. Pkt. *nāha*. Skr. *ha* m. — \$ 24.

i. "lotus stalk, umbilical cord". G. *nāl*, Pany. H. B. *nāl*. Skr. *nāla* n. — \$ 145.

nikhordā adj. "miserable, abandoned". H. *nikhora* *nikhora*. Desi. *nikhuriam* *adīdham* (152, 3). Skr. *nikhuriyapā* "protector of the afflicted". ("a pax, see Taitt. *samh*. tr. Keith p. 595, n. 7). — \$ 80.

nikāmi adj. "useless". S. *nikāmo*, Pany. *nikāma* H. *nikām*, *nikāmī*, Sim. *nikam*. Skr. *nikāman* n. — \$ 44, 89, 138. *nikāl* m. "passage, exit". G. *nikālūm*, S. *nikirānu*, Pany. *nikālānā*, H. *nikālānā*, Ro. *nikālānik* "to get out". Apa. part. *nikālū*. Skr. *nikālāya* "having chased", *nikālāna* n. "conduit (for animals)". — \$ 89, 141.

nicāl adj. "motionless". Pany. *nicāl*, H. *nicā* Sim. *nisal*. Pkt. *nicāla*. Skr. *nisāla*. — \$ 101, 145.

nicint adj. "free from anxiety". G. Pany. H. *nicint*. Apa. *nicintai*. Skr. *nicintā*. — \$ 71, 101.

nijhar "to drip, to ooze". H. *nijhar* "cascade, spring of water". Pkt. *nijharai*, Skr. *niskṣarati*. — \$ 30, 107.

nijhūr adj. "decrepit (man), poor (soil)". Desi. *nijjha* *ram jirām*; *nijjharām* *ity anye* (146, 11). — \$ 30.

nijhūr adj. "hard, cruel". H. B. *nijhūr*; S. *nijāru* "obstacle". Pkt. *nijhura*. Skr. *nijhura* n. — \$ 40, 110.

nidhāl *nidhāl* *nidāl* n. fore-head". S. *nirāru* *nirru*, H. *lilā*, Sim. *nājala*. Pkt. *nālā* *da-nilāda-nidāla* cf. Desi. *neḍāl* *paṭāḍita* *śirobhūṣana* *bhedah* (153, 18); P. *nālāja*. Skr. *lālāja*, *nījāla*, *nījāla*.

50.
 haṇa-. Skr. *nirikṣate*. — \$
 nirūta *nirūta* adv. "certainly"
 (poet.). Deśi. *nirūta* m.
citam (148, 3). Skr. *nirukta*.
 — \$ 50, 121.
 nirū adi. "pure". G. *nirū*,
 S. *nirū*; Panj. H. *nirū* un-
 doubtedly by suffix-substi-
 tution; Sim. *nirū* "healthy"
 represents Skr. *nirūga*-. Skr.
nirūga-. — \$ 64.
nirūga "to destroy, to kill"
 (poet.). H. *nirūga* "to be
 consumed"; Panj. *nirūga* "to
 finish"; Sim. *nirūga* "to
 end". Pkt. *nirūga*. Skr.
nirūga. — \$ 114, 152.
nirūga "to become
 visible, to look full (fruits),
 to come out". G. *nirūga*
 Panj. *nirūga*, H. *nirūga*
 "to be produced", cf.
 "to be determined", cf.
 Sim. *nirūga* "origin, birth"
 (skr. *nirūga*-) Pkt. *nirūga*.
 Skr. *nirūga* - — \$ 52,
 109, 111. Cf. M. *vājine*.
nirūga "to cool, to decrease";
 Sim. *nirūga* *nirūga* "to
 cool oneself, to be extin-
 guished". Pkt. *nirūga*. Skr.
nirūga. — \$ 52, 152. Cf.
 the following word.
nirūga n. "destruction, ruin".
 cf. Deśi. *nirūga* *duḥkha*
nam (149, 8). Skr. *nirūga*-n.
 — \$ 52.
nirūga "to slip from, to go
 away from". Skr. *nirūga*-. — \$
 30, 89, 231.
 H. *nirūga* f. "ladder".
nirūga *nirūga* *nirūga*,
 Sim. *nirūga* Pkt. *nirūga*
nirūga f. — \$ 42,
 44, 52, 157.
nirūga m. "whetstone". Sim.
 H. also... *nirūga*-. Pkt. *nirūga*-.
nirūga *nirūga* "to contem-
 plate". G. Panj. H. *nirūga*-.
 and — \$ 152, 2-.
 Cf. for example M. *carine*
 ed as also the Gujarati one;
 the Marathi word is borrow-
 uages. But it shows that
 or the word in various lang-
 much less with the meaning
 proposed in \$ 128 fits in
nirūga. The etymology
 direct, to pasture". Skr.
nirūga, K. *nirūga* "to
 survey", "to practice" to
nirūga "to endure" caus.
 succeed, to endure", H. *nirūga*
nirūga *nirūga* "to ac-
 cum", "to endure", Panj.
 dure, to succeed"; G. *nirūga*
nirūga "to surmount, to en-
 dure, to succeed"; G. *nirūga*
 — \$ 128.
 1) from Skr. *nirūga*-.
 Deśi. *nirūga* *bhaga* (149,
 vessel). Pkt. *nirūga*-, cf.
nirūga "to be cracked (a
 vessel)".
nirūga m. — \$ 68.
nirūga, H. *nirūga*. Pkt. Skr.
nirūga. S. *nirūga* f. Panj.
 (see Hobson-Jobson S. V.
nirūga m. "azadirachta indica"
 126, 145.
nirūga-. Skr. *nirūga*-. — \$
nirūga adj. "sterile". Pkt.
nirūga *adhikā* (148, 10).
 G. Panj. H. B. *nirūga*. Deśi.
nirūga "absolutely, very much".
 dyate. — \$ 106, 230.
 Pkt. *nirūga* Skr. *nirūga*-.
 Sim. *nirūga* "birth".
 become". G. S. *nirūga*-. cf.
nirūga "to derive from, to
 dharanam (150, 4).
 Deśi. *nirūga*... *kutir*-
 field) G. *nirūga*, K. *nirūga*.
nirūga "to weed out (a corti-
 170, 171.
 86, 167, — \$
 86, 167, — \$
 86, 167, — \$

eastin-m. — \$ 49, 50, 78.

parameṇ "to marry". G.
parameṇ, S. *param*,
paramāhu "marriage", H.
parama. Skr. *paramayati*. — \$
 49, 50, 51, 134.

parvat m. "commerce, business", paratnem, paratnem
to turn, to change". Pkt.
pariyatta-: Skr. pariyatta-m.
— \$ 49, 51, 114.

parām parhām “day after to-
morrow, day before yester-
day”. G. parām “at a dis-
tance”; S. parīham, Pāṇi-
parom, H. parom parham,
parom. Skr. parastah “day
after tomorrow”. — \$ 152,
157.

paral, parei m. "earthen pot",
Deśi. pariāli sthālam; bhojana-
bhāṇḍam iti yāvat (185, 6). — S 42, 63.

parasnem, paryesanem, parismem. Skr. "to hear, to listen". *parjes-* "to search". — \$ 49, 51, 63, 143, 253.

parāya, *parāva* adj. "stranger, of another"; G. *parāyām*; S. *parāyo*, *parāo*, *parāi*; H. *parāya*, *parāga*-. — § 54, 55. *pari* m. "washer-man"; S. *pari* m. "washer-man"; S.

paris. Des. *paris* *paris*. — \$ 63.
(186, 18). — \$ 63.
paris m. "the philosopher's
stone", Cf. *paris* *paris*.
"than" (..in comparison).
cf. Skr. *parikṣā* f. "test".
— \$ 42, 49.

paryant "upto". Skr. paryanta-
 m. — \$ 68.
 palam m. "bed". G. Panj. H
 B. palam, S. palam, Sim
 palamga. Pkt. pallanka-. Skr

casin-m. — \$ 49, 50, 78.

— S 46, 112, 230, 252.
Pkt. *paḍḍha*. Skr. *paṭhati*.
parh-, O. *paḍḍibā*, K. *parun*.
H. *paḍḍhā*, B. *paḍite*, Ass.
S. *paḍḍhū*, Panj. *paḍḍhā*,
paḍḍhinem "to read". G. *paḍḍhun*.

pan 'but, also: old M. pan.
G. pan, S. puni pini, H.
phun phin pun tui, B. pan,
Nep. pan, Sim. pana pana.
Pkt. pana, puno, uia (end.),
P. pana, puna. Skr. punah.
— S 39, 41, 274.

panat f. "great grand daughter",
panu m. "great grand son",
H. panati f. Epigraphic Pkt.
panatika-, *panatika*-(Aśoka).
Skt. *pranapati*- m. — S 46,
121, 125.

pant = prefix of honour added to proper name. — *S* 162. See *M.*

panth, Pkt. pantha. Skr.
panthan-m. — \$ 122.
palthar m. "bettoled for the
first time." By syllabic
super-position of Skr.
prathamā. zard. — \$ 172.

pathari f. "matress, carpet".
G. pathari, S. patharu, H.
pathar, Sim. palara "expan-
ded object". Desi. pathari
nikarah patharascā (206, 15).
Skt. prastāra m. — S 48, 84,
110, 122, 125.

pāṇḍhva "fifteen". G. pāṇḍar,
 S. pāṇḍhram, pāṇḍrahām,
 Paṇj. pāṇḍrām, H. pāṇḍrah,
 B. pōner, K. pāṇḍah; Sim.
 pāsajosa. Pkt. pāṇḍrasa-
 Apa. pāṇḍrahā-. Skr. pāṇḍa-
 dasa-. — S 118, 124, 143,
 164, 221.

pahila-; Pkt. *paḍhama-* (cf. the Sinhalese form). Skr. *prathama-*. — \$ 46, 125, 226, 256.
palnem 'to flee', G. *palnum*, B. *palāite*; Sim. imper. *pala*. Pkt. *palai*, Skr. *palāyate*. — \$ 46, 52, 145.
palas m. 'butea frondosa'. S. *palasu*, Panj. *palāh*, Sim. *palas*. Skr. *palāśa*-n. — \$ 42, 46, 145.
palhem, *palēm* n. 'cotton tree'. G. *pel* 'spun cotton'. Desi. *palahi karpāsah* (182, 7), *phalahi karpāsah* (210, 15). — \$ 46, 169.
pam 'expletive particle'. Apa. *pau*. Skr. *prāyah*. — \$ 60, 125. *paik*, m. 'messenger, peon'. Panj. H. *paik*, B. *paik*. Pkt. *paikka-*. Per. *paig*, Pehlvi *paik*; to separate from Skr. *padati*- 'foot-soldier', *padika-* 'pedestrian'.
paun adj. (in compound) 'less by one quarter'. G. *poṇo*, S. *pauno*, Panj. *pauna* H. *paune*. B. O. *paune*, K. *dūn*. Skr. *padona-*. — \$ 46, 57, 225.
pāus m. 'rain' G. H. *pāvas*. Pkt. *pāusa*, pali *pāusa-*. Skr. *prāvṛsa*-m. 'rainy season'. — \$ 30, 46, 125, 253.
pānkli, *pākli*, *pākoli* f. 'flower-petal'. G. *pānikhdi*, H. *pakh* (u) dt. Pkt. *pamha-*, *pamhala* has a different treatment.... cf. Skr. *pakman*-n. — \$ 47, 69, 79, 89.
pāk, *pānikh* m. 'wing, side of roof, half of a lunar month' G. H. B. *pāk*, Panj. H. *pakh*, S. *pakhu paingho paingu*, O. *paksa* (pronounced *pakhō*); K. *pachha-*, Sim. *pak* 'part',

pahla paia; — S. *paharyo*, Panj. O. B. *pahila* H. *nila* adj. 'first'. G. *pehlum*, 125, 161.
skr. prahara-m. — \$ 40, H. *pahar*, *pahira*, B. *pahar*. *hours*. G. *por*, Panj. *pahir*, *var*, *par* m. 'interval of three n. — \$ 103, 152.
Pkt. *pachha*. Skr. *paschātāpa-* *śaur*. Pkt. *pachādāva-*; cf. *pas*, S. *poe puam* 'after'. C. *pache*, H. *pāche*, Sim. *pastan*, Sim. *pasutav*; cf. G. *pastāva*, H. *pachitā*, B. *pastam*. 'regret'. G. *pastānum*, n. — \$ 164.
aym. 'favour'. Skr. *prasāda-* — \$ 252.
nasāi '65', *pastis* '35'. *nasarati*. — \$ 52, 65, 125. *nasarai*. Skr. *prasara*-m., 3. *pasar*, S. *pasar*. Pkt. *ar* m. 'expansion', *pasar-* *tem* 'to spread', G. Panj. H. — \$ 61, 70, 79, 125.
uffix). Skr. *pravāda*-m. *umult* '(-da, -do is a *voāda*; S. *paudō* 'noise, *allad*'. G. *paudō*, H. *uvāda povāda* m. 'a historic *vāla*-m. n. — \$ 70, 79, 125. *avāla*. Skr. *pravāda*, *pravarajum*, Sim. *pavaja*. Pkt. *lem povlem* n. 'coral'. G. 41, *skr. paryāna*-n. — \$ 48, 125, I. B. *palān*. Pkt. *ballāna*. *alān*, S. *palanu*. Panj. *palān*, in, *palān* n. 'saddle'. G. O. 09, 141.
aryajana-n. — \$ 48, 51, 77, *ariavartanam* (23, 6) Skr. Desi. *allaiapallaiam pārśva* *ination*. Pkt. *paraiat*; *itān*, *paleian* n. 'tour, peri- 41. Cf. M. *palak*.

- Sim. *pai* "joint, silk," *pai* "belt," K. *pui* "plank," *poi* "silk," Ro. *phar* "silk," Skr. *paiia*-m. (cf. *pattā*-). — S 109.
patil, *paiel*, old M. *paiaiu*, m. "chief of village", G. *Paiel*, S. *paielu*. Skr. *patialika*-*paia*-*kila*-m. — S 38.
patih m. "back", G. *piih* *puih*, S. *puih*, Pany. *piih* *puih*, H. B. *pih*, O. *pihi*, Sim. *piia*, Asian Ro. *pusto* (see Miklosich S. V. *phuko*); K. *pust* "back of chair" *peih* "on, in," *peih* "from below, since", Pkt. *paiia*-, *piih*-, *putiha*-. Skr. *pisih*-n. — S 30, 31, 110, 197.
paihacnem "to send", G. *paiha*-*vacum*, S. *paihanu*, P. *paihana*, B. *paihate*, O. *paihaiba*. Pkt. *paihāva*. Skr. *prastha*-*payati* (cf. Sim. *paian* "beginning", from Skr. *prasthāna*-). — S 47, 48, 110, 125.
padnem "to cause to fall", G. *padum*, H. *padna*, B. *padite* "to spread", Pkt. *padet*. Skr. *patayati*. — S 48.
padsti. f. "sterile cow". Desi. *padicchia ciraprasuta mahisti* (186, 4). — S 49.
pada m. "calf", G. *padum*, S. *padu*, H. *pada*. Desi. *padoo* *balah* (184, 3); *padāi* *prathama prasuta* (181, 3). — S 47.
padra m. "first day of the fortnight, first day of the year", G. *padro*, H. *pariva*, *padra*, B. *parab*. Pkt. *padivaa*. Skr. *prathipada*-adj. — S 60, 152.
padnya m. "proper name of Brahmin", H. *pane* "Savant, school-master", *panda* "temple-priest". Skr. *paṇḍita*-m.
- Ro. *phak pak*. Pkt. *pakha*-*Skr. paksa*-m. — S 96.
pakhar f. caparison", G. Pany. H. *pakhar*, S. *pakhiru* "saddle for camel." Desi. *pakkhara* *turagasannāha* (184, 10). Skr. *upaskara*-m. — S 40, 47, 125, 174.
pakhru n. "bird". Skr. **paksi*-*rūpa*-. — S 47, 50, 66, 96.
pakhale "to scour an idol", G. *pakhale*, Pany. *pakhale*, H. *pangu* *panga* *pangla*, S. *pango* "weak", B. *pangri*, Ro. *pango* (?) see Miklosich, S. V. *phag*. Pkt. *pangu*-. — S 39, 68, 98.
pame "five", H. G. B. O. K. *pame*, S. Pany. *pamy*, Ro. *pam*, Sim. *pas*. Pkt. *pamica*-. Skr. *pamica*-. — S 39, 101, 217.
pay f. "mountain-pass", G. *pay* f. "quay, bridge", Desi. *vacakah tu padya* *asadbaharah* (181, 5, 6). Skr. *padya* f. — S 106.
pamya m. "cage", G. *pamyum*, H. B. K. *pamyar*. Skr. *paṇyara*-n. — S 75, 106; Cf. M. *pinyar*. Pkt. *pajhar* "to drip", Skr. *praksarati*. — S 125.
Paian name of a town. Skr. *paia* m. "slab, stool", *paia* m. "strip of cloth, belt", G. Pany. *pai*, "plank, bench", S. *pai* f. "plateau", H. *pai* "slab, stool", B. *paia* "plank", *pai* "plateau", "plank".

ment with Skr. *pakṣman*-n. is doubtful. Cf. however Pkt. *ruppa*- of Skr. *rukma*-; and for the absence of aspiration, cf. *NI. takit*- — \$ 89. *pāthūḍḍhem* "to form into crusts". Pkt. *pāphodai*. Skr. *pras-phuṭati*. — \$ 125, 126. *pāy* m. "foot; quarter (rare)". Undoubtedly borrowed from Hindi. See the word *pāv*. — \$ 57. *pāyri* f. "foot-step". G. *pāyri*, S. *pairo*, H. *paiṛ*, *pāira*, Sim. *biyavara* "foot-print". Skr. **pādākāra*- Cf. — \$ 52, 62. *pār* m. "end, limit"; adv. "on the other side". G. *Pan*! H. B. *pār*; S. *pāru* "limit", *pār* "on the other side". Skr. *pāra*-n; *pāre*. — \$ 39. *pārakṣhem* "to examine, to verify". G. *pārakṣum*, S. *pārkhau*, Panj. *pārakhna*, H. *pārakhna*, B. *pārkh*. Skr. *pārīksate*. — \$ 49. *pārka*, *pārkhā* adj. "other, stranger". G. *pārkaum*, with reference to Panj. *pārā*. Pkt. *pārakka*- cf. Skr. *pārakya*- — \$ 86, 93. *pārād* f. "hunting". G. *pārād*. Pkt. *pāraddhi*-, cf. Desi. *pāraddham*. *ākhetākah* (209, 7). all semi-tatsama: Skr. *pāpārdhi*- f. — \$ 46, 88. *pārāḍā*, m. "14 of a village". S. *pairo*, H. B. *pāḍā*. Pkt. *pāāra*- *pāā*-, *pāā*-. Skr. *pārākāra*-m. — \$ 46, 61. *pārā* m. "blue-pigeon". G. H. *pāreo*, S. *pārelo*, Sim. *pāraviya*. Pkt. *pārāva*-. Skr. *pārāva*-m. — \$ 46, 52, 152. *pāras* *pāris* m. "philosopher's stone". S. *pārasu*; G. *Panj*.

har f. "white soil, inhabit-land" G. H. B. *pāṇḍur* "ale", H. *pāṇḍri* "whitish", Sim. *pāṇḍara* "white, flow". Skr. *pāṇḍara*- adj. \$ 86. n. "water". G. S. *pāni*. m. *pāni*, H. B. *pāni*, K. *pāni*, Ro. *pāni*, Sim. *pān*. t. *pāniya*-. Skr. *pāniya*-n. \$ 46, 66, 134, 152. n. "leaf". G. *pattum* *pātrum*, m. *pāt*, H. *pāta* *pāta*, B. m. *pāt*, Ro. *pāt*. Pkt. *ita*-Skr. *pātra*-n. — \$ 121. f. "line, row". G. H. m. *S. paṅgati*, Sim. *pet*. t. *pānti*-. Skr. *pānti*- f. — \$ 121. i adj. "thin, weak". G. *ilium*, S. *pāiru*, Panj. H. *ila*, B. *pāla*, *pāla*. Desi. *attalam kiṣam* (186, 3); deriv. from *pātra*-. \$ 47. — ar f. "flat and smooth stone". *pāthro*, S. *pātharu*, Panj. *uṭhar* H. B. *pāthar*, K. *uṭhar* "soil", *pāthar* "on the irth", Sim. *pātara* "dis-*astara* (206, 15). Skr. *astara*-m. — \$ 48, 52, 84, 10. 122, 125 *em* "to break wind". G. H. *pad*-, S. *Sim. pād*-. Skr. *udate*. — \$ 47, 115, 123. n. "leaf". G. H. *pān*, S. *um*, K. *Sim. pan*, B. O. *pān*. t. *pāniya*-. — \$ 39, 135. *ia* m. "descent of milk into re udder". G. *pāno*; B. *inate* ("to put a calf to is mother's udder so at she yields milk"). Desi. *nho standhāra* (182, 1). t. *prasava*-m. — \$ 60, 25, 136.

H. *pārāb*, B. *pāras pārespākhar* "philosopher's stone, touch-stone." If Skr. *parikṣā* is at the base of this word, then the change of gender in Marathi and Sindhi remain unexplained; it seems that there has been somewhere a confusion with the skr. *spāṣa* (G.H.B. *pāras* to "touch") cf. *spāṣa māṇi* dictionary word philosopher's stone, the word *pārāb*.

— S 42, 49.

para m. "mercury". G. S. paro,
Pany. H.B. para. Skr. parāta,
parāda-m. — S 46, 60.

parassa adj. "stale", "stagnant".
 parassa adj. "who has not accom-
 plished his daily ablutions".
 G. parāih "rotten", Pany.
 parassa "part kept for late
 invite", S. parāih "stale".
 Skr. parāṣṭha-, parāṣṭha- —\$
 49, 50, 51, 63, 65.

lak, pālakh m. etrade, S.
palkhi, palki f. "seat", S.
pāliki, Pany. H. pālki—, Sim.
pajak. Pkt. pallanka-. Skr.
paryanka- m. — S 82, 86,

141. Cf. m. *palaing*.
palai m. "turn, vicissitude";
palaïnem "to turn, to change";

pālāṭhu, adj. returned". Pany. H. pālā
"overturned"; G. palātum
palātu m; S. palānu, H.
palāna, B. palāte "to over-
turn". Det. pallātho pallāto
paryasta iti paryasta-śabda
bhavam (186, 8); pallātai
pālathai paryati (192.11).
Skr. paryasta-. — S 48, 88,
110, 122, 141, 148.

pālā, pālā m. palo, palā; Sim. pain "bone, articulation." Skr. pālā-

m. n. — \$ 47, 48, 60, 148, 152.

pāu m. "a quarter". G. *pāv*, S. Pany. H. *pāo*, B. *pōa*, Sim. *pā*, Arm. Ro. *pau*; on the other hand M. G. *pāy*, H. O. *pāe*, *pā*, K. *pūr*. Sim. *paya*. Pkt. *pāa*. Skr. *pāda*-m. — \$ — \$ 55, 125, 225.

pāvā m. "mariner", cf. B.
pāsi "boat", cf. Pkt. *pāsim*
 inf. Skr. **plāvanaka-*. — \$ 49,
 125, 152.

pāreni 'to wait' (part. *paṭa*,
paṭā). G. *pāruni*, S. *pānu*,
Pāṇ. *pāna*, H. *pāna*, *pāna*
B. *pāte*, O. *pāiba*, Sim.
pāminava, K. *pārun*. Pkt.
pāva. Skr. *trāp*. — § 46, 125,
152, 229, 230, 237, 256.

pās, *pāsim* "near". G. *pāsmi*
 "side, shore", S. *pāsu* "side",
 Pāṇ. *pās*, *pāh*, H. B. *pās*
 "near", Sim. *pās*, *pāsa*,
 "side, proximity", Ro. *pās*
 "half", *pās'o* "near", pro-
 bably K. *pāsa* "page of a
 book". Skr. *pāṣva*-n. — \$
 84, 157, 194, 195.

pāsali *pāṣali* f. "coast". — *pāsiri*, H. *pāṣi* *pāṣali*; Panj. *pāṣa* "on the side" adj. P. *pāṣulika*. derived from Skr. *pāṣṭa*-. — § 69, 84, 157.

bāhinein "to see, to look, *pānj*
S. bahānu "to consider, to
 deliberate", with reference
 to *pānu* "to see, to look",
 To be separated from Pkt.
pās-, Skr. *pāśyati*. From Skr.
spīh- "to desire, to seek"?

— 332, 100, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000.

(part. pres.), caus., pīṭ-
Skr. pīḍati. — S 63, 229,
230, 231, 252.
pīṇṣṭī f. "long pepper". G.
pīṣar f., S. pīṣiri, H. pīṣī, B.
pīṣul pīṣul pīṣatī. Skr.
pīṣali f. — S 140.
pīṣaj m. "ficus religiosa". G.
pīṣajo, ṭīṣal, S. pīṣiru, Pany.
B. pīṣpal, O. pīṣpal. Skr.
pīṣpala-m. — S 69, 125, 145.
pīmāṇer name of town. Skr.
pīṣalanagara-. — S 62. See
also ner, ner.

pīlūm pīlūm n. "small animal".
G. pīlo "bud", H. pīlu, pīlla
"pup.". B. pil, Sim. pīlara.
P. pīllaka- (cf. Tam. pīlle)
"son"?) — S 149.
pīvia adj. "yellow". G. pīlum,
S. pīlo; Pany. H. pīla; H.
pīyudī peḍḍi "yellow chalk,
yellow colour". Deśi. pīra-
lam pīlam iti tu pīrasabba-
bhavam (200, 13). Skr.
pītala-. — S 44, 145.
pīsienem "to crush". G. pīs-pis-,
S. pīh-, Pany. pīh-pis-, H.
pīs-, B. pīs-, K. pih-, Ro.
pīs-. Pkt. pīsai. Skr. pīnasti.
— S 44.

pīsa adj. "mad", pīsem n.
"madness", pīsaleṃ n.
"madness". Pkt. pīsaa-
m. Skr. pīsāca- m.
— S 52, 60, 61, 156.

pīyo pīhu m. "lover". G. pīyum,
Pany. S. pīyu, Pany. pīa, H.
pīya, Sim. pīya; cf. Ro.
pīryac- "to debauch, to
prostitute oneself." Pkt. pīa-
Skr. pīrya-. — S 39, 125, 161.

pīñiem "to crush". Pany. pēna,
H. pēna; Sim. pālenava "to
be tortured", pīla "pain".
Pkt. pīana-pīana-. Skr. pīd-
— S 44, 146. Cf. M. pīñiem

I. THE QUARTER AND CURVING

edge of the auricle, parapet, objects scattered in a circle, round other objects". G. *pal* "edge, curb stone of a wall", S. *pālu* "layers of", *traw* used for rippening the fruits. Pany. *pāl* "series", H. *pal* "dyke", Sim. *pela* "line, extent", K. *palyar* "palisade", P. Skr. *pālī* f. — \$ 145. *niem* "to nourish, to bring up", G. *pālunm*, S. *pālanu*, H. *pālana*, B. *pālite*, Sim. *pālana*. Pkt. *pāl-pāl*. Skr. *pālayati*. — \$ 46, 145. *a* adj. "ripe". Isolated with reference to H. *pakka* (borrowed every where); K. *pap*. "to ripen"; Ro. *pek*. "to cook" is ambiguous. Pkt. *pikka* beside *pakka*. Skr. *pakva*. — \$ 75, 93. *nyar n*, *pinyā m*. "cage, thotax". S. *pīntro*, Pany. *pinyri*, H. B. *pinyar*, O. *pinyira*. Skr. *pinyara*. — \$ 75. Cf. M. *panyar*. *niem* "to beat, to crush". G. S. Pany. H. B. O. *pī-*. Pkt. *piitha*. Skr. *pīsa*. — \$ 89, 231. Cf. M. *pīth*. *nd m*. "ball", *pīndī* f. "tablet". G. *pīndlo* "ball of chalk or of wheat flour", W. Pany. *pīnn*. "to bake", S. *pīna* "alms" *pīnu* "packet". H. *peḍ pīndī*, B. *pīnd*, Sim. *piḍa* "small quantity, small ball". Skr. *pīnda* m. — \$ 111. *them m*. "stool, support". G. *pidhyum* "supporting the floor planks"; S. *pīrhi*, Pany. *pihira*, Sim. *pīla* "throne", K. *pīu*. "stool". Pkt. *piḍha*. Skr. *piha* n. — \$ 80, 112. *niem* "to drink". G. Pany. H. *pi-*, S. B. Ro. *pi-*, Sim. *bo*

pi f. piyaha piha m. "spleen".
H. pilha pilha, B. pila, O. pilhat. Skr. *plihan-* m., *plihā f.* (lexicon). — \$ 64, 154, 161.
pih n. "flour". G. Pany. *pih f.*, H. *piha* "cake of rice-powder", Sim. *pihi*. Pkt. P. *piihā*. Skr. *piśā*. — \$ 41, 110.
pidnem "to torment". G. *pid-vun*, S. *pidnu*, Pany. *pidhna*, H. *pidna*, B. *pidite*. Skr. *pid-* Cf. M. *pidnem*. — \$ 44, 111, 146.
pis m. "plume", G. *pinch*. Pkt. Skr. *piccha n.* — \$ 103.
puḍa m. "packet". G. S. *puḍo*, H. *puḍa*. Deśi. *puḍaiam* (201, cf. *abhinapado rikta* 15), *putah* (21, 1). Skr. *puta-* m. n. — \$ 111.
putia m. "statue of man", *puti f.* "doll". G. *puti putum*, S. *putili*, Pany. H. *puti*, B. *putul*. Skr. *putraka-* m. *putrika f.* — \$ 44.
punav m. "sterculia foetida, poon-tree". Pany. *pūna*. Pkt. *pūnaa*, *pūnaama*. Skr. *pūn-* *nāga-* m. — \$ 44, 55, 135.
punav f. "day of full moon", cf. Sim. *pūna* "full". Skr. *pūr-* *nīma f.* — \$ 39, 42, 44, 135.
pura, adj. "full". G. *puro*, S. *S. puro*, Pany. H. B. O. *pura*, Sim. *puri*, K. *pura*. Skr. *pūrita-* *pura-* (Buddhist). — \$ 44.
pula m. "small bundle of grass, of hay". G. H. *pula*, Pany. *pūla*. Pkt. *pollaa*. Skr. *pūla-* m. — \$ 44.
puṇa m. "cake", H. *pua*, *pū*, Sim. *puca*, *pū*. Skr. *pūpa-* *apūpa-* m. — \$ 44, 64, 125, 174.
pusnem "to sweep" G. H. *bunch-*, Pany. *pūnyh-*, B.

pūnch-ponch-, Sim. *pis-pih-* *marṣṭi* (201, 11). Skr. *prōch-*, *ponch-* (Buddhist). — \$ 44, 71, 103, 125.
pusnem "to ask". G. S. H. B. Ro. *puch-*, Pany. *puch-*. Pkt. *puchai* Skr. *picchati*. — \$ 31, 71, 103, 230, 253.
puian n. "plain, sandy-shore". Skr. *ṭulina-* m. n. — \$ 42, 134, 145.
pū m. "pus", S. *pūni f.*, B. *pūya pūny*. Skr. *pūya-* m. n. — \$ 64.
put m. "son", *poti- f.* "daughter". G. Pany. *put*, S. *puin*, H. B. *put*, O. *pua*, Sim. *put*, *put* "son"; K. *putu* "chicken". Pkt. *putta*. Skr. *putra-* m. — \$ 29, 121.
pu "bridge". G. *pu*, Pany. H. *pu*, S. *puti f.* Per. *pu*. — \$ 41, 149.
pus m. "month of Paus." G. *pos*, *pos*, S. *pohu*, Pany. *poh*, H. *pus*, O. *pūs*, Skr. *pūsyā-* m. — \$ 157.
pekšan "in comparison with". Skr. *apkeśa f.* — \$ 125, 174.
peknem peknem "to wait". G. *pekhun* "to see, to observe", Pany. *pekhna* "to observe", H. *pekhna* "to desire" Sim. *pekanya* "navel" ("the visible one"). Pkt. *pekkhai*. Skr. *preksate* — \$ 30, 77, 89, 96, 125, 230.
pej f. "rice gruel"; *pejin n.* "milk". S. H. *pej f.* Pkt. *pejja-*. Skr. *peya-*, *peyya-* (Buddhist). — \$ 77, 106, 125.
peti f. "box, basket, belt". G. *peti f.*, H. *peti*, B. *petiya*, S. Pany. H. *peti*, B. *petiya*, *peda* "travel basket", Sim. *peti*, Pkt. *peda*. Skr. *pitaka-* n., *peti f.* — \$ 109.

paiknem *paiknem* "to wait".
Skr. pratikṣate. Or *conami-*
nation of bekhiem "to wait"
 and *aiknem* "to hear, to
 listen" ? — § 56, 89.
pay f. "bet. promise". *S. pay*
m. "standing of firm, credit";
Panj. H. pay "vow, pro-
 mise"; *Ro. prujān-* "to
 know, to recognise". *Skr.*
prajñā f. — § 56, 106, 135.
Patihān name of a town *Deśi*.
paṭihānam nagaram (192, 3).
Skr. prastihāna- n. — § 42,
 56.
paithā m. "name of a tree". *H.*
paith, *B. paithā* "ladder,
 stair-case"; *Sim. pitin*
 "entrance"; *G. peihum*
 (ppl. of *pestum*) "entered";
 cf. *G. pestum*, *S. pehin*, *H.*
paithna, *paista*, *Arm. Ro.*
pesel "to enter". *Deśi*.
paitho jātaraṣo turalamma-
rgasceti tryarthah (216, 3).
Skr. prastisa-. For the fall
 of v. cf. *baisnem* (*Skr.*
upastis-). — § 56, 125.
pain f. "convention, wet". *Skr.*
prajña. Cf. *pay*. — § 56,
 106, 135.
pal "opposite", *paia* "who is
 on the other side" (poet.).
G. pelum; *H. pailār* adv.
 "of the other side". Derived
 from *Pkt. pai-* with the
Pkt. Suffix -illa (cf. § 256).
 — § 56.
pais m. "place, space". *Sim.*
piyes. *Pkt. paesa-*. *Skr.*
pradeśa- m. — § 56, 125, 156.
paista adj. "spread". *m.*
 "release". *Skr. prai-*
sva- m. — § 152, 157.
ponkh n. "end of a line, of a
 row". *Skr. punkha-* m. ?
 — § 80.

with paithi. *Skr. prastisha-*
 — § 125.
l m. "mud sticking to
 toes", f. "the refuse of
 eds or nuts from which
 oil has been expressed";
mdhi "packet". *G. pendo*
 small ball of clay"; *H.*
md pēnd "ball, bowl". *Pkt.*
nda-; cf. *Deśi. pēndabalan*
mdaliyam. . . *pindikritam*
 201, 15). *Skr. pinda-* m.
 — § 77, 86.
it f. "seat, throne". *G.*
idhi. *Pkt. pedha-*. *Skr.*
iha- n. — § 80.
m. "spreading paddy on
 the flour for being husked
 by the bullocks; *pernem* "to
 w". Cf. *Deśi. payaro sarah*.
adara śabda bhava- (186, 8).
kr. pradara- m. — § 62.
m "to push". *H. pelna*.
kt. bellai, bellana-. *Skr.*
eryate. — § 41, 230, 231.
m "to send a demon to
 me body". *Skr. presayati*.
 — § 77, 125.
an peran n. "shirt of a child".
pahtan, *S. pahiranu*.
est. parhanam paridhanam
 189, 3). *Skr. paridhana-*
 . or rather *Per*.
trahan (*Mod. pirāhan*). The
 family of *Skr. paridha-* is
 also found in *M. pehvā*
dress, *G. paherum*, *S.*
iharian (caus. *parahānu*),
any. pahinā (caus. *pahirā-*
ia), *H. pahina*, *K. pair-*
 to dress". — § 80, 167.
 prefix common to certain
 number of words. *Skr.*
rati-. — § 29, 125, 170.
 "certainly, generally".
Panj. H. pai "but". *Apa.*
ava. *Skr. prayena*. — § 57,

- M. pāhūna*, Skr. *praghūrma*? — \$ 252.
- pohā* m. "troop". Pkt. *pūha*. Skr. **apyaṇha*, wrongly quoted without observation — \$ 125, is an arbitrary restitution of Pischel (§ 286).
- pohā* m. "pressed rice". Skr. *pithuka*-m. n. \$ 30, 159. *poi* m. "ox dedicated to gods". Pkt. *poala*-, cf. Desi. *poalo vṛṣabhah* (204, 17). Skr. *potālika*-(derived from *poṭa*:- cf. Sim. *po*, H. *pua* "the young of cattle"). — \$ 64, 145.
- poi pau* f. "low wall of loosely thrown-up stones." G. *poi* f. "street", H. *pol*, *paul*, *paur*, m. "door, court-yard, Himalayan dialects *prol*. Skr. *pratoli*- f. — \$ 56, 59, 125, 145.
- poiṇem* "to burn", *poi* f. "sort of fried cake". G. *poi*, Panj. *poli polli* S. *por*, B. *puli*, "fried cake", B. *podāte*, *pudite* "to burn", Desi. *paulai pacati* (192, 11). — \$ 152.
- pyar* adj. "dear". G. *pyārum*, S. *pyaro*, Panj. *piāra*, H. *pyar*. Skr. *prīyākāra*-. — \$ 63, 154. *pyas* f. "thirst". G. S. Panj. H. B. *pyas*. Pkt. *piṇasa*- *piṇasa*-(adj.). Skr. *piṇasa* f. — \$ 63, 125, 154, 156.
- pragai*, adj. "well known". G. H. *pragai*, S. *praghain*, Panj. H. *pargai*; But Sim. *pahala*. Skr. *prakaja*-. — \$ 98.
- pramaṇem* "in the manner of". Skr. *pramaṇa*-. — \$ 193.
- phai* f. "chasm", *phajaknem* "to leap, to separate, to sift grain husk". G. Panj. H. *phajak*-, S. *phadək*-, K. *phar*-. Skr. *sphai*-. — \$ 48, 84, Old Etymology unknown; cf.
- pokhar* n. "pond". Panj. H. *pokhar*, B. *pūkūr*, O. *pokhuri*; Sim. *pokura* "lotus". P. Pkt. *pokkhara*-. Skr. *puṣkara*- n. — \$ 80, 89, 96.
- pot* n. "stomach". G. S. B. Panj. H. *pei* "stomach", H. *puṭi* "anus", *puṭi* "bone of buffalo-tale". Desi. *potiam* (204, 5). Skr. *puṣṭa*- adj. "fat". — \$ 80, 63.
- poṭia* m., *poṭi* f. "objects tied in a piece of cloth". G. *poi*, *poṭio*, S. *poṭi*, Panj. H. *poi*, *poṭi*, B. *puṇṭali*. Desi. *kunṭi potiam*; *vastanti*- *baddham drayam* (82, 16). — \$ 145.
- pot* m. f. "pearl of glass" or gold, precious stone." G. Panj. *pot* f., S. *puṭi* f. H. *pot* m., B. *pot*. Desi. *poṭi kaṇah* (204, 5).
- poṭhi* f. "book". G. *poṭhi*, S. *poṭhi*, *poṭhu*, Panj. H. *poṭhi*, *poṭha*, B. *puṭhi*, Sim. *poṭa*, K. *puṭhi*. Pkt. *poṭha*-, *poṭhia*, P. *poṭhaka*-. Skr. *puṣṭaka*- n. — \$ 80, 122, 125, 252.
- pobhai* f. "areca-tree". G. *pobhai* n. Pkt. *pobphala*-. Skr. *pugaphala*- n. — \$ 64, 126, 145.
- pol* n. "a hollow grain". G. *polum*, S. *poro*, Panj. *pol*, H. *polā* "hollow". Pkt. *polla*-(*rikta*:- cf. Meyer Hindu Tales, p. 129, n. 5). Skr. *pūlya*-(*a* "pax; Whitney, *Alharvaveda* transl., p. 765, translated as shrivelled grain"). — \$ 84.
- poḥamnem* "to arrive, to obtain". G. *poḥum*, S. *phucum*, Panj. *phamucan*, H. *phamucan*, O. *phamucitha* B. *phamucan*, cf.

of Phalgunā; S. *phāgu*
 name of month, H. *phāg*, B.
 Pany. *phāg* "Holi" *phāgu*
 showering of red powder;
 name of month, H. *phāg*, B.
phāgu "red powder", Desi.
phāgu *vasantotsavāh* (210,
 15). Skr. *phāgu*-, *phāguṇa*-,
 S 38, 39, 126.
phāṇem "to get torn", G. S.
 Pany. H. B. K. *phai*-*phai*-
phād-, Ro. *phar*-, Sim. *pai*-
 Skr. *sphaṭi*- — S 48, 126,
 146.
phādṇem "to worry", see M.
phāṇem.
phāṇidṇem "to jump, to leap
 (about an animal)", H. B.
phāṇid Skr. *spand* S 126.
phāṇus, *phāṇas* m. n. "lantern",
 G. *phāṇas*, S. *fāṇus*, *fāṇus*,
 Pany. H. *fāṇus*, Ar. Pers.
fāṇus — S 42, 46, 134.
phar adj. "numerous", adv.
 "very", G. *phar* adv. Pkt.
phara-, Skr. *sphāra*-, — S 126,
phāṇḍā m. "wooden hoe", H.
phāṇḍā, *phāṇḍā* "mattock,
 spade", Bih. *phaurā*, B.
phāṇḍā "shovel for ashes",
 Skr. *sphya*- n. ? — S 126.
phāṇis m. "net, snare", G.
phāṇiso, S. *phāsi*, *phāṇisi*
 "snare, trap", *phāṇan*, "to
 get bogged to be caught",
 B. Pany. *phāṇā*, Sim. *pasa*.
 Pkt. *phāṇs*-, Skr. *pāṣa*- m.
 — S 84.
phāṣā m. "dice", G. *pāso*, Pany.
 H. *pāsa*-, Skr. *pāṣaka*- m.
 — S 84, 156.
phai m. "ploughshare", S.
pharu, Pany. *phāla*, H. B.
phal, Skr. *phāla*- m. — S
 — S 126, 145.
phāṇem "to tear" *phāla* m.

f. "hood of serpent,
 of branch of leaf of
 etree", H. *phāḍā* "end of
 ch, ear of maize", B.
tki "twig", Desi. *phādām*
nyā sarvasartram phāṇāca
 2, 13). Skr. *phāṭa*
 — S 111.
 n. "hood of cobra", G.
phāṇi, *phēṇ*, S. *phāṇi* f.
phāṇ f., H. B. O. *phāṇā*,
 i. *pāṇa*, Skr. *phāṇa*- m.
 \$ 134.
phāṇas m. "jack fruit
 ", G. *phāṇas*, H. *pāṇas*,
 as, B. *pāṇas*, Pkt. *pāṇasa*-
ṇasa-, Skr. *pāṇasa*- m.
 \$ 84.
 r m. "stone" (figurative
). H. *phāṭar*. — see M.
har — S 168.
 m. "battle-axe", G.
pharṣi, H. *pharsā*, B.
pharsā, *phalsā*, Pkt. *parasu*,
 . P. *pharasu*-, Skr.
 iu-m. — S 84.
 m. "shoulder-blade",
 i. *phar*, Desi. *pharao* *pha*-
ih (210, 15). Skr. *phalaka*-
 n. — S 125, 142.
 n. "fruit", G. Pany. H. B.
phal, S. *pharu phalu*, Sim.
 i. Skr. *phala*- n. — S 126.
 m. "plank", S. *pharuho*,
phād, Sim. *pāṭha*, Ro.
 i. Pkt. *phalaga*-, Skr.
laka- n. m. — S 46, 126,
 , 145.
 , *pharai* m. "light meal
 fruit etc.)", G. *phaiar*,
rai, H. *phalar*, *phalyar*, B.
lar, Skr. *phalāhara*- m.
 \$ 126, 145, 161, 167.
 m. "the verses in honour
 Kṛṣṇa recited in the
 nth of Holi", G. *phag*.
 go "present received in

- "to demolish, to loosen",
G. phēdum, B. phelite "to
 throw", *phelaite*. Ap. *phedai*.
 — \$ 80, 126.
phen m., *pheni* f. "foam". H.
phen, phena m. S. *phen* m.
pheni, B. phen, pheni "sugar
 cane juice". Skr. *phena*-m.
 — \$ 126, 134.
phod m. "pestle, hole". H.
B. phoda, Sim. pola. P.
phota-. Skr. *sphota*-m. — \$
 111, 126.
phodni f. "oil or ghee fried with
 mustard grain to make a
 sauce". *G. phodni*. Desi.
phodiayam rajika, dhumitam
 (213, 1).
phodnem "to burst". *G. phod-*
num, S. phorianu "to crack"
phori f. "assure, rent", H.
phodna, B. pholan "swelling",
pholaita "to irritate". Skr.
sphoiati. — \$ 126. Cf. M.
phuinem.
bak bagla m. "heron". *G. bak,*
bag, bagla, S. bagu, bagulo,
Pan. H. bagla, bagula, bugla,
Pkt. bakka-. Skr. *baka*-m.
 — \$ 98, 127, 163.
bakra, m. "he-goat". *G. bakro,*
S. bakiro, Pan. bakkara, H.
B. O. bakra, K. bakar, Ro.
bakro. Skr. *barkara*-m. — \$
 93, 127, 163.
band m. "link, dam". Panj.
band-. — \$ 88.
 "to
badbadnem, vaitaitem
chatter, to gossip, G. S.
Pan. H. bad bad-. Pkt. *vada-*
vada, Desi. badabadai vila-
pai (214, 12). — \$ 150, 252.
baru m. "reed", *G. S. Pan. H.*
baru. Desi. *baruan* *iksusadi-*
satnam;... *atra barua-bala-*
vaiti-sabdan
dantoshihyadi
kascin nibaddhan (214, 3-5).
 — \$ 46, 150.
- "torn of piece, rent". *G.*
phalaavum "to share", *phalo-*
"part"; G. S. H. B. phad-
"to tear"; O. phala-phala
"torn". Skr. sphatati. — \$
 126, 146.
phinem "to get loose". *G. S.*
phit-. Pkt. *phitai*-. — \$ 80,
 126, 230 cf. M. *phednem*.
phinem "to turn", *G. pherphar,*
S. H. B. K. Ro. phir-. "to
 turn, to circulate". Etymo-
 logy unknown.
phuel "perfumed sesamum oil".
 From M. *phul* "flower" and
tel "oil". — \$ 44.
phukat phuka adv. "free", *G.*
phok "hallow, vain", *S.*
phokai "without reason,
 free", Panj. *phok phog*
 "scraps" *phoka* "vain, in-
 sipid", H. *phokai* "good for
 nothing, free", B. *phukar*
 "free space, opening". Desi.
phukka mithya (211; 10).
phuinem "to break", *phodnem*
 "to burst", *G. phuinum*
phodum, S. phuinu and
phodanu "to crack, to burst",
 H. *phuinu phodna, B. phuite*
 "to burst", *pholan* "swelling",
 Pkt. *phuijai, phudai*. Skr.
sphuijayati — \$ 126.
phurinem "to have convulsions".
G. phurum, Pan. phurna, S.
phuranu "to rob, to steal",
Sim. pupura "spark". Pkt.
phuranta, phurphuranta-
 "trembling". Skr. *sphurati*.
 — \$ 126.
phel m. "pod, empty shell".
 Desi. *phello daridrah* (211,
 17).
phul m. "flower". *G. H. B.*
phul, S. phulu, Pan. phull,
Sim. pil, pul. P. Skr. *phulla-*
 adj. — \$ 126, 148.
phednem active form of *phinem*

G. *bābri* "combings", H. *bābar* "grass for rope-making", Pany. H. *bābriyam* "long and ill kept hair". Desi. *babbari kesa racana* (213, 15). Skr. *barbara*-. — § 47, 127.

bābhū f. "accacia arabica", G. *bābū*, S. *baburu*, Pany. H. *babul*, H. *babur babul*. Skr. *ratūla*-, *varvura*-. (lex.). — § 86.

bāmbhurdā (used pejoratively), *bāman* m. "Brahmin", G. H. *bāman*, S. *bāmbhanu*, Pany. *bāmbhan*, Sim. *bāmba*, Pkt. *bāmbhana*-, *bāmbana*-. Skr. *bāmbhana* m. — § 127, 128, 138.

bāyko f. "woman", old M. instr. *bāyakem*. G. H. *bai*, K. *bāy*. Etymology unknown. — § 64, 193.

bara "twelve", G. O. *bar*, S. *baraham*, Pany. *barām*, H. *barah* *bara* *baro*, Sim. *bara* *dajasa dolaha*, K. *bāh*. Pkt. *barasa*, *baraha durāsa*. Skr. *dādasa*-. — § 118, 143, 214, 221.

bari f. "window", S. *bari*, G. *bari*, *barum* ("door"), K. Arm. Ro. *bar*. Skr. *dāra* n. "door". — § 130.

bārdi f. "large well with open sky, bourn", G. *rdā vām*, S. *vai*, H. *bārdi bārdi bārdi bārdi*, Sim. *roeta* (old Sim. *variya*, Maldiv. *uen*). Skr. *vāpi*, *vāpika* f. — § 150.

bāvan "fifty two", G. H. *bāvan*, Pany. *bāvanja*, S. *bāvanjah*, B. *bāvan*, O. *bāvan*, K. *douan-zāh*. Pkt. *bāvanjam*. Skr. *dāpanāśat*-. — § 223.

bāvis, S. *bāvi*, Pany. *bai*, H. Maith *bais*, B. O. *bais*. Pkt.

ara adj. "good", *barem* (in Konkani, *borem*) "well". Skr. *vara* - ? — § 79.

ahira adj. "deaf", G. *behero* *bero*, H. *bahira* *bahra*, B. *bahira*, O. *bahira*, Sim. *bihiri*, *bihira*. Skr. *badhira*-. — § 50, 128, 159.

ahin f. "sister" (Konkani : *bōin*). G. *behen* *ben*, S. *bheru*, Pany. *bainh*, *bhai*, B. *bahin*, *bahni*, B. *bain*, O. *bhawin*, K. *beñe*, Sim. *bihini*, *buhun* "elder sister" Ro. *bhen*. Pkt. *bahini*. Skr. *bhagini* f. — § 46, 79, 134, 167.

ai f. "offering, sacrifice", G. *bai*, Pany. *bali*, S. B. *bali*, H. K. *bal*, Sim. *bili* *billa*. Skr. *bali* m. — § 145.

ai n. "force", G. *bal* n., S. *balu*, Pany. H. B. K. *bal*, Sim. *bala*. Pkt. Skr. *bala* n. — § 145.

ali adj. "strong", G. *bali*, S. Pany. H. B. *bali*. Desi. *balio pinah* (213, 3). Skr. *balin*.

ij m. "fear", Pkt. *bajjai*, Desi. *vajjai trasyati* (251, 6). — § 150.

indhien "to tie", G. *bamdhazun* "to be tied", S. *bam-dhanu*, H. *bāndhna*, Pany. *bamdhia*, B. O. *bāndh*, Sim. *bāndinaa* (pcpl. *bāda*), Arm. Ro. *bantel*. Pkt. Skr. *bāndh*-. — § 124, 230.

ip m. "father", G. Pany. H. B. Arm. Ro. *bap*, S. *bābū*. Pkt. *bappa*-, Apa. *bappiki*, Desi. *bappo subhajañ*, *piley anye* (213, 3). — § 150.

puḍa adj. "poor, pitiable", G. *bapḍum*, H. *bāḍa*, *bāpra*. Apa. *bapḍa* (= *varākāh*). — § 165.

bar f. "dishevelled hair".

trik sahā) or in compound (bevis "22", becalis "42").
G. be ben, S. bā, Sim. de.
Pkt. be. Skr. due. — \$ 77,
130, 214.
Ita m. "raft". G. beḍo, S.
ber, Pany. H. beḍa, Ro. bero.
Deṣi. beḍo nauḥ (216, 6).
— \$ 150.
m. "aegle marmelos". G.
bīl, H. bel, Sim. bela, K.
bēl bil. Pkt. bella-. Skr.
bīla-m. — \$ 77, 80, 127,
148.
ken n. "fork of a tree
or furcated post". H. K.
bel "shovel". Deṣi. bel
thūna (216, 6). — \$ 150.
nem, basnem "to sit". G.
esum, S. bihanu, Pany. besna,
H. baina, K. bēhun, Ro.
es-, Arm. Ro. ves-. Skr.
paṛṣati. — \$ 46, 56, 127,
74, 230, 232.
It m. "goat". G. bokḍo,
Pany. bok, H. bokra, S. boka
"cry of a goat". Deṣi,
okkado chagah (216, 13).
Kt. bukka-m. — \$ 80, 127.
ḍ n. "bud, teat". Deṣi.
omḍam cucukam (216, 12).
travidian? cf. Kannarese
idde "swelling". protu-
erence", Telugu. boddu
prominent navel". — \$

twigs", *bhaṅga* "interrupted", Pany. *bhaṅga* "damage", B. *bhaṅgite* "to break, to be broken", Ro. *bhaṅg*- (*baṅg*-) "to break", Skr. *bhaṅga*-m., cf. *bhaṅakti*, *bhaṅjayati*. — \$ 230.

bhaṅakṣem "to stray", G. S. Pany. H. *bhaṅak*-; Sim. *bai* "sunk, disappeared (sun). Pkt. *bhaṅi*ha-". Skr. *bhaṅsi*a-. — \$ 48, 89, 169.

*bhaṅi*a m. "vessel containing fire", *bhaṅi* f. "oven, forge", G. *bhaṅi*hi, Pany. *bhaṅi*hi, H. *bhaṅi*ha *bhaṅi*hi, B. *bhaṅi* "furnace", Skr. *bhaṅi* "name of distillery", Skr. *bhaṅsi*ra-m. — \$ 169.

bhaṅa adj. "good", G. *bhaṅum*, S. *bhaṅo*, Pany. H. *bhaṅa*, H. *bhaṅ*; Pany. H. *bhaṅda* "imbecile", Sim. *bada-kala* "lucky", Skr. *bhaṅla*- (indicated as "villager" by Vāmana, see Regnaud, *Rhet. Skr.*) *bhaṅra*-. — \$ 48, 141.

bhaṅ, *bhaṅ*, m. "weight, burden", *bhaṅnem* "to carry", G. *bhaṅum bhaṅ*, S. *bhaṅ* preposition "on"; H. *bhaṅ* m., *bhaṅa* "to support", Sim. *bhaṅa* "weight; heavy", K. *bhaṅ*, Ro. *bhaṅo* "heavy", P. *bhaṅ*, Skr. *bhaṅa*, m. "eye-brow", G. *bhaṅva* f. *bhaṅum*, H. *bhaṅum*, Pany. *bhaṅum*h, B. *bhaṅma*, Sim. *bhaṅma*, K. *bhaṅ*, Ro. *bhaṅ*, P. *bhaṅmuka*-, Pkt. *bhaṅma* *bhaṅma* f. Skr. *bhaṅ*- f. — \$ 128.

bhaṅ *bhaṅ* m. "brother", S. Pany. *bhaṅ*; G. Pany. S. (in compound) H. B. *bhaṅ*, K. *bhaṅ*, Sim. *bhaṅ* *bhaṅ*, the geographical distribution

bhāṁdān "quarrel", S.
bhāṁdān "to shout",
H. bhāṁdān "to criticise, to
 abuse, to slender", Desi.
bhāṁdānām kalahāṇ (218, 15).
 — S 111.

bhāṁdār n. "treasure", G. Pany.
bhāṁdār, S. *bhāṁdār*, H.
bhāṁdār, B. *bhāṁdār*. Pkt.
bhāṁdāra. Skr. *bhāṁdāgāra*.
 n. — S 61, 111, 143.

bhāt m. "boiled rice", G. H.
 B. O. *bhāt*, S. *bhāt*, Pany.
bhāt, K. *bāt*, Sim. *bāt*.
 Pkt. *bhātā*. Skr. *bhaktā*.
 — S 121, 128.

bhādarṇem "to shave", cf. Pany.
bhaddan "tonsure", *bhaddan*
karvāna "to get oneself shave
 (in morning, etc.)" Skr.
bhadrākaraṇa n. (cf. M.
bhālā and following). — S

bhādvā m. name of a month.
 G. *bhādaravā* W. Pany. *bhād*-
dhro, *bhadrūm*, *bhadrūm*, H.
bhādvā, Pany. H. *bhādom*, K.
bādarapeth. Skr. *bhādra-pada*-
 m. — S 47, 60, 123, 152.

bhāmbhal adj. "forgetful,
 scattered", S. *bhām*-
bhuliyānu "to be busy, to be
 proud", Desi. *bhāmbhalo*
mūrkho (222, 3). Skr.
 — S

bhāl f. "lance", G. *bhālūm*, G.
 S. *bhālō*, Pany. *bhālā*, H.
bhāl, K. *bālā*. Skr. *bhālā*-m.
bhālī f. — S 48, 283.

bhāv m. "nature", H. B.
bhāv, *bhāv*; K. *bāv*, Sim.
bāvā. Skr. *bhāvā*-m. — S

bhāyāi f. "brother's wife",
 G. *bhōyāi*, S. *bhāyāi*, Pany.
bhāyāi, W. Pany. *bhāyāi*, H.
 B. O. *bhāy*, H. *bhāyāi*

according to the general

rules of Marathi phonetics,
 see S 31, show that *bhāt*
 is borrowed; another group
 is that of Arm. Ro. *bhāl*,
 Euro. *bhāl*, see S 18. Pkt.

bhāyā; cf. Desi. *bhāo jyesihā*-
bhāginiṭāh. (216, 3); P.
bhātika-bhātā. Skr. *bhrātī*-
 m. — S 128.

bhāj f. "wife", K. *bōriyā*, Sim.
 Bari. Pkt. *bhājā*. Skr. *bhāryā*.
 f. — S 106.

bhāgṇem "to get tired, to give
 way", G. H. B. Ass. *bhāg*-
 "to escape", O. *bhāng*. Skr.
bhāgna. — S 230.

bhājṇem "to roast, to grill", G.
bhājyūm "fried cake", S. H.
bhāj, B. *bhāj*, K. *bāz*,
 Sim. *bād* "to roast". P.

bhājyāi. Skr. *bhājyāi*. — S 47,
 106, 128.
bhānjṇem "to share", G. H.

bhānj; Pany. *bhānjim* "part",
 Pkt. *bhānjai*. Skr. *bhānjayati*.
 — S 106, 230.

bhād f. "money obtained by
 prostitution of women",
 G. S. H. *bhād*, Pany. B.

bhādā "rent", Sim. *bālā*
 "salary", Skr. *bhātī*-f.
 — S 111.

bhāṁd m. "buffoon, (name of
 caste)", G. Pany. H. B. *bhāṁd*,
 S. *bhāṁdū*, K. *bāṁd*, *bhāṁdō*
magadhō (221, 16). Skr.

bhāṁdā-m. — S 111.
bhāṁd n. "pot", G. *bhāṁdūm*,
 S. *bhāṁdō*, Pany. H. *bhāṁdā*,
 H. B. *bhāṁd*; Sim. *bād*,
 "stomach" K. *bāra* "pot",
 Pkt. *bhāṁdā*. Skr.

bhāṁdā n. "dispute", *bhāṁd*-
ṇem "to quarrel", *bhāṁd*
 "quarrel", G. *bhāṁdūm*,
 "to abuse, to quarrel",

abhinata-, Skr. *abhyanata*-
— S 44, 71, 75, 121, 128,
174.

bhinne *bhimdine* "to pene-
trate", Sim. *bimdinava* "to
break", K. *bennun* *bennun*
"to get broken", bene run
"to break", Skr. *bhind*-
bhinna- — S 229.

bhisem n. "lotus stalk", H.
bhis m. "lotus root
(edible)", Sim. *bisi* "straw
mattress", Pkt. P. *bhisā*-
Skr. *bisa*- n. — S 84.

bhis f. "long and coarse
animal hair", Sim. *bisi*
"straw-mat for wiping feet,
seat. (of an ascetic)." Pkt.
bhist. Skr. *bisi* f. — S 84.
bhik f. "alm", G. H. *bhikh*, S.
bikha, Pany. *bhikkh*, H. B.
bhik, K. *bikh* *bēcha*, Sim.
bik. Pkt. *bhikkha*. Skr.
bhikṣā f. — S 88, 169.

bhui *bhūm* f. "earth", G.
bhōm *bhōm*, S. *bhūm* *bhūm*,
Pany. *bhūm*, H. *bhūm* *bhū*-
mim *bhūm*, B. *bhu* *bhūm*,
Sim. *bima*, K. *bum*, Ro.
phu. Hemacandra also
notes the nasal. Desi.
bhūmipisāo *lālah* (221, 3).
P. Pkt. Skr. *bhūm*- f. — S
64, 71, 153.

bhukne "to bark", G. *bhōmk*-
zum, *bhukum*, S. *bhaumkum*,
H. *bhōmkna*, *bhūkna*, *bhokna*,
K. *bakun*, Ro. *phukav*- "to
say, to denounce." ? Pkt.
bhukkai; cf. Desi. *bhukkano*
ṣva (222, 3). — S 44, 80,
84.

bhulne "to forget, to be
mistaken", G. S. H. B.
bhul-, Pany. *bhull*-, K. *bul*-
Pkt. *bhullai*. — S 252.
bhuk f. "hunger", *bhukne* "to
be hungry", G. S. *bhukh*,

bhaṅga. Desi. *onayja onarir*-
jāyā (216, 11). Skr. *bhrātir*-
jāyā f. — S 61.

īdane (poet.) "to consider,
to examine, to desire", G.
bhāvavum "to desire, to
please", S. *bhāvinu*, Pany.
bhāvinā "preference", H.
bhāva, *bhāva* m. "re-
flection", B. *bhābī*, K.
bāvan "to explain, to say",
Skr. *bhāvana*- n. — S 152.

balu f. "bear, female of
jackal living alone", H. O.
bhālū m., Bhojp. *bhāl*, B.
bhālūk, "bear"; Sim. *ballā*
"dog". Desi. *bhālū*
ikṣaḥ (218, 2). Skr. *bhāluka*-,
bhālūka- m.; cf. *accha*-
bhalla-, M. *asval*. — S 148.
ai n. "fore-head", G. *bhāl*,
H. B. *bhāl*, K. *bal*. Skr.
bhāla-. — S 145. The true
word is *māthā*.

ingruṭi f. "cricket", Sim.
binga, *bingu* "honey-bee,
wasp." Desi. *bhīngari* *ciri*,
masaka *ity anye* (220, 6).
P. Pkt. *bhīnga*-. Skr. *bhīnga*-
m. — S 30, 52.

īne *bhinne* *bhene* "to
fear", G. *bhaavum* *bivum*,
Arm. Ro. *biel*. Pkt. *bihel*;
bihel, Desi. *bihai* (215, 8).
Skr. *bibheli*. — S 128, 229,
230.

int *bhin* f. "wall", G.
bhin f., S. *bhit*, H. *bhit*, B.
bhit, Sim. *bita*, *bitu*. Pkt.
Skr. *bhiti*- f. — S 69, 190.
itar (poet.) "in side", G.
bhitā, H. B. *bhitā*. Pkt.

- Panj. *bhukkh*, H. *bhukh*, H. B. *bhuk*, R. *bokh*; K. *bukha*, Arm. R. *bukha* "furnished". Desi. *bhukkha ksut* (220, 13). Skr. *bubhukṣa* f. — § 88, 89, 128, 169.
- bhūṃs* "ball of grain". G. *bhūṃsum*, H. *bhus*, *bhūṃs*, *bhūṃsā*, B. *bhusi*, K. *bos*; R. *bhus* "straw". Skr. *bhusa* n. — § 34.
- bhem* n. "fear". G. O. *bhe*, S. *bhai*, *bha*, Panj. *bhai*, H. *bhai*, *bha*, B. *bhay bhi*, Sim. *baya*, -*bā*, K. *bay*. Skr. *bhaya* n. — § 62, 128.
- bhenjūd bhenjūd*, adj. "fearful". Desi. *bhedo bhejjo bhejja-lao trayo pyete bhīruccakāh* (221, 4) Skr. *bheya* ? — § 106.
- bhed*, adj. (poet.) "fearful, coward, timid" — see the preceding.
- bher* f. "jyube". H. B. *ber*. Skr. *badara* m. — § 84, see M. *bor*.
- bhetnem* "to divide in lengthwise", *bhet* n. f. "slice". S. *bhetu* "difference or secret". Panj. *bhet* "secret". Skr. inf. *bhetum*. — § 230.
- bher* f. "kettle-drum". (musical instrument). G. H. *bher*, *bheri*, S. *bheri*, Sim. *beraya*. Skr. *bheri* f. — § 128.
- bhoj* m. "birch". G. Panj. H. *bhoj*, S. *bhoja*, K. *burza*. The form Desi. *bhaun* (220, 13) does not seem to be attested. Skr. *bhūja* m. — § 80, 116.
- bhorpi*, *bhorūp* m. "charlatan". H. *bahrūp*. Skr. *bahrūpa* — § 128.
- bhomaḍḍem* "to whirl (round)". H. *bhaunriyāna*. Pkt. Desi. *bhammaḍḍai bhammaḍḍai* (219, 4). Skr. *bhrāmati*.
- § 79, 128.
- bhominem* "to turn". G. *bhrām*, *zum bhamzum*, S. *bhammam*, Panj. *bharama bhamma*, H. *bhāma*, *bhaonā*, K. *bramun*; Sim. *bamaṇa* "tower, circle". Pkt. *bhamai*. Skr. *bhrāmati*. — § 79, 128, 152.
- bhomcar* m. "black bee" *bhom* adj. "black". S. *bhaunru*, Panj. H. *bhamcar*, *bhaunra*, B. *bhomar*, S. *bhamar*, Sim. *bambara*, Pkt. P. *bhamara* — Skr. *bhrāmara* m. — § 79, 128, 152, 153.
- bhomra* m. "lock of hair". S. Panj. H. *bhaunri*, Sim. *bamburukes*. Skr. *bhrāmaraka* m. n. — § 128.
- bhorḍi* f. "type of heron". Desi. *bhorūdo bharūḍapaksī* (221, 10).
- bhom*, *bhomśāus* m. "sugar-cane", *bhom* m. "type of reed". Desi. *bhamaso iksusad-īśātinam*; *bhamaso iti Dhana-pālāh* (218, 13). — § 79, 155.
- mau* (mono syllabic and dissyllabic) adj. "to stretch". G. *mau*. Pkt. *maua-mi*; cf. Desi. *maili*, *mauccho*, neut. *maukkam* (228, 18). Skr. *midu* — § 30, 31, 46, 56, 138.
- mag* "then, after, immediately; *magilu* adj. "on the way". G. *mag* "path", adv. "to-wards". Desi. *maga paṣṣat* (3, 8), *maggo paṣṣat* (222, 9). Skr. *mārga*. Old M. *mag*. — § 280.
- maṅgal* n. "favourable fortune", *maṅgalatār* m. "Tuesday". G. *maṅgal* "Mars, Tuesday", S. *maṅgalu*, Panj. *maṅgal*, H. B. *maṅgal*, Sim. *magula*. Pkt. Skr. *maṅgala*. — § 98, 145.

laccā adj. "incumbent, for
madh-ca. — \$ 101, 164.
laccen "to swell, to climb".
G. S. H. *mac.* Pkt. *maccāi*
beside *majjai*. Skr. *mādyati*.
— \$ 48, 90.

manjir f. "compound, flower,
castanets". G. *manjari*
"bouquet", *manjirā* pl. masc.
"cymbals"; H. *manjari*
"pearl", *manjir* m. "orna-
ment for the feet, bracelet".
manjirā m. "cymbals." B.
manjir m. "bracelet for feet",
manjari f. "bud, bouquet"
etc. Pkt. Skr. *manjari* f.
— \$ 75, 166.

aigā adj. "too small", *mai-*
kula "small". G. *maihum*
"incomplete, bad", S.
maihō, B. *mai* "bad". Desi.
maio *śingavihinā*; *majō*
talhā marālo alasah (222, 14).
Seems to be related to the
root of *mirati* "to crush";
cf. Skr. *muṭi* "to crush",
m. *muṭikāleṃ* "a ball of paste",
muṭikāleṃ "to pat"; for the
enlargement in -t- of the
root i.e. *mer-*, cf. Lat. *mor-*
tarium (see Walde, p. 464)
— \$ 48, 109.

aīhā m. "churned curd". G.
maihō, *maihō*; S. *maihō*
"beaten and spiced curd";
Pany. H. *maihā*; B. *maihā*.
Skr. *mastu* - n. — \$ 48, 110.
ad m. "hateful person, pest,
nuisance", *maḍem* n.
"corpse". G. *maḍum*, B.
maḍā, Sim. *maja*. Desi.
maḍo kajihō mītaśca (233, 9);
maḍaḍojhā śibika (226, 5);
maḍya samāhata (223, 9),
Skr. *mīta* - — \$ 30, 31, 108,
115.

and m. "rice gruel, scum of

a joining or termnung in-
fusion", *māṇḍā* m. "cake".
Pany. *mann* "cake", *māṇḍ*
"rice-water", H. *māṇḍ*
"rice gruel, paste", *māṇḍā*
"cake"; B. *maṇḍ*, Sim. *maḍā*,
Ro. *manro* "bread". Pkt.
maṇḍā - Skr. *maṇḍāka-*
m. — \$ 111.

maṇḍal n. "circle", *māṇḍal* f.
"ring". Pany. B. O. *maṇḍal*,
S. *maṇḍalu*, K. *maṇḍuj*, Sim.
maḍulla (pl. *maḍulu*),
maḍilla "serpent". Skr.
maṇḍala - — \$ 111.

maḍhneṃ "to cover, to furnish",
G. S. H. *maḍh*, B. *maḍ* - "to
crush", Pany. *maḍh* "cover
(of leather, of gold-leaf)".
Pkt. *maḍhai*. Skr. *maihati* is a
late form; it is undoubtedly
a contamination of Skr. *mar-*
dati (Pkt. *maḍḍai*, repre-
sented by Sim. *maḍ* - "to
press, to rub), and of Skr.
mīṣa - : Whatever is said
in the text should be correc-
ted accordingly. \$ 46, 112,
231.

maḍhi f. "ascetic's hut", old M.
maḍh, *maḍhā*, G. *maḍhi* "hut",
S. *maḍhu* "residence", *maḍhi*
"residence of an ascetic",
Pany. *maḍh* "funeral monu-
ment", H. *maḍhi*, *maḍhā*
"temporary building", K.
mar. Skr. *maihā* - m. n. —
\$ 112, 183, 193, 198.
maḍhū adj. "(fruit)". Conta-
mination of Skr. *midu* - and
madhu - — \$ 46, 118.
man m. "measure of capacity
and of weight". G. S. Pany.
man, H. *man*. Per. Ar. *man*.
"weight". see Hobson-
Johnson S. V. *maund* - \$
134.

mani, *manī* m. "pearl, precious

- stone", manyar, māier, maneri
 "jeweller", name of caste,
 G. man n., S. man f., Pany.
 man f., H. man, man m., man;
 man m. f. Sim. mīna, māna.
 Skr. man- m. — S 62, 134,
 154.
 mathem manthnem "to churn,
 to shake", G. mathum, S.
 mathanu, Pany. mandhna
 maddhna, H. mathna māhna,
 B. mathite, K. mathun, Skr.
 mathati, mathati. — S 71,
 122.
 mand adj. "slow, stupid", G.
 Pany. H. B. mand, S. mandu
 "slow", K. mand "lazy",
 Sim. mada "petty, weak",
 (M. Pany. H. mānda, S.
 māndo "exhausted, side"
 is a Persian loan). Pkt. Skr.
 manda. — S 123.
 maddhag m. "middle part",
 maddim, madden, madhyem
 "in the middle, in", G.
 maddrat "midnight", maddh-
 bhag "middle part", H.
 maddh, maddh, maddi, B.
 maddya (pron. moddh). Skr.
 maddya. — S 124, 197.
 manduinem "to reconcile, to
 persuade", G. mandavum, S.
 manānu, Pany. manāna, H.
 manāna, B. mānāte. Pkt.
 mandavai. Causative of mān-
 nem. — S 48.
 mast must, adv. "gratis", G.
 mast, mustas, S. mustu, Pany.
 H. must, Ass. mustis. Per.
 must. — S 74.
 markaj, margaj, maraj adj. "one
 who keeps obstinately lying
 pretending exhaustion";
 maragal, maraj f. "exhaustion
 to make one fall down".
 B. H. maraj. Desi. maralo
 alasaḥ (222, 13). Pkt. deri-
 vative of root mar-
 mariem "to die", G. S. Pany.
 H. K. mar-, Sim. mar-,
 Ro. mer-. Pkt. marai. Skr.
 marati. — S 46, 48, 229.
 marda m. "organum majo-
 rana", Pany. mardā, H.
 mardā mardā. Skr. mardaka-
 m. — S 152.
 maraiḥa m. "Maratha", G.
 maraiḥa. Pkt. maraiḥa,
 P. maharaiḥa. Skr. maha-
 rāstra. — S 52, 62, 161, 167.
 maraj m. "duck with red legs
 and bill", G. maraj, H. B.
 maraj. Desi. maralo hamsa iti
 Satacāhanah (222, 14). Skr.
 marala-m. — S 145.
 malai f. "noise and blows (in
 a dispute)", cf. Pany. etc.
 mall "wrestler", Sim. mal
 "barbarian", Skr. malla-
 — S 141.
 malhar f. name of a melody
 (rāg). G. Pany. malhar m.,
 S. malaru, H. malār mallār
 malhar. Skr. mallari f. — S
 148.
 masi f. "soot", G. masi mes
 mems, S. masu f. "ink",
 Pany. mas masu "ink", H.
 mast mast, Sim. māsidā
 "black substance used as
 medicine", Pkt. masti. Skr.
 masti f.
 masid, masid f. "mosque", G.
 H. masid, S. masti, Pany.
 H. mast, B. masid. Ar. masjid.
 — S 162.
 mhasan, masan n. "cremato-
 rium", G. masan, S. masanu,
 Pany. masan, H. masan, B.
 masan, O. masan; Sum. sōna,
 sohana, bon. Pkt. masana-
 susana-. Skr. śmasāna- n. —
 S 42, 46, 156, 157.

mali f. "part of field, piece of land". Desi. *maliain* laghuk-
setram kundam celi dnyartham
(234, 4). — § 145.

mai f. "mother". G. *ma*, *mai*,
S. *mai*, *mau*, Pany. *mau*, H.
ma, *mai*, *mau*, B. *ma* (*mai* =
"breast"). Sim. *ma*, *ma*,
Pkt. *ma* (gen. pl. *mainam*).
Skr. *mai*-f. — § 283.

makaḍ m. n. "monkey". G.
makḍum "monkey", S. *makora*
"big ant", Pany. *makkai*
"locust, spider", W. Pany.
mākora "big ant", H.
mākḍa, B. *mākḍ* "spider",
Sim. *makul* "monkey",
Pkt. *makkada*,
Skr. *markaja*-m. — § 93.

makhnem "to rub, to oil",
mākhān n. "unguent". G.
mākhān n. "butter", S.
mākhānu "to oil, to apply
butter", Pany. *mākhān*, B.
H. *mākhān* *mākhān*, "to
mākhān "butter" *mākhān* "to
oil, to rub", Sim. *mākhānāḍa*
"to uproot, to disturb", Ro.
makh- Pkt. *makkhei*, P.
makkhei. Skr. *mākṣayati*,
mākṣana-n. — § 47, 96, 230.
mag m. "path, track, trace".
G. *mag*, S. *magu* "place,
residence", H. *maṅg*, *mag*,
Pany. *magg*, Sim. *magā*, Pkt.
magga-Skr. *marga*-m. —
§ 69, 98, 197, Cf. XI.

maṅg m. "a design in
soot on a piece of brass re-
presentating a family of
scavengers and which is
worshipped. Pkt. *maṅga*-
Skr. *maṅga*-m. — § 61.
maṅgem "to demand". G.

ple Sim. *maha-ma*-Skr.
ma- "big" cf. 101 ex-

ma- "big" — § 168.
g, *māg* adj. "dear, costly".
mogghum, *moghun*, S.
hango, H. *mahang* (ā),
ny. *mahingā*. Skr. *mahar-*
a. — § 46, 69, 79, 88.

8. *maḥavat*, *maṭ*, m.
fahout". G. *mahaṭ*,
hai, Pany. H. *mahaut*. Skr.
hamaṭra; remade on the
del of *raṭ*, Skr. *rājaputra*,
ording to Thomas Bloch,
D.M.G., 1908, p. 372.
\$ 121, 138, 152, 168.

i m. "funeral rites of the
ond fortnight of Bhādra-
da". cf. H. *mahat* "palace,
actuary", and probably
n. *mahal* "residence,
lace" (if it is not the Ara-
: word everywhere). Skr.
halaya-m. — § 46, 145.

u m. "month, monthly
yment". G. S. *mahino*,
ny. H. *mahina*. Per. *mahin*.
\$ 50.
n. "filth", *malin* "dirty".
mai, S. *maru*, Pany. H. B.
l, Ro. *mel*; Sim. *mala*
xcretion" *malina* "dirty".
t. *maja*; cf. Desi. *malo*

dah (222, 9). Skr. *mala-*
m. — § 46, 145.
in "to beat out wheat, to
ss, to trample". G. Pany.
l, S.H.B.O. *mal*; Ro.
lav-. Pkt. *malai*. Cf. Skr.
rdana-? (see Pischel, §
4, 294). — § 145.

m. "orchard, flat and rich
rain". cf. Sim. *maṅva*
out-yard of the house"
reiger links it with P.
laka). Desi. *malao gitye-*
lesa upaaman ca (234, 4).

चुन. मागुमावा "to rub, to
press", and Pkt. *maḍḍai*,
sammadda, P. *maddati*, Skr.
mardate. — § 47.

maṇḍuṣ. "box, chest" (poet.)
Sim. *mados*. Pkt. P. *maṇḍuṣa*.
Skr. *maṇḍuṣa* f. — § 106.

man f. "neck". Ro. *men*, Skr.
manya f. (du. and. plur.). — § 135.

maṇḍem "to obey, to believe, to
agree". G. H. B. K. *man-*,
Panj. *man-*. Pkt. *maṇat*.
Skr. *manate*. — § 47, 48,

135, 230.
maṇḍhā m. name of a reli-
gious sect. Skr. *maḍhanu-*
bhāva. — § 152, 161.

maḍnem "to measure", *maḍ* n.
"measure". G. S. Panj. H.
B. *maḍ*; cf. K. *mēn*, Sim.

man- (Skr. *mana-*) "to
measure", *man-* (*maḍya-*)
"to fabricate". Tatsama, of
Skr. *maḍyati*. On the fate

of the root *ma-* in Prakrit,
see Pischel, § 487. — § 193,
Cf. M. *maṇem*.

maṇa m. "maternal uncle".
G. S. *maṇo*, H. *maṇ*, Panj.
B. *maṇa*, S. *maṇu*. Cf. Desi.

mammi *mallāni* *māma* *trayo* py
ami *maṭṭanti* *vācakaḥ*; *māmi*
— *ṣaddo* pi (which is used as
a Prakrit form in the verses
of Hemacandra) *deṣyaḥ*,
paṇyābhāṅgya *tūpātāḥ*
(222, 15). Cf. M. *māḍa*.

maṇnem "to strike, to kill".
G. S. Panj. H. B. K. *ma-*,
Sim. Ro. *mar-*. Pkt. *maṇei*,
maṇa-. Skr. *maṇyati*,
maṇa- n. — § 48, 251.

mau f. "fraud, sorcery", Sim.
ma, *ma*. Skr. *mayā* f. — § 55.

maṇem "to hold in a recep-
tacle". G. *maṇu*, S. *maṇu*
maṇijānu, H. *maṇa*. Pkt.

maṇḍan, R. *maṇḍu*, D.

maṇḍan "cover" (of metal-
planks, copper etc.),
m. *maḍa* "decoration".
r. *maṇḍana* n. — § 68.

maḍa m. "tent for festivals,
insecreted peristyle",
maḍai f. "light canopy over
idol". G. *maṇḍavi*, S.

maḍapu, H. *maṇḍu*, *maṇ-*
maḍ, Sim. *maḍu* "hut".
rt. *maṇḍava*. Skr. *maṇḍapa-*
n. — § 111, 152.

f. "storey of a one storey
home, loft with planks". S.
anj. *maḍi* "upper story".
esi. *maḍiāṇ gīḥam* (228,
2). Cf. S. V. *maḍa*. — § 46,

16.
us, *maṇas* m. "man". G.
anj. *maṇas*, S. *maṇḥu*, H.

maṇus, *maṇus* *maṇas*, Sim.
maṇsa "man", *maṇi* "corpse",
rm. Ro. *manus*, Eur. *manus*.
kr. *maṇuṣa*, *maṇuṣya*.

— § 40, 46, 50, 134.
f. "earth". G. Panj. *maḍi*,
S. *maḍi*—*maḍi*, S.

maḍi, Sim. *maḍi*, K. *maḍi*. Pkt.
maḍi, P. *maḍika*. Skr.
maḍika f. — § 30, 31, 47,

14.
ian *maḍhi* "earthen pot
with large mouth for churn-
ing". G. *maḍhi*, H. *maḍ-*
am. Cf. M. *maḍhiem*. — §

1, 122.
ia m. "fore-head, head".
maḍhiem, S. *maḍho*, Panj.

maḍha, H. B. *maḍha*, O.
maḍha, Sim. *maḍ*. Pkt. *maḍha*
kr. *maḍaka* m. n. — § 47,

3, 122.
idnem "to smear" "the
usual word is *maḍnem*", says
Jolesworth; is the former
doublet of the latter (see
under *maḍijem*) ? But cf.

house of wife". Skr. *matrigṛha*-
n. — \$ 159.

māhi māhō m. name of a month.
G. *māho*, Pany. *māh*. Skr.
māgha-m. — \$ 39, 46, 78,
159.

mālī f. "flower garland, corolla".
G. *māl*, S. *mālā* f., H. *māl*,
B. *mālā*, Sim. *mālā* "flower".
Skr. *mālā* f. — \$ 145.

mālī m. "plateau, stage", *mālā*
"loft, scaffolding". G. *māl*
"stage of a house", *mājō*
"stage, house, rest". Desi.
mālō... *manāh* (234, 146).
— \$ 46, 146. Cf. M. *mādī*.

mīcakṇem "to wink (eye), to
press (lips)". G. *mīcūm*,
Pany. *mīcā*, H. *mīcā*. Pkt.
mīcāna- (= *cakṣuṣṭhagana*-
see *Destināmālā* 122, 12).
— Cf. the family of Latin
Micare, Ballouchi *mācā*-
"twinkling of an eye", Ger.
micken; on the other hand
Kannarese *mīcū* "give off
a flash", *mīcāku* "to wink",
Telugu *mīki*- "to wink",
mīcū "splinter". — \$ 71,
94.

mīcēm "to close (lips, eyes)".
G. *mī* "endurance; meeting
of glances"; S. *mīcū* "to
close the eyes, to dissimu-
late". Pkt. *mīcā*. Skr.
mīcā, *mīcī*-, from *mī*-. But
cf. also Kannarese *mīcāku*
"to wink", and the preced-
ing word.

mīcēm "to wipe off; to dis-
appear". G. S. Pany. B. O.
mī-, H. *mīh*-. Pkt. *mājā*-
Skr. *mīcā*-, from *mī*-. — \$
30, 31, 231.

mīhā adj. "sweet, sugared".
G. *mīhūm*, *mīhūm*, S.
mīhu "sweetness"
"sweet", H. *mīhā*, *mīh*, B.

also been altered. — \$ 51,
55, 232.

mācā m. "maternal uncle",
mācān f. "wife of maternal
uncle, for the sister". H.

mācī "mother"; Sim. *mācī*
"maternal uncle, father-in-
law". Desi. *mācā mācāvasa*
(229, 11); Pkt. *mācāga*-,
Skr. *mācāka*-m. *mācānī*
f. \$ 42, 48, 57, 145.

mācī f. "maternal aunt",
mācā m. "husband of mater-
nal aunt". G. S. Pany. B.
mācī (G. *māc* m., S. *mācān*
m.), H. *mācī*, *mācī*. Pkt.
mācā f., *mācā*. Skr. *mācā*-
m. — \$ 156.

māc m. "month". G. H. B.
māc, S. W. Pany. *māc*, Sim.
māc, Ro. *māc*. Skr. *mācā*-
m. — \$ 156.

māc m. "meat". G. *māc*,
S. *māc* (m) su *māc*, Pany. *māc*,
H. *māc* (m), K. *māc*, Sim.
Ro. *māc*. Pkt. *mācā*-. Skr.
mācā-n. — \$ 71, 156.

māc m. "fish", *mācī* f.,
"fish" (collective, diminu-
tive) G. *mācā*, H. *māc*,
mācā, Pany. *māc*, S. *māc*,
Ro. *māc*, Eur.

māc m. "maternal", *mācā*-,
Skr. *mācā*-m. — \$ 103.
mācī f. "B.", G. *māc*, S.
mācī, H. *mācī*, *mācī*, Pany.
mācī, B. *mācī*, K. *mācī*,
Sim. *mācā*, Ro.

mācī. Pkt. *mācā mācā*.
Skr. *mācā* f. — \$ 46.
māc, *mācāghar* m. "maternal

mungun, H. B. *muk*, Sim. *muk*, Pkt. *mukha*, *mūa*; the second form doesn't seem to have any representative, despite Desi. *mūallo mūalo mukāḥ* (231, 16). Skr. *mūka*. — \$ 94.

mukh n. "mouth, face"; *mukhīm* "on the tip of a tongue, by heart"; *mukhem* "under the pretext of"; Skr. *mukha*-n. The usual word is *tomḍ*; almost all the languages have a *tadbhava* of *mukha*, cf. M. *mohaj*. — \$ 96.

mungus, *mangus*, *mungas* m. "mongoose"; H. *mungus mangus*, Desi. *manguso mungusu muggaso trayōḥy* etc *nakulaṇṇakāḥ* (224, 15). Original form : Telugu *maṅgiṣu*, *mūgiṣu*, *Maiṣ G. nolijo*, S. *norian*, H. *neola neval* etc., from Skr. *nakula*. — \$ 74.

mund n., *mundi mūndhi* f. "head"; G. Pany. H. B. *mūnd mūndi* (H. *mūndāsa* "turban"), S. *mūndhi*, Pkt. *mūndha*, Skr. *mūrdhan*-m. — \$ 85, 89.

mūndem "to shave", *mūnda mūndha* adj. "bald, shave, decapitated"; G. *mūndum*, S. *mūndan*, Pany. *mūna*, H. *mūnda* "to shave"; H. *mūndu* "monk", *mūndo* "widow"; Sim. *maḍu* "bald", fem. *mīdi* "shave"; K. *mōnd* "widow"; Ro. *mur*- "to shave"; Pkt. Skr. *mūnda*. — \$ 85, 111.

mud f. "ring"; S. *mūndi* "ring", *mūda*, *mudra* "ear-ring"; Sim. *mudava*, *mudda*, Pkt. *mudda*-Skr. *mudrika* f. — \$ 44, 123.

nih, K. *myūih* "sweet, exquisite"; Ro. *misto* "good"; Skr. *miṣṭa*. — \$ 110.

f. f. "black pepper"; G. *nari*, n. ; *muri*, *mīrai*, Pany. *niric*, *mīric*; H. *maric*, *mīri*, *niric*; Sim. *mīris*, Pkt. *mīriya*, *niric*; *marica*-m. — \$ 75, 166.

nem "to mix"; *missi* f. "power for blacking the teeth"; G. S. H. *mīsi*; Pany. *miṣa*, *musu* *mīhu* "mixed"; Pkt. *missa*, *miṣa*, *skr. mīstra-mīrita*. — \$ 157.

ai adj. "mixed", f. "mixed"; B. *miṣal* "mixture", *nasāla* "ingredients"; Desi. *miṣaliam miṣritam iti tu miṣra* *ṭadbhavam* (230, 5); Pkt. *miṣa*, *missa*, Skr. *miṣṭa*. — \$ 145, 157.

nem "to mingle, to mix", part. *miṣa*, *miṣla*, G. *miṣa*, *vaum*, S. *miṣan*, Pany. H. *miṣa*, *miṣa*, B. *miṣa*, separated from H. B. *miṣa*, Sim. *miṣa* "false", from Skr. *miṣya*. — \$ 156.

kiā, *mugui* m. "crest"; S. *modu*, Skr. *mukūja*. — \$ 98.

kiem "to loose"; G. *mukum* "to leave, to untie"; S. *muku* part. of *mūnyanu* "to send", Pany. *mukūia* "to fall, to be lost"; Ro. *muk* "leave"; Sim. *muk* "demon (spirit) released from the body)" cf. Sim. *mud*, K. *mucar* "to release"; Pkt. *mukka*. Skr. *mūcati*, *mukta*. — \$ 94, 231, 252.

ka adj. "dumb, silent"; G.

- marokka* "frog". Skr. *man-
ḍuka*-m. — \$ 77.
memḍha m. "ram, hook". G.
memḍho bheḍ; Pany. *meḍa*;
H. *memḍha*, *bhemḍa*; B. O.
meḍa, *meḍha*, *bheḍa*, Ass. *mer*,
Sim. *māḍa*. P. Pkt. *meḍa*-
Skr. *meḍhra-memḍha*-m. — \$
112.
men menā m. "sheath." Per.
myān, — \$ 63, 134.
mer f. "limit, bank". G. *mer*,
H. *māḍi*, *memḍ*, Sim. *māra*.
Deśi. *mājā tāḥa mēra māyāḍa*
(223, 3). — \$ 77, 143, 166.
mela adj. "dead". Isolated; G.
mua muelo, Pany. *moa*, H. *mua*,
K. *mūd*, Sim. *māḍa*, Eur.
Ro. *murdal*, Arm. Ro. *mul*-
Pkt. *maa*-, *mua*-, *māḍa*-. Skr.
mita. — \$ 30, 31, 62, 229.
mehar mehar mehar m. "sweet-
per", G. *mehar*, *metar*, B.
mehar, B. *metar*. Per. *mihar*.
— \$ 80, 168.
mehūḍa m. "cloud", (poet.). G.
meh mehulo, S. *mimhu*, Pany.
H. *merih*, Sim. *me*. Pkt. *meha*-
Skr. *megha*-m. — \$ 39, 51,
77, 159.
mehūḍa meḍa m. "wife's brother,
sister's husband", *mehūḍi* f.
"cousin sister", *mehūḍi* n.
"couple of newly weds",
Sim. *meḍun* "pair, couple".
Deśi. *mehūḍa pānya bhagini*
māḍalāmājā ca, *mehūḍa*
pitiḥasasuta iti. (231, 5).
Skr. *Māḍhūna*- "in the act
of mating, married." The
Evolution of meaning is
same in Dravidian. Kan-
narese *madyuna* "husband,
relation, brother-in-law",
Tam. *maḍḍunan* *maḍḍinan*
"brother-in-law". — \$ 55,
77, 159, 161.
mel m. "accord, group" *meḍa*
"frog", cf. Scandinavian Ro.
G. H. *meindak*, Sim. *māḍya*
"frog" (monk on a horse).
meḍḍukmukh m. "head of
Skr. *meḍhi*-m. — \$ 88, 118.
Peas. Life \$ 889). Pkt. *meḍhi*.
merih "stake, post" (see Bih.
work around an idol"; Bih.
meḍhi; *meḍ* "bamboo frame-
"post, poll pillar", B. *mei*,
meḍ, *meḍh*, *meḍhi* f. *meḍha* m.
276.
mūla-n. — \$ 145, 193, 197,
Sim. *mul*, *mūla*. Pkt. P. Skr.
mūlu, Pany. H. B. K. *mūl*,
because of: G. *mūl* n., S.
mūl n. "root"; *mūlem* "by,
musā. Skr. *mūsa*-m. — \$ 80.
G. H. *mūs*, B. *mūst*, Sim.
mūs f. (dial. *mos*) "crucible".
n. — \$ 121.
"urine". Pkt. *mūta*-. *mūtra*-
Eur. Arm. *muter*, *mūt*
mūrel, *mūrel* "to make water";
B. *mūt*, Sim. *mū*; Arm. Ro.
wishes to make water"; H.
Pany. *mūta mūḍa* "who
mūtra, *mūtar*; S. *mūtanu mūn*;
make water". G. *mūtarum*,
mūt n. m. "urine", *mūtem* "to
f. — \$ 110.
Pkt. *mūthi*-. Skr. *mūsti*-m.
"handle, full hand". P.
mūḍa, K. *mūth* "fast", *mūth*
H. *mūth*, H. B. *mūthā*, Sim.
mūthi, S. *mūthi*, Pany. *mūth*,
mūth f. "fast, handle". G.
— \$ 69.
Pkt. *mūga*-. Skr. *mūḍga*-m.
mūng, O.B. *mug*, Sim. *mūn*.
mūnu, Pany. *mūg*, H. Bih.
mūg m. "phaseolus mungo". S.
— \$ 145.
mūsala-. Skr. *mūsala*-m. n.
Sim. *mohol mol*. Pkt. *mūsala*-
mūḍa, H. *mūsā*, Bih. *mūsar*,
S. *mūhuri mūhuliru*, Pany.
nūsā n. "pestle". G. *mūslum*,

moī f. "packet", *with m.*

..bullocks pack saddle",

mudī f. "packet of grains",

G.mojūm "bag of grains",

S. moj "small packet", *mjo*

..ball", Panj. *mōjā* "fat", H.

moī(h) f. *mōjā*, B. *mōj*, *mōjā*.

Sim. *mōjā* "packet, bad",

K. *mōj* "fat, heavy", Skr.

mōjā-m. n. — S 80, 109.

mōjēm "to break, to change",

G. S. H. B. *mōj*, Pkt. *mōjā*.

Skr. *mōjā* — S 111.

mōjīm n. "pearl", G. S. Panj.

H. *mōj*, B. O. *mōj*, Sim.

mōjā, K. *mōjā*, Skr.

mōjā-n. — S 78.

mōjā f. "cypripedium",

G. S. *mōjā*, Panj. H. *mōjā*,

B. O. *mōjā*, Pkt. *mōjā*.

Skr. *mōjā* f. — S 80.

mōj adj. "very much (vulgar

form for *amōj*). Skr. *mōj* -

— S 174.

mōj m. "peacock", G. Panj.

H. *mōj*, S. *mōj*, Sim. *mōj*.

Pkt. *mōj* - Skr. *mōjā* m.

S 56.

mōjā, *mōjā* m. "jam",

Arabic *mōjā* — S 80

mōj n. "price" G. H. B. *mōj*,

S. *mōj*, Panj. *mōj*, O. *mōj*,

Sim. *mōj*, K. *mōj*, Ro. *mōj*

..worthy", Pkt. *mōjā*,

mōjā - Skr. *mōjā*, *mōjā* -

n. — S 78, 80, 143.

mōj mōj m. "fascination,

bewilderment", G. H. B.

mōj, Panj. S. *mōj*, Sim.

mōj, K. *mōj* "betray,

deceive", Pkt. Skr. *mōjā* - m.

S 39, 78, 159, 168, 193,

252.

mōj mōj n. m. "nest, honey

comb of bees", H. *mōj*

..honey", Sim. *mōj* "mead",

velā). G. *mōj*, *mōj* "fair,

assembly", S. *mōj* "friend-

hip, company" *mōj* "fair",

Panj. H. B. *mōj*, *mōj*, K.

mōj, Sim. *mōj*, P. Pkt. Skr.

mōj - S 145.

mōj adj. "heavy, lazy, stu-

pid", B. *mōj* "monkey",

Skr. *mōjā* - S 58.

mōj adj. "dirty", G. *mōj*,

mōj f. *mōj* m. "dirty",

H. *mōj*, Panj. *mōj*, Skr.

mōjā - Pkt. *mōjā*.

mōjā - doesn't go well for

the form; even in Marathi,

he dental -l- betrays the

word is borrowed. Cf. M.

mōj f. "loosely lying objects,

liquidation (of debt),

liberty", *mōjā* adj. "free",

mōjā m. *mōjā* "to free",

mōjā "free", S. *mōjā*

"permission" *mōjā* "con-

ducting the wife to her

house", Panj. H. *mōjā*

loose, vast", K. *mōjā* -

to be freed, to be termina-

ed", *mōjā* "unoccupied",

f. *mōjā* "liberal",

M. under M. *mōjā* - S

4, 145.

mōjā m. "millet", G. *mōjā*,

mōjā, *mōjā*, S. *mōjā*, H.

mōjā, *mōjā*, Panj.

mōjā, B. *mōjā*, *mōjā*,

mōjā, P. Pkt. *mōjā* - M.

mōjā - Skr. *mōjā* - M.

— S 80, 98.

mōjā m. "shipper", G. S. Panj.

mōjā "cobble", shoe-

maker", S. *mōjā* m. "shoe

used to denote a blow

given with slipper", B.

mōjā "cobble", Desi. *mōjā*

mōjā (232, 11). Pehlvi

cf. Ro. *mōl* "wine". Skr. *mādhū*-n. — \$ 188.

moh, *mohā*, *mhoirū* m. "bassia latifolia", G. *mahuḍum*, Pany. *H. mahūā*, *mahūā*, Sim. *mihingū*, *mīgahā*. Skr. *ma-dhuka*- — \$ 55, 59, 159, 188, 190.

mohar f. "the front-side, van-guard", *mohrā* adj. "having a bent for"; *mohre* "in front", cf. *samor* "opposite". G. *mor* "in front", *mohḍum* n. "face"; Pany. *mohar*, H. *mohrā* "advanced guard"; S. *moru* "principal, capital", *muharu mohir* "front, origin", cf. *mahuru* "face, prow", cf. for the form in Skr. *mukhara* "talkative". — \$ 64, 79, 161. see the following.

mohai mohiem n. "muzzle for the calf". Sim. *muhul muhuna* "visage". Pkt. *muhulla*, Desi. *muhalam mukham* (230, 12). Skr. *mukha*-n. The simple one, with the meaning of "visage", has been preserved in G. *mornh*, S. *muhum*, Pany. *mūnh mūhum*. H. *murnh*, Sim. *muva*, Eur. Ro. *my*, Asiatic Ro. *moh*, Arm. Ro. *mus*. — \$ 64, 145, 161.

moli f. "fagot". Skr. *mulikā* f. — \$ 80, 145. *mhanieim* (part. *mhatā*) "to say", *mhanije* "that is to say", *mhanūn* "this being said", isolated word, for which phonetics forbids all linking up with G. *bhanūm* "to recite, to read, to study" H. *bhanūā*, Sim. *bannūā*, Eur. Ro. *phen*, Arm. Ro. *phan*, "to talk", which correctly represent Pkt. P. Skr. *bhan*-. — \$ 79, 229, 232, 252, 253,

276.

mhatārā m. "old". Pkt. Skr. *mahattara*. — \$ 168.

mhaīs f. *mhaīsā* m. "buffalo", G. *bhemis*, S. *memhi*, *mayjh*, Pany. *mainh memh*, *mayjh*, H. Bih. *bhains*, *bhainsā*, B. *bhains*, O. *bhayes*, Sim. *myu miu mi*. Pkt. *mahisa*. Skr. *mahiṣi* f., *mahiṣa*-m. — \$ 46, 56, 70, 156, 168.

yek, *yemem*, *yer* for *ek*, *emem*, *er*. — \$ 174. *yemem emem* "to come, to arrive", part. of obligation *yāva*. K. *yinu* (defective) "to come"? cf. Grierson, Pis. *Lang*, p. 66. Skr. *eti*. — \$ 24, 29, 77, 154, 174, 229, 230, 253.

rang m. "colour, beauty, appearance". G. Pany. H. B. K. *rang*, S. *rangu*, Sim. *ranga*. P. Skr. *rāṅga*-m. — \$ 98, 143. *radnem* "to weep", G. *radum*, S. *radnu* "to cry", H. *raina* "to exclaim", B. *raiate* "to talk". Apa. *radamtai*. Skr. *raiai*. — \$ 46, 111.

rati f. "seed of abrus precatorius, used as a measure of weight". G. S. *rati*, Pany. H. B. *ratti*, *rati*. Skr. *raktikā* f. — \$ 48, 121, 143.

ravi f. "churn". Desi. *rauvao mantānāh* (237, 4). *ras* m. "juice, taste", *rasā* m. "sauce". G. H. Bih. B. *ras*, S. *rasu*, Pany. *ras rasā* "juice", *rahā* "soup", Sim. *rāhara*, "taste, alcoholic drink", Pkt. Skr. *rasa*-m. — \$ 156. *rasāl*, *rasāl* adj. "juicy". G. *rasāl rasāl*, H. B. *rasāl*. Pkt. *rasāla* "juicy". Skr. *rasāla*-m. "sugar-cane, sweet-meats". — \$ 46, 145.

rasā m. "cord", *rasī* f.

G. Pany. H. rākh f., S. rākhyā
 "preservation, bracelet or
 necklace (amulet)". Skr.
 rākṣā f. S 96, 104.
 rākṣhem "to guard". G. B.
 rākḥ-, S. H. O. Ro. rākḥ-,
 Sim. rak-, K. rach-. Pkt.
 rakkhai. Skr. rakkṣati. — S 47,
 96.
 rākḥismukh f. n. "the South",
 rākḥesmoḥrā "towards the
 south". G. Pany. H. rākhas,
 S. rākhasu, rākḥasu, Bih.
 rākas, Sim. rakus "demon".
 P. Pkt. rakkhasa-. Skr. rākṣasa-
 m. — S 96.
 rāṁjan m. "water-pot". Deśi.
 rāṁjano gḥaiḥ; rāṁjanam
 kuṇḍam iti kecit (237, 3).
 rājā m. "prince". Tatsama; cf.
 rāo, raut, raul. — S 100, 155.
 rāṁḍ, f. "widow". H. G. O. B.
 rāṁḍ, S. ran, rāṁḍi; Pany.
 rann "woman, wife". Skr.
 rāṁḍā f. — S 111.
 rāṁi f. "queen". S. Pany. H.
 rāṁi, S. rāno "king". Skr.
 rājñi f. — S 47, 135.
 rat f. "night". G. Pany. H. K.
 rat, S. B. O. rāti, Ro. rat;
 Sim. rā rāya. Pkt. rāti-, rat;
 Skr. rātri f. S 121, 190.
 rāṁā adj. "red", rat m. "blood-
 shot state of eyes". H. rāṁā,
 G. rāṁm, S. rato, Pany. rāṁā,
 Sim. rat "red; blood", K.,
 Ro. "blood". Pkt. rāṁā-
 Skr. rakta-. — S 47, 48, 121.
 rāṁdhnem "to cook" (rāṁdha-
 tem ghar n. "kitchen" etc.).
 G. rāṁdhnum, S. rāṁdhanu, H.
 rāṁdha, B. rāṁdhit, K.
 ranun, Arm. Ro. aranthel;
 Sim. riddanavā "to destroy".
 Skr. rāṁdhyati. — S 135.
 rāṁrān n. "forest, bush, desert".
 G. rān, S. rānu rān rin. Pany.
 H. rāny, H. ran, Sim. rāna
 ran. Pkt. arāna-rāna-. Skr.

"thread". G. rasi, raso, ras
 f., S. rasi "towing cable",
 Pany. rassa rassi, H. rās
 "rein" rassi "cord", B.
 rāsa rasi, Ass. rasi, K. raz,
 Sim. rās "ray of light". Pkt.
 rassi-. Skr. rāsmi- m. — S
 157.
 rāṁvar (poet.) "excellent
 chariot, car". Skr. rāṁva- m.
 rāṁvaṁva-, rāṁvaṁva- (?).
 Isolated word; undoubtedly
 the simple word has been
 driven out by the Per. rah
 "route"; It is found in
 Sim. rīya "vehicle". — S
 46, 59.
 rās n. "secret, mystery". H.
 rahas; B. rahas "in private".
 Pkt. rahassa-. Skr. rahasya- n.
 — S 46, 157, 159.
 rai m. "machine for drawing
 water". G. H. remi, S. arai,
 Pany. rai rai, H. rahai arhai.
 Pkt. rahaiṁ. Skr. araghaiṁ-
 m. — S 40, 46, 159, 174.
 rāṁem rāṁem "to stay, to
 abide". G. rahem, S.
 raham, Pany. rahim, H.
 rahna, B. rahite, K. rōzun.
 rāṁa Pkt. rahae "stayed",
 cf. Deśi. rāho. niranarāh
 (142, 2). — S 52.
 f. "mustard". G. S. Pany.
 H. B. rai. Skr. rājika f. — S
 46, 57.
 i n. "palace, temple". H.
 rāṁ, rāṁ "warrior-prince",
 rāṁ raul "royal palace". Pkt.
 rāṁla-. Skr. rājakula- n. — S
 46, 57, 59, 61, 145.
 rāco, rāy m. "king". G. S.
 Pany. H. rāo rāy or rai, B.
 Ro. rāy, K. rāza, Sim. rāda.
 Pkt. rāa rāa-. Skr. rājan- m.
 — S 38, 39, 55, 193, 198,
 282.
 h f. "ashes", rākhi f. "cotton-
 string tied round the wrist".

aranya-n. — \$ 72, 135, 174.
 āpñem rāñpñem "to blacken
 through exposure to air, to
 lose colour". Pkt. *rāñei*
 (rāñjayati Hemacandra, IV,
 49; cf. *rāñyam rāñjitam*, *Deśi-*
namamāla 238, 1). is the
 causative, whose passive,
 in the Sanskrit stage would
 have had been the form

**rāñya-*.

rāñpa m. "scraper", *rāñpi* f.
 "instrument of carrier". G.

rāñp f. S. *rāñbu*, Pany. *rāñba*,
 G. H. Bih. *rāñpi*. Pkt. *rāñpai*

rāñphei (*taksñoti*; see *Deśi-*
nama-237, 4), *rāñpa-rūñpa-*

"shaving". — \$ 82.
rāb m. "goings and comings",

rābñem "to frequent, to live,
 to work". *Deśi. rāmbhai*

gacchati (237, 4). — \$ 47.
Rām, Rāma, Rānu (proper n.).

Skr. *Rāma*. — \$ 39, 276.
rās f. "sign of zodiac, heap".

G. Pany. H. *rās*, S. *rāsi* "sign
 of zodiac, property", Sim.

rās "troup, ensemble", P.
 Pkt. *rāsi*. Skr. *rāsi* f. — \$

Rāhi name of woman, common
 among the Kumbis. Skr.

Rādha f. — \$ 46, 159.
rāj f. "resin". G. S. *rāj*, Pany.

H. B. *rāl*. Skr. *rāla*, *rāli*-m.
 — \$ 145.

rikāma adj. "empty, vain",
rikāmiti f. "leisure". S. *rikamu*

"useless". *Deśi. rikkam*
stokam (238, 8); Pkt. *ritta*,-

rikka-. Skr. *rikta-karma*-.
 — \$ 44, 138, 172.

riḡñem "to enter". Pkt. *riḡgai*,
Deśi. riḡgo praveśai (238, 2).

Obscure link with the group:
 G. *riḡñum*, B. *riḡghan*, Skr.

riḡkh-, *riḡg*- "to creep".
riḡha m. *riḡhi* f. "sapindus

detergens". G. *riḡh*, Pany.
reihā, H. *riihā*, B. *riihā*, Sim.
riti. Pkt. *aritiha*-. Skr. *arṣ-*
itaka-m. — \$ 44, 110, 174.

rita adj. "empty". Pany. *riti*,
 H. *ritā*, Sim. *rit*. Pkt. *ritta*-.
 Skr. *rikta*-. — \$ 44, 121.

rin n. "debt". Pany. H. *rin*. Pkt.
riṇa-. Skr. *riṇa*-n. — \$ 30,

134.
ris, *riṇis* m. "bear". G. *riṇch*,

S. *riichu*, Pany. *riich*, H. *rich*,
 Ro. *ric* (fem. *ricini*); but

K. *ich*. Pkt. *riccha*-, *rikka*-.
 Skr. *ikṣa*-m. — \$ 30, 69,

104.
ris f. "offence, aversion". G.

ris, Pany. H. *ris*, S. *ris* f.
 "rivalry". Skr. *ris*- f.

ruṭ f. "calotropis gigantea".
Deśi. ruṭi arkadrumah (239,

10). — \$ 44, 64.
rukha adj. "dry, hard". S.

rukhu, Pany. *rukka*, H. *rukha*,
 Sim. *ruk* "torment, disease".

Pkt. *rukka-lukka-lūha*-(H).
 see *rukhai* "roughness",

Huber, B. E. F. O., VI
 p. 9, n. 2; Pischel, \$ 257).

Skr. *rūkṣa*-. — \$ 96.
ruñem "to be delicious to the

palate; to please". G. S.
 Pany. H. B. *ru-*; Sim. *risi*

"desirous, desire", *russanaṇa*
 "to be pleasant to", K.

ru "preference". Pkt. *ruccai*
 skr. *ruccate*. — \$ 101.

"to bud". Pkt. *ruh*-. Skr. *rohati*,
 absol.—*ruhya*; cf. Ved. *rodhati*

and *rodhana*-. — \$ 89, 107,
 230, 231.

rudñem, *rudhañem*, *rundñem*
 "to be obstructed", *rodñem*

"to obstruct". G. *rundñum*,
 S. part. *rudho* from the verb

rundbhānu, H. *rodhna*, *rundhna*,

reghi "traits of mischief", Sim. le. Skr. *rekha*-f. — § 99. *rumjñem* "to respect, to fear", Desi. *revyam prāṇamāḥ* (239, 11) is made on the causative of the word, whose Marathi form is made with the suffix -ya-, but this word is unknown.

renem n. "excrements of young, black calves". S. *reni* "irrigation", B. *rin* "exudation", Sim. *renava* "to filter". Desi. *reni paṅkah* (239, 10). Skr. *riyate* "to flow", cf. *raya*-m. "current"; Geiger compares for the meaning with Persian *ritan*.

renem "to fill up". G. *revum* "to cement". Desi. *ahiremai purayati* (23, 2). — § 152. *romcñem* "to push in, to penetrate". Pkt. *romcat* = *pinasti*. cf. Skr. *rotate* "to strike against". Cf. the following. — § 101.

roi m. "paste of cooked flour", *roja, roi* "bread". G. *rolli* "small cake", *roi*, S. *roju, rolu*, Pany. H. *roi, roja, roi*, B. *ruiti*. Desi. *rojām laṇḍula-pisām* (240, 5); Jaina Pkt. *rojāga*-Cf. preceding one. — § 164.

rov, roh m. "germinated seed", B. *roa* "planted" (rice of cold weather). Skr. *roha* "growth" — § 55, 159.

rovamth, rohamt, racamth, romth, romt m. "rumination, mastication of betel". H. *romth*. Skr. *romantha*-m. — § 88, 152.

rovem "to plant". G. *roftum*, B. *ruite*. Skr. *ropayati*. — § 55, 152.

rohi f., *rohem* n. "antelope". Skr. *rohi*-m. — The same

passive *rujñā*, B. *rodhite*. Skr. *ruddha*-. — § 230, 231.

ruñā, ruñdh, ruñdha adj. "wide". Desi. *rundo vīpulo* (241, 6). Skr. (Lex.) *rundra* "abundant."

ruḥem n. "silver". G. *ruḥam*, S. *ruḥu*, Pany. *ruḥpa*, H. *ruḥ*, B. *ruḥa*, K. *roḥ*, Ro. *ruḥ*; only Sim. has *ridi*, from Skr. *ruḥya*-n. — § 125.

ruñem "to feel offended". G. Pany. S. B. *rus*- (Pany. *roh* "anger"), H. *rus-ros*, Ro. *rus*-. Pkt. *rusai*. Skr. *ruṣyati*. — § 156.

ruñ neuter suffix has the sense of diminutive or pejorative, being added in particular to the names of animals, as *gurun, paḥurun, vāsurum* (see these words; cf. Navaikar, p. 68; Joshi, p. 290), *haṭum* "elephant" (in context), etc. The isolated *tadbhava* is not known in India (but Sim. *rua, ru*).

The usage in Marathi goes back to Prakrit (see Jacobi, *Erzählungen*, index, and Mayer, *Hindu Tales*, p. 127, n. 6; for example *dāsurūva* "slave", *ḍikkarūva* (M. *lekum*) "child") "infant", and already in Pali (*gorūpa* "buffalo" in the *Alinda* *paṇho*). Skr. *ruḥa*-n. — § 39. *m. rui* f. "carded cotton". G. *ru* n., S. *rai*, Pany. *rum*, *rum*, H. *ru*, Bih. *ru*, *ru*, Desi. *ruam tūlam* (239, 10). *kh* m. "tree". G. H. *rukḥ*, Pany. *rukḥ*. Sim. *rik*, *ruk*, Ro. *ruk* Pkt. *rukḥa*-. Skr. *vikṣa*-, Ved. *rukṣa*-m. — § 96.

ih f. "line". G. H. *rekḥ*, S.

- animal is called in G.S. Pany.
hyo migañ (35, 17). — S 159.
rohi f. "carp". H. *rohu*, *ru*;
rohi, B. *ru*, *Sim*. *rehemas*,
remas. Skr. *rohita*. — S 140,
 159.
lakḍā, *lakāḍ*, *lakud*, m. "wood-
 baton". G. *lakḍi* "baton";
lakāḍ "wooden"; S. *lakudyo*
 "wooden"; Pany. *lakāḍ*, H.
lakḍā, B. *lagud* "baton";
lagi "hook of bamboo";
laga "pole"; *lagad* f. "metal-
 bar". Desi. *lakkudo lakutah*
 (243, 1); P. *lagula*. Skr.
lakuta, *laguda*, m. — S 40,
 49, 50, 94.
lakari m. "varnisher, maker of
 lac-bangles". From *lak*
 "lac" + *kar*. — S 48, 172.
lamg adj. "weakened by fast or
 disease". *lamgḍā* "paralysed".
 G. *lamgāḍ*, S. *lanu*, Pany.
 H. *lamga lamgḍā*, K. *long*;
 Ro. *lang* "lame". Skr. *langa*.
 — S 98.
lamghnem "to grow thin (due to
 fasting, due to fasting);
 to transgress" S. *lamghanu*
 "to jump over; fasting";
 Pany. *lamghan*, H. *lamghan*
 "fasting"; B. *lamghite* "to
 pass, to transgress". Pkt.
 Skr. *langh*. — S 99.
lai f., *laih* m., S. *laih*, Pany.
laih, H. *laih*, B. O. *laih*,
laidi, *Sim*. *laih* "name of a
 creeper"; Ro. *laxi* "kick of
 foot; to fight"; Pkt. *laih*-
laihā — S 48, 88, 148, 188.
laung f. "clove". G. *laung* n.,
 S. *laungu*, Pany. *laung*, H.
laung *laung*, *long*. B. O.
lauga (*longo*). Skr. *laugā*
 m. n. — S 46, 152.
laada m. "penis". S. *laun*, H.
- lauḍā* "penis"; Pany. *lauḍi*,
 H. *lau*, B. *lau*, *Sim*. *labba*
 (pl. *labu*) "gourd". Pkt.
lau, Skr. *alābu* m. n. — S
 48, 57, 152, 174.
lañem (vulgar doublet of *nañem*)
 "to sleep, to bend". Skr.
namati. — S 170.
lavā *lānt* m. "partridge". Pany.
lavā, H. *lavā*, B. *lav*, Skr.
lava-lāvaka m. — S 152.
las f. "mucus, pus". S. *laso*
 "united, brilliant"; S. Pany.
las f. H. *las*, *lassā* m. "visco-
 sity". Desi. *lasnam tailam*
 (242, 11). Skr. *lasa* "resin".
 m. — S 141, 156.
lasan n. f. *lasun* m. f. "garlic".
 G. Pany. *lasan*, H. *lasun*,
lasan, B. *lasun*; *Sim*. *luna*
 "onion". Pkt. *lasuna*. Skr.
lasuna n. m. — S 40, 42, 46,
 148, 156.
lahar f. "wave, convulsion". G.
leher, *ler* f., S. *lahari*, Pany.
lahir, H. *lahar*, B. *lahari*, Skr.
lahari f. — S 46, 159.
lahan adj. "small". Pkt. *lanha-*
 for **lanha*-. Skr. *ślakṣana-*
 (see Wackernagel, p. 255).
 Cf. M. *sahan*. — S 52, 136.
lahulahan adj. "small and
 pretty". Pany. *lahuḍā*
 "young", K. *lot*, *Sim*. *luhu*
 "slight, small". Pkt. *lahu-*
 Skr. *laghu*. — S 46, 148,
 159, Cf. M. *hain* and the
 preceding word.
la, post position "for". — S
 180, 195, 197, 200.
lakh f. "red colour, shellac,
 sealing-wax". G. S. Pany.
lakh, H. *lakh lah* m., B. *laha*,
la, *Sim*. *la*, K. *lach*. Skr.
lakṣa f. — S 48, 96, 172.
lakh m. "hundred thousand"
 G. Pany. H. *lakh*, S. Pany.

lād f. "muck-pit", S. *līdī*, B. *lādī lādī* "dung, droppings", Skr. (Divyāv.) *lādī* f. — \$ 111.

lādñem "to load, to freight (out)", G. *lādñum lādñum*, S. *lādñu*, Pany. *lādñā*, H. *lādñā*, K. *lādñu*, Ro. *lādñā*, Skr. *lādñayati*. — 47, 115, 123.

lādñem "to increase, to accrue as profits", G. *lādñum* "to grow, to be found", S. *lādñu*, Pany. *lādñi* "and, profit", Pany. *lādñā* "to be found", to seek", old H. *lādñiyā* (Mod. *liyā*) "taken", Sim. *lādā* "attained, terminated", Pkt. *lādñā*, Skr. *lādñā*. — \$ 47, 49, 124, 231.

lāmb adj. "long, far", G. *lāmb*, S. *lāmbu*, Pany. *lāmbā*, H. *lāmb*, S. Pany. *lāmb* f. "length", Skr. *lāmbā*. — \$ 127.

lābñem "to be acquired, to be profitable", *lābñm*. "profit", G. *lābñum* "to acquire, to find", S. *lābñu* "to be obtained, acquired", Sim. *lābñā* "to receive", K. *lābñu*, Skr. *lābñayati*. — \$ 49, 128, 230, 231, 252.

lāmv f. "ogress, hateful woman", Desi. *lāmv dākinī* (243, 14). Doublet of Skr. *rāmā* ? — \$ 141, 152.

lāvēñ "to place upon, to send", G. *lāvēñ* "to bring, to shut", Pany. *lāvēñ* "to apply, to fix, to put, to seek", H. *lāvēñ lāvēñ* "to bring, to pursue, to make", Sim. *lāvēñ* (part. *lāvē*) "to place upon", K. *lāvē* "to strike", Skr. *lāvēyati* with a meaning not

lak "sign", Pkt. *lakkha*, Skr. *lakṣa*-m. — \$ 96, 224.

khñem "to have as an aim", (an object)", G. S. Pany. H. B. *lakh* "to observe, to understand", Desi. *ahilam-khai ahilamkhai kankṣati* (23, 3). Skr. *lakṣayati*. — \$ 96, 97, 98, 197, 198, 199.

gñem "to touch, to hit, to agree, to happen", G. *lag*-*vum*, S. *lagñu*, Pany. *lagñā*, H. *lagñā* (dial. *lagñā*), B. *lagñe*, K. *lagñu* active, *lagñu* neut., Sim. *lagñā*, "to rest, to reside", Pkt. *lagñā*, Skr. *lagñā* or *lagñā*. — \$ 47, 98, 231.

gñem "near, towards", G. *lagñu* "near", S. *lage* "because of", Pany. *lagge*, H. old *lagñu*, Sim. *lagñā* "near, in relation with" P. Pkt. *lagñā*, Skr. *lagñā*. — \$ 98, 197, 200.

ñic f. "bribe", G. S. H. (dial.) *lānc*, Sim. *lāsa*, Pkt. P. *lāncā*, Skr. *lāncā* f. — \$ 101.

ñic f. "shame", G. O. B. *lāj*, S. *lāj*, Pany. *lāj*, Sim. *lādā*, Ro. *lāj*, Pkt. Skr. *lājā* f. — \$ 106, 148.

ñic f. "well done, bravo !", Pany. *lāi* "mistress", Desi. *lāiñho anyāsakto manoharāñ* *pryamādas ceti tryarthāñ* (245, 16); Pkt. *lāiñā*. — To separate from S. *lāñlo*, H. *lāñā* "dear", S. *lāñā*, Pany. *lāñā* "betrothed (boy)", Pany. *lāñ* "love", H. *lāññā* "one who cajoles", which are more directly related to the family of M. *lāñu* "a sweet-meat", Pany. H. *lāññu*, Sim. *lāñu* etc., Pkt. Skr. *lāññu*. Skr. *lāññā*

- attested in Sanskrit, but normally corresponding to *lagati*. — \$ 55, 200, 242.
- lahiem* "to acquire, to take, to present oneself", *lahi* f. "reading", *laho* m. "profit", *G. lahan* n. "profit", *pro-* bably *lahetum* "to listen attentively", *S. lahanu* "to obtain", *S. laho*, *Panj. lah*, "profit", *H. laosao* "profit, advantage", *lahna* "to obtain, to find, to grow, to do well", *subst. "profit, gain"*, *Sim. labanata* "to receive, to obtain", *Pkt. lahai*, *P. labhati*. *Skr. labhate, labha-* m. — \$ 39, 49, 159, 161, 186, 230, 231, 252.
- lai* f. "saliva", *G. lai*, *H. lai* *lala*, *lar*, *ral*. *Skr. lala* f. — \$ 145.
- likiem* "to hide, to be hidden", *S. liknu*, *luknu*, *H. lukna*, *Panj. lukan*, *B. lukite*. *Desi. likkai* *likkai niliyate* (244, 7); *Pkt. also lukkai*. — \$ 594.
- limpiem* "to plaster", *G. lip-* *zum*, *S. limbau*, *Panj. lim-* *mia*, *H. lipna, lepna* (passive *lipna*). *Skr. limpali*. — \$ 70, 125, 138.
- limb* m. "azadirachta indica", *G. limbo*, *S. limu*. *Pkt. limba-* *Skr. nimba-* m. — \$ 127, 138, 148, 170. Cf. under *M. nimb*.
- likh* f. "louse, slow", *G. S. Pany. H. likh*, *B. likha*, *Sim. likka*, *Ro. likh*, *Skr. liksa* *liksa* f. — \$ 96.
- luskān*, *luskān* n. f. "loss, damage", *adj. "weak, tired"*. *H. lugsān*. *Arab. nugsān*. — \$ 167, 170.
- lujnem* "to rob", *lui* f. "robbery", *G. lujif-lui*, *S. H. bery*.
- B. lui*, *Panj. lui*, *K. lur*, *Ro. lur* - (*lurdo* "soldier"). *Skr. luntati*. — \$ 109.
- lula* *adj. "withered, weak"*. *G. lulum*, *S. lulo*, *Panj. H. lula*. *Pkt. lua*, *plus. the suffix -alla-*. *Skr. lula-* (*āpax* = *vichinna-*), *luna-*. — \$ 64.
- lek*, *lekum* n. "child". *Desi. limko tatha lito balah* (244, 3); *Jaina Pkt. dikkaruva-* *dēkkaruva-*. — \$ 148, Cf. *M. rum*.
- lekh* m. "writing, document", *G. Pany. lekh*, *G. lekhum* "account". To distinguish from *S. H. B. lekh* f. "line" *tatsama* from *Skr. lekha*, whose *raddhava* is found in *G. lih*, *Sim. le* "line". *Skr. lekha-*. — \$ 96. Cf. *M. lehnem*.
- leinem* "to be lying", *G. S. Pany. H. lei-*, *root li-*. — \$ 80.
- lemd* m. "dung", *lemduk* n. "heap of excrements". *S. lemdu lemdu*, *H. lemd*, *lemd*. *Desi. leduko lampajo losjaca* (246, 11), *lehuo leduko leduo* *trajo py ete losja vacakah* (245, 3), *leha* *lempajah* (245, 8). *Skr. lemda-* n. — \$ 111.
- lenem* "to place, to apply, to dress oneself in", *G. lezun*, *H. lena*, *B. leite*, *Arm. Ro. liel* "to take", *S. leti* "reception", *Desi. laiam parihitam*, *laiam ange pinad-* *dham ity ange* (242, 10); *Apa*: *lehi* *imper.*, *levi* *be-* *side lai* *absol.* *Alteration from Skr. la-* (cf. *Euro. Ro. la-* "to take") on the model of *Pkt. dei*; cf. *M. leiden*, *ledeu* "exchanges". — \$ 77, 200, 229, 252.
- lehnem* *lihnem* "to write". *Sim.*

to be low (clouds)" Skr.
to soar", H. *luma* "to hang,
lambate.—\$ 79.

lom̐ai, lom̐ad̐ f. ("heap of co-
coanuts, etc.)" lom̐an̐ f.
"cluster, bunch". G. *lūm* f.
"bunch", B. *lūm* "tail".
Deśi. *lumbi stabako lala ca*
(246, 7). Skr. *lamba*.—\$

loho m. "tenderness" (used in
relig. language and in
proverbs). Sim. *loba* "desire".
Skr. *lobha* m.—\$ 39, 78,
79, 159, 186.

lol m. "instability", *lojem*
"to roll", *loia* m. "clapper
of a bell, uvula". G. *lojo*
"tongue", S. *rolu*, *rolaku*,
"to vagabond" *rolanu*, "to
roam", Pany. *lull* "penis",
H. *lol* "trembling, agitated",
lola m. "ear-rings, penis",
lolna "to shake", B. *lol*
"hanging, unstable", *lol*
daite "to hang", Sim. *lela*
"unstable, moving", *lela*-
vana "to go here and there,
to shake". P. Pkt. *lol*—Skr.
lola, *lola*.—\$ 80, 145.

vauul, *vaghal*, *vanyal*, *vauvem*,
vafnem, *vastu*, *val*, *valangnem*,
see om̐i, *oghal*, etc.—\$ 78.
vakkhar f. "warehouse, depot".
G. S. *vakkhar*, H. B. *bakkhar*
cf. Deśi. *vakkharayam rati-*
gihan̐, *antahpuram ity anye*
(252, 13). Skr. *avaskara* m.
"dung heap". ? —\$ 151,
152.

vagar (common form : *bagar*)
"except, without". G. *vagar*,
Pany. *vagar*, B. *begar*. Arab.-
Per. *bighair*, *baghair*. —\$
150.
vai f. "loss or waste in washing
raw silk" Deśi. *vaitimam*

any. H. B. *likh*, K. *likh*—
kt. *lihai*. Skr. *likhati*. Cf. M.

kh.—\$ 80.
lom̐, *lanu* f. "hair of the
ody, beece." G. *runun̐*, S.
any. *lūm*, Pany. H. *roam*,
rom̐a, H. Sim. lom. Skr.

man-, roman- n.—\$ 78,
40, 153.
"people", tatsama ; same
rm everywhere ; is also
und H. log. Skr. *loka* m.

and n. "iron", *lohā* m.
black-smith", G. H. *lokha-*
d̐, S. *lohu*, Pany. H. *loha*,
loh, Sim. *loho lo*, G.

dhun̐ "iron", G. Pany.
B. *lohā*, S. *luharu luharu*,
im. *lovaru* "black-smith",
Ro. *lovo* "silver (coins)".
kt. Skr. *loha*, Skr. *lohita-*
ira m. Cf. of Skr. *lohita-*
any. *lohi*, Ro. *lolo* "red",
any. *lohu* "blood". For

the second part of the word,
e M. *khānd*—\$ 78, 143,
18, 159, 161, 169.
m "to roll". G. Pany. H.

loi—; S. *loitko*, "sparse,
tant". Pkt. *loiai*. Skr.
iyati.—\$ 109.
"a plant growing in salty
marshland, salinity of soil".
lun n., S. *lūn*, Pany. *lūn*,
non, *nūn*, *lūn*, *lon*, B. *nūn*
ona, "salted", O. *nūn*,
im. *lūn*, K. *nūn*, Ro. *lon*
salt" (the Marathi word
moving "salt" is *mih*). Pkt

ia—Skr. *lavana* m.—\$ 78,
14.
n. "butter" H. *lūni*, *loni*, B.
m, *nan* Arm. Ro. *nol*, Ro.
r. *nil*. Skr. *navanita* n.—
66, 78, 134, 148, 170.
nem "to be suspended".

- of, in the name of". G.
vati "by the side of, in place
of, on behalf of", vate "by
means of"; S. vati "near,
in exchange for, with",
vatiun "close to, of"; Sim.
vat K. *buthu* "face". P.
vatta-. Skr. *vaktva* -n.—To
separate from Pany. *vai*
"news", H. *bat* "talk, thing",
K. *bath* "discourse", from
Skr. *vata* f. — \$ 48, 78, 151.
vanti m. "part of patrimony".
S. *vathu*, Sim. *vai* "thing",
money, history". Pkt. *vathu*-.
Skr. *vastu* -n. ? — \$ 122, 151.
vantiem "to vomit". H. *bama*;
B. *vanti* "vomiting". Skr.
vanti-. — \$ 138.
var "betrieved (man),
husband". G. Pany. *var*;
S. *varati* "married woman
(whose husband is alive)",
varanu, "to marry"; H. B.
bar "betrieved (man)",
Skr. *vara* -m. — \$ 151.
varai "a gold coin" (pagoda).
cf. Sim. *vara* "wild boar".
Skr. *varaha* -m. — \$ 46, 57,
161.
var, vari post position "on,
until", *varita* adj. "above",
varita, *varil* "superior, ex-
terior". G. *par*, S. *pari*, H.
upar, *par(i)*, B. O. *fare-*
"on". Skr. *upari*. — \$ 151,
152, 166, 174, 197.
varandi f. *varanda* m. *varandi* f.
"parapet, low edging wall".
Desi. *varando prakarah*
kapotakali ceti dyarihak (268,
11). The concordance of
meaning is to be noted; on
the other hand, Pany. *bara-*
inda, H. *baranda*, B. *baranda*,
K. *brand* denote a portico
with columns (a platform
—at the entry of a house), as
ativikiam (248, 9).
vatiem "to roll cotton to force
out its seeds". G. *vatum*, S.
vatinu, H. *baina*, B. *batile*, cf.
G. *vaino* "pestle". Skr.
apax *vaiyante* "are crushed".
— \$ 48, 78, 114, 151.
vathau n. "room, apartment".
S. *vathanu* f. "enclosure for
cattle, place, residence";
Pany. *vajan*, K. *vatan* "coun-
try, residence"; H. *bathan*
"hut in the jungle (for
cattle-breeders)",
"pasture". Skr. *upasthana*-
or *avasthana* -n. — \$ 48,
110, 151, 152, 174.
vad m. "Banyan tree, focus
Indica". G. *vad*, S. *bainu*,
Pany. *vad* and *bad* H. B.
bad. Pkt. *vada*-. Skr. *vaja-*
m. — \$ 151.
vadhiem *odhiem* "to draw, to
stretch". G. *odum*. Pkt.
vaddhai (= *kaddhai* H. c.
IV, 187). — \$ 78.
van m. n. "scar". Sim. *vana*
Pkt. "wound, abcess".
vana-. Skr. *vana* -m. — \$ 134,
151.
van, -vanti (in comp.) "water".
From M. *pani*. — \$ 152.
vanaj f. "journey for trade",
vanjar m. "troop of brinjaries,
travelling merchants, deal-
ing in grains and salt". G.
vanaj m., S. *vanij* m., Pany.
bany m., K. *bany* m. "trade";
G. *vanjar* f. "caravan"; S.
vanjaro, Pany. *vanjara*
"trader", H. *banyara*, name
of caste, "seeds man", Skr.
vanjya f. *vanjya* -n. — \$ 42,
48, 106.
vana m. "forest-fire". Desi.
Skr. *vanavala* -m. — \$ 46.
vatin "by the side of, because

doubt, another word, see for example Hobson Jobson, S. V. Verandah, or Dalgado, *Influencia do vocabulário português*. S. V. Varanda. In any case the Marathi word is anterior to all contact with any Roman language. — \$ 48.
rasnem "to rain". G. *varas-vum*, *varas* "rain"; S. *varsaru* "season of rains", *varsanu* and *vasanu* "to rain", *varhu* "year", *var* "rain, greenery". Pany. *varhina* "to rain", *varah* "year"; H. B. *baras-varha* "year"; K. *wuhura* "of the age of years"; Ro. *bers* (Asiatic *bers vers*) "year"; Sim. *was* "rain" *wasbah* "to rain"; Pkt. *varisa*, P. *vassa*. Skr. *varṣa*-m., *varṣati*. — \$ 157.
rat, *varī* f. "cord, cable". G. *varot* n.; G. S. *varat* H. *barat* f., Skr. *varatira* f. — \$ 46, 121.
rat f. "marriage procession". G. Pany. *varat*, H. *barat*, Bih. *barayit*. Skr. *varayatra* f. — \$ 61, 121.
rasnem "to reside". G. *vasum*, S. *vihanu* (no doubt coming from **vah*-contaminated by **vi*- "to sit", see under M. *basnem*), Pany. *vasana*, H. *basna*; Sim. *vasanava*. Pkt. *vasat*. Skr. *vasati*. — \$ 46, 156.
isne "in the opinion of, according to, on behalf of". S. *wasu*- "to be able to", *vast* "docile", K. *vas* "in the power of"; Ro. *vas* "because of"; Sim. *vasin visin* "thanks to". Pkt. *vasa*. Skr. *vasa*-m. — \$ 156, 193.

occhino "protection against heat, protection" *ochayo* "shade". Skr. *avachhada*-m. — \$ 78, 152.
vahan *vahan* f. "sandal". Pany. *pahan*, O. *panti*, Sim. *vahan*. Pkt. *utāna*, *pāna*, *vāna*. Skr. *utāhana*. — \$ 40, 52, 159, 167.
nah-f. — \$ 40, 52, 159, 167, 174.
vahila adj. (poet.) "separated, distinct; quickly; certainly". G. *vahelum*, S. *vahalu*. Pkt. *vahilla*, root *vah*. — \$ 50.
vahu f. "daughter-in-law"; *vahūmai* *comai* "mother-in-law"; G. *vahu*, S. *vahu*, Pany. *bohū*, H. *bahu*, B. *bau*, O. *bahu*. Desi. *vahuta* *kaniṣṭhasvāstruh* (250, 12), Pkt. *vahu*. Skr. *vadhu*-f. — \$ 46, 78, 159, 161.
vahar, *varar*, *ovar* n. "married couple". G. *vahurar*. Skr. *vadhūvara*-n. — \$ 78, 161, 163.
valnem "to turn, to plait", *va*-m. "tumour, rolling". G. *valatum*, S. *varan*, Pany. *valna*, H. *balna*, K. *valun*. Skr. *valayati*. — \$ 46, 52, 78, 145.
valen n. "ring". S. *varu*, Pany. *vala*, H. *bala*, O. *bali*, K. *vojū*, Sim. *vala*. Pkt. *valaa*. Skr. *valaya*-m. n. — \$ 46, 77, 145.
vānk m. n. "curve", f. "brass-ornament", *vānika* adj. "curved". G. *vāniku*, S. *vingo*, Pany. *vāngg*, H. *bānik*, B. *bānika*, Sim. *vak*. Pkt. *vānika*, P. *vākka*. Skr. *vakra*- (cf. Ved. *vanku*)- — \$ 92.
vānikad f. "continuous rain", *vānikdī* f. "hard winter". Desi. *vaddalam* *latha* *vākka*-

dam durdinam; vakkaḍam
nirantara viśīṭṭi eke (248, 16). Derived from Skr. *vakra-*, as the preceding one; cf. also *M. vāṅkḍa* adj. "hostile".
k vakh m. "filamentous in teguments of certain plants, used for cordage"; *vakh vakhal vakal f.* "quilt made of pieces, rags". *G. vakh vak, Sim. vak; H. bakal B. bakla* "bark". Skr. *valka-m*. n. — \$ 85.
ikhan f. "pangyric". *G. vakhan n., Panj. S. vakhan f., H. bakhan; B. bakhan* "abuse"; *K. vakhun* "lesson, subject of study". Pkt. *vak-khana*. Skr. *vyākhyāna-n*. — \$ 47, 48, 96, 151.
ang m. "spot on the skin, pustule, numbness, dull pain (due to a contusion)". *S. ving f.* "defect, vice"; *K. zong* "crippled", *Sim. vang* "twisted, hunch-back". Skr. *vyanga-*. — \$ 151.
vangi f. "aubergine". *Panj. vanga, B. bang. Desi. vam-gam vintakam* (246, 13). — Several names of aubergine have an evident, though difficult to define, relationship with this word. Thus *G. vemgan, S. vānu, Panj. baingan, H. Bih. baingan, B. bengam,* and *bāgun,* which recall, besides Persian *badinjan*. Cf. also in Dravidian, *Kannada badani* (and Tamil *valudalei, Malay. valudini* ?)
vagui f. "act of chewing". *G. vaggolun, Desi. vaggolai ro-vagha m.* "tiger". *G. vagh, S. vagh, bagh, Panj. H. B. bagh*

Pkt. *vaggha-*. Skr. *vāghra-m*. — \$ 99, 151.
vācñem "to read". *G. vāncun, S. vācanu, Panj. vāca, H. bacna, B. bacāte* "to explain". *Tatsama, Skr. vācayati*. — \$ 101.
vāncun "excepting" (gerundive of *vāncñem* "to escape". Skr. *vāncayati*. — \$ 197.
vājñem "to emit a sound, to resound". *G. vājñun, S. vāju* "musical instrument", *vājñu* "to resound", *Panj. vājñu, H. bajna, B. bajñe. Skr. vājña-*. — \$ 47, 106, 232.
vājñho vājña adj. "sterile", *vājñ vājñ f.* "sterile woman". *G. S. vājñh, H. bājñh B. bājñha, Sim. vānda; K. banjar* "desert". Skr. *van-dhya-*. — \$ 88, 107.
vai f. "path". *G. S. Panj. vai, H. B. bai, Sim. vat, K. vat. Desi. vaiṭṭa panthāḥ* (247, 8); Pkt. *vaiṭṭa Skr. vartman-n*. — \$ 39, 114, 197.
vāññem "to share". *G. vāññun, Panj. vāññan, S. vāññ, H. Bih. vāñña, B. vāññe;* *bāññi* "share-cropping". Skr. *bāññi*. — \$ 68, 109.
vāññem "to seem or appear unto" (cf. *nivāññem*). *B. baññe* "yes", *O. aiaññe* "he is"; *B. baññi, Bih. baññi* "I am"; *Sim. vāññava* "to merit", *vāññava* "to fall"; *K. vāññ* "to arrive, to come, to happen". Pkt. *vāññi. Skr. vartate*. — \$ 47, 114, 163.
vāññ adj. "around", *vāññ m. vāññ* (of banker and "round bag" (of banker and jeweller). *G. vāññ f. vāññ* "iron-band of a wheel", *H. batva*, "round bag", *Sim. vāññ* "circle, belt, circular" *vāññ* "hedge". P. Pkt. *vāññ*

14. f. "metal-bowl". G. S.
 āi, Bih. *bai*, *baia*. Pkt.
 āiṭṭiya- — \$ 114.
 (poet.) "big". G. *vādum*,
 vāḍo, Pany. *vāḍḍa*, H. B.
 āḍa, Sim. *vāḍi*, K. *boḍu*, Ro.
 āro. Deṣi. *vāḍḍo mahān* (246,
 3). Skr. *vāḍra* — \$ 111.
 ā m. "quarter", *vāḍi* f.
 enclosure, hamlet" -*vāḍem*
 in comp. in proper
 names, *āivāḍem*, *vīvāḍem*
 etc. G. *vāḍi*, *vāḍo*, S.
 āḍi "vegetable-field", *vāḍ*
 "enclosure", *vāḍo* "en-
 closure for cattle", Pany.
 āḍa "enclosure". H. *baḍ*,
 ar f. *baḍḍa*, B. *baḍi*, beside
 i. *baḍi*, Sim. *vāia* "hedge".
 Deṣi. *vāḍi*. *vīḍi* (251, 16).
 Skr. *vāia* - m. — \$ 46, 51, 111.
 hien "to grow". G. *vāḍhum*,
 f. *baḍhāna* (cf. *buḍha* "old
 nan"), B. *baḍite*, Sim.
 āḍinaḍa, K. *baḍun*, Ro.
 huro "old man"; with a
 lent, S. *vāḍhin*, Pany.
 āḍina and *vāḍhan* beside
 āḍhan. Pkt. *vāḍḍhai*. Skr.
 ardhaḥ. — \$ 48, 115.
 hāya m. "carpenter". H.
 f. O. *baḍhai*, Sim. *vāḍva*,
 f. G. *vāḍhum*, Pany. *vāḍ*;
 āḍha, S. *vāḍhanu*, "to cut";
 āḍ, "cutting, cut". Pkt.
 āḍḍhaia- Skr. *vāḍhaka*-
 n, *vāḍhayaṭi*. — \$ 47, 115.
 n, "pious donation of fruits,
 akes, clothes, etc." H.
 āyan, *baina*. Deṣi. *vāyanam*
hojyopāyanam (257, 3).
 Skr. *vāyana* - n. — \$ 61.
 vān, m. "colour", *vāni*
 according to, like". G.
 an S. *vanaku* m., *vanik* f.

"aspect, colour", Sim. *vāna*
 "colour", *van* "similar to".
 Pkt. *vāna* - Skr. *vāna* - m.
 — \$ 135.
 vānien *vānienem* (poet.) "to do
 an eulogy of". Sim. *vānāna*
 "to praise, to say", K.
 vanun "to talk"; on the
 other hand H. *banṇa* "to
 be decorated, to be made,
 made", B. *banāite* "to
 make"; Cf. Pany. *vānōcāni*
 "of different types", *vanki*
 vānaggi "specimen, mark".
 Pkt. *vānium*, inf. P. *vāniet*.
 Skr. *vānayaṭi*. — \$ 51, 135.
 vāni m. "merchant". G. *vānyo*,
 vānu, H. *banya*, B. *banya*,
 Sim. *vēnanda*; cf. K. *vān*
 "shop". Pkt. *vāna* - Skr.
 vānyā - n. — \$ 46, 48, 61, 63.
 vat f. "wick of lamp". G. *vai*,
 S. *vai*, Pany. H. *baiti*, H. B.
 bai, O. *bati*, Sim. *vāiya*. Pkt.
 vaiti-, *vaiti*-, P. *vaitika*. Skr.
 vārtika f. — \$ 114.
 vāndar and vānar m. n.
 "monkey". G. *vādar*, S.
 vānar, Pany. H. B. *bādar*,
 bānar, Sim. *vāndura*. K.
 vādur. Skr. *vānara* - m.
 —The insertion is old; but
 in Marathi the word has
 the air of being a loan; see
 under *mākāḍ*. — \$ 123, 136,
 164.
 vādai m. f. n. "bad weather".
 G. *vādai* S. *badalu*, Pany.
 baddal, H. B. O. *bādal*. Deṣi.
 vaddalam *lathā vakkadam dur-*
dinam; *vakkadam niranāra*
visir ity eke (248, 16); P.
 vaddaika. Skr. *varadālika* f.
 — \$ 47, 115, 123, 145.
 vāḍi vāḍhi f. "leather thing".
 G. *vāḍhar* f. S. *vāḍhi*, *vāḍhari*,
 Sim. *vāda*. Pkt. *vaddha* - Skr.

- also works as barber)" Desi. (253, 10). Skr. *vāpakārin- (cf. kitāvāpa-, vāpāna-). — \$ 46.
- vāru m. "war-horse" (poet., popul.). G. vāri m. "horse". Skr. vāru-m. — \$ 46.
- vā m. "wind, air". G. vā, vai, S. Pany. vāu, H. bāu, bai, B. bāo, bai, O. bāo, K. vāo, Sim. vā, Ro. balval valval, Palestinian Ro. vai. Pkt. vāa-. Skr. vāla-m. — \$ 55, 61.
- vāra f. n. vora m. "fathom". G. vām f. m., H. bām m., byānu, B. vānu, Sim. bāmbaya, vāma. Skr. vāma-. m. — \$ 78, 138, 151, 152.
- vāra m. "activity, domestic work". G. vāraun, vāpar- vūn "to use, to occupy, to employ, to live," voraun "to buy, to gather, to beg," S. vāpāru "business, trade," vāpāri "trader," H. bēpar, byopar, bēpari, K. vevahar. Pkt. vāvara-. Skr. vyāpara-m. — \$ 46, 151, 152.
- vāsa, vāsa, vāsa m. "business, traffic." Pkt. vāsa-. Skr. vāsa m. "odour, stench". G. vās f., S. vāsu, H. B. bas. Skr. vāsa-m. — \$ 156.
- vās m. "habitation", vāsin "to inhabit". G. Pany. vās, S. vāso, H. B. bas, Sim. vās, G. vāsun, Pany. vāsinā vāsa, H. basna. Skr. vāsa-m., vāsati. — \$ 156.
- vānisa vāsa m. "pole, beam"; vāsebin n. "grain of bamboo" (cf. under M. bin). G. vānis vānsō, S. vānsu, Pany. vānyh, H. B. bāns, Sim.
- vārdhira-m. n. — \$ 47.
- āp m. "sowing", f. "field of young wheat"; vābhīm "to sow", vābhā m. "plantation". G. vāpho, Sim. vāp; K. vāpun beside vāun "to sow". Pkt. vāpha- (see Deśināmālā 267, 14; cf. vāphīno 268, 7, vāphīdām 253, 15). Skr. vāpha-m. n. Cf. G. vāzun, H. bōna. K. vāzun, Sim. vāvarāda "to sow, to plant", from Skr. vāpayati; M. vāvar "field, meadow", from *vāpakāra-, or Semi-tatama of vāpra-. — \$ 86, 89.
- vāh bāh bhāh f. "steam". G. vāh, G. S. H. bāh; Sim. bāpa "tears". Pkt. P. bāppha-bāppha-. Skr. vāsta-m. — \$ 84, 89, 126.
- vām adj. "left". G. vām, Pany. bāiam, H. bāuan, bāyam, B. O. bām, Sim. vām "left", vāmī "woman". Skr. vāma-Tatama. The indigenous word is dāva. — \$ 138.
- vār m. "day, time, times" (in comp.). G. Pany. vār, S. vār, H. B. K. bar, Sim. var, Ro. var. Skr. vāra-m.
- vārim "to cry". G. vār var f. "complaint, appeal for aid, is probably to be separated, cf. S. vāhuru "pro-rector", Pany. vāhar "pro-tection". Pkt. vāharia-. Skr. vyāharati — \$ 46, 151, 161.
- vāra m. "wind, air". G. vāyaro, H. B. bayar; S. vāraiu "to ventilate" Desi. vāyaro fīfira-vālah (256, 14). Derived from Skr. vāla-m. — \$ 46, 61, 193.
- vārik (dial.) "barber" H. bari caste, whose occupation is of selling torches (and who

is an exception, but "to buy" is expressed by he-
 "to take", as in Marathi
 gheṇem, the word kenem
 having taken on a special
 meaning (see these words).
 Pkt. *vikṇai vikkai*; cf. Desi.
vikkenam vikkam (261, 15).
 Skr. *vikṛṇite*, *vikṛaya-* m.
 — S 51, 71.
vikh, *vikh* n. "poison". G.
 Pany. *vikh*, S. *vikhu*, *vihu*,
 (visiharu "poisonous"), Pany.
veh, W. Pany. *viss*, H. *bis*,
 H. B. *bikh*, K. *ēh*, Sim.
visa vaha. Pkt. *visa-*. Skr.
visa- n. Loan-word. — S 95.
vikharṇem, *vikharṇem* "to spread
 in disorder". G. *vikhetum*
 "to spread, to disperse",
vikharum "to be spread",
 S. *vikharṇu*, "to separate,
 to divide", *vikhiru* "part,
 separation", Pany. *vikharṇa*,
 "to spread", H. *bikharṇa*,
bikherṇa, Pkt. *vikhirai*, *vikhirai*.
 Skr. *vikirati* **viskirati*, cf.
viskita-. — S 50, 89, 96, 107.
vigadṇem "to demolish". G.
bagadum, S. *bigiranu*, Pany.
vigadṇa, H. *bigadṇa* "to be
 spoiled", B. *bigadite*. Skr.
vigahajati. — S 99.
vincent f. "small hole in a metal-
 vase (ascribed to scorpion-
 bite)". Desi. *vincentiam pati-*
tan dhara ca (270, 8). — S
 43, 50, 101. Cf. the following.
vinu m. "scorpion". G. *vinchi*,
vinu, *vinchi*, S. *vinṇu*, H.
bichu, *bichu*, B. *bichu*. Pkt.
vinchia-vichua-, P. *vichika-*.
 Skr. *viscika-*, m. — S 30, 69,
 101.
vinā vinā m. "fan". G. *vinjṇo*,
 S. *vinṇu*, H. *byṇa*,
bena, Sim. *vidiri*. cf. Pkt.
vinā-. Skr. *vinā-* n. Tat-

vas. Skr. *vamsa-* m. — S 71,
 156.
 strum *vamstrum* n. "calf". G.
vachum vach, S. *vachi*, Pany.
vach f., H. *bacha*, B. *bacca*,
bacha "child", *bachur* "calf",
 K. *vach*, Sim. *vassu vassa*. Pkt.
vacca, Skr. *vatsa-* m., *vatsa-*
rūpa- m. cf. M. -rum-. — S
 47, 66, 69.
vinem "colour", *vahan* f.
 "current", G. *vaherum*
 "colour, to flow out, to be de-
 ceived", *vahum* "to deceive",
vahan "boat", Pany. *vahṇa*
 "to flow", H. *bahna* "to flow",
 to float", B. *bahite* "to row",
bahite "to flow out", Sim.
vahana "raft". Pkt. *vahana-*.
 Skr. *vahati*, *vahana-* n. — S 52.
hi f. "brook". G. *vehdo*
vahdo, S. *vahuru* "canal, arm
 of river", Sim. *vahala*. Desi.
vaholo vahali virao trayopi
laghujalapravahavacakāḥ (250,
 5). — S 78.
ia m. "andropogon murica-
 tum *khaskhas*". G. *vājo*, S.
varo, B. *bala*; cf. Pany. K.
val, Sim. *vāla*, Ro. *bal*,
 "hair". Skr. *vāla-* m. — S 46,
 145.
vu f. "sand", G. *vālu velu* f.
 S. *vari*, H. *balva*, *balu*, B.
balu, O. *balu*, Sim. *vāli*. Pkt.
valva. Skr. *valuka* f. — S 46,
 145.
kenem "to sell, to sell oneself",
 G. *vecum*, S. *vikinṇu*, Pany.
veena "to sell" *vinā* "to be
 on sale", H. *becna bikna*, B.
becite bikate, Sim. *bikunāva*,
 Arm. Ro. *vignel*, Eur. Ro.
biknava; the simple word,
 wherever it exists, signifies
 "to buy" as in Sanskrit;
 H. *kinna*, Ro. *kinava*, Bg.
kenā; K. *kārun* "to sell"

Viṣṇudvīpa-; similarly a Kannarese *Bitā* is called *Viṣṇuwardhana* (see the notes of Vogel, Sten Konow, Fleet, Grierson, in *J.R.A.S.*, 1907, p. 1049-1051; 1908, p. 164). But there is no phonetic relationship between *Veīha-*, *Viīha-* and *Viṣṇu-*; The idea of a loan in Marathi from an eastern speech, proposed in § 110, is to be rejected, the Bengali pronunciation *Bisṇu* being quite modern and much later than the assimilation *si-īth* of Middle-Indian. Moreover, the cult of *Vīhoba* is local and modern. The normal representative of *Viṣṇu-* in Marathi is *Vinu* n. Pr., the expected form (§ 136; see example given on p. 272, 1.4); cf. *Sim.* *venu ven.*

vidī f. "cigarette; roll of betel leaf". H. *bidi*. Skr. *vitika* f. — § 111.

vinim "to weave". G. *vanim*, Pany. *vuna*, H. *bina*, *Sim.* *vinanava* (part. *viva*; *vinanava* "weaver"), K. *wonun*. P. *vyati*. Skr. *vayati*, *vayana-* whose nasal has been incorporated in the root.

vinem, *vin*, *vinā* "without". G. *vin*, *vinā*, S. *binu*, *binā*, H. *bin*, *binā*, B. *binā*, *Sim.* *vinā*. Skr. *vinā*. — § 183.

vinem "to beget". G. *viduim*, W. Pany. *viduim*, S. *vyāu*, "child" *vidū* "prolific", H. *byāna*, B. *biyāni* "bearing", *Sim.* *vādanava*. Cf. Pkt. *jai-jai*, *janā-*. Skr. *viyāna-vijayate*. — § 63, 229.

viṭhar m. "dispersion, ruin" adj. "deviated, irregular"

sama. The Sanskrit form *vyāṇāna-*, wrong cited in the text (§ 71, 76, 106), is, however, attested by the lexicons and confirmed by Sindhi and Gujarati words. *viṇ* *vi* f. "lightning". S. *viṇ* f. Pany. *biṇ* *vi*, H. *biṇ* *ag*, *Sim.* *vidu*. Pkt. *viṇ* - Skr. *vidut-* f. — § 39, 106, 150, 190.

viṇhan n. "extinction", *viṇhem* "to be extinguished, to expire". S. *vinānu* "to destroy", H. *buṇhā* "to get extinguished (light)", *Sim.* *be satisfied (thirst)*, Pkt. *vidanava* "to destroy". Pkt. *viṇhavi*, Skr. *vikṣināti*. — § 107.

viā viṣāḍ, *vi*; see *ia*, *iṣāḍ*, *it*. — § 153.

viā m. "impurity". G. *vaī*, S. *viānu*, B. *viā*. Apa. *viāla-*, Pkt. part. *viāliya-* of the family of M. *vi* "disgust", *vinem* "to make dirty", Skr. *viṣiḥa* f. "excrement", which term is preserved in S. *vihi*, Pany. *vihi*, H. *bihi*; cf. also M. *bit*. — § 109, 150.

viṇu viṇoba viīhal m., god of Pandharpur, to whom are dedicated the poems of Nāmedev and Tukārām (cf. Molesworth, p. XXV, XXVII); he is identified with *Viṇa*. The name goes back to a stem *in-a-*; *viṇo-bā* and *viṇu* are explained as *Viṇho-bā* and *kānu* (see under this word). The correspondence with Skr. *Viṇu* is admitted very early: To the name of the country P. *Viṇadīpa* - corresponds an inscription

S. vinnro "separated, H. *bitāna*, K. *vatharaun* "to extend" *vatharun* "bed", Sim. *vātreṇāva* "to spread oneself, to overflow", *vatura* "flood", *vitara* "breadth". cf. Pkt. *vitthara*. Skr. *vistara-vistara*-m. — \$ 122.

vindrum vindhrum n. "hole", Skr. *vidra*-n, poorly attested and M. -rum? Cf. G. *vindhun* "hole", S. *vindh* "perforation of pearls", H. *bedh bindh* "hole", which are related to the following word. — \$ 89, 123.

vindhun "to pierce, to perforate", G. *vindhun*, S. *vin-dhu*, Pany. *vinhna*, H. *bindhna bedhna*, B. *bindhte*. Pkt. *vindhai* beside *vehai* (cf. Pany. *veh*; H. *beh* "hole") Skr. *vidhyati*. — \$ 82, 124, 230.

inaunem "to supplicate, to implore", G. *inauauun*, H. *binana* "to revere, to to venerate". Pkt. *vinavei*. Skr. *vināpayati*. — \$ 135, 152.

ināti vinanti f. "request", G. *vinati*, *vinanti*, S. *vinati*, H. *binati*, B. *binati*. Skr. *vināpti*-f. — \$ 70.

ipara adj. "contrary, perverse, idiot, child who comes with feet first", G. B. *biparit*. Skr. *viparyaya*, *viparita*. — \$ 65, 143.

inem "to melt, to become threadbare", G. *varun* "to be tired out", Sim. *virya-nava* "to melt, to flow out", with reference to *vilin* "liquid", Ro. *bil*- "to melt". Pkt. *virai*, cf. Ved. Skr. *virite* with reference to *viriyate*. — \$ 142.

virna m. "stream, brook", H. *barha*. Deśi. *vaholo vāhali* *virao trayo* by *etc laghujala-pravāhāvācakah* (250, 5). Related to the preceding word; the aspiration, does it come from the words, cited by Hemacandra at the same time, and which belong to the family of M. *vāhin*, *vahāi*?

vivalnem "to grunt, to sigh", Deśi. *vimalam matsarabhāni-tam śabdām ceti dvyartham* (270, 3). — \$ 137, 152. Curious coincidence of meaning with *vilaunem* (*vilapana*-) : Is it an old metathesis?

viṭah m. "marriage", *vyāhi m.* "related by the marriage of children", G. *viṭah*, S. *viṭam*, Pany. *viṭah*, H. *biṭah byāh*, Sim. *viṭa*. Skr. *viṭaha*-m. — \$ 63, 159.

visarnem "to forget", G. *visar-vun*, S. *visaranu*, Pany. *visarna*, H. *bisarna*, Ro. *bistrava*. Pkt. *visara*, Skr. *vismarati*. — \$ 157, 252.

visaunem visāunem "to stop", "to rest", G. *visāmo* "rest", S. *visānu*, Pany. *visāna*, to be extinguished". Pkt. *visam-*, *visam-*. Skr. *visṭamya*- — \$ 49, 52, 152, 157.

visaunem visulnem "to wash", G. *vichajun*. Skr. part. *vikṣāṭita*. — \$ 79, 104, 145.

viṭu "tactical formation", Pkt. *viṭha*. Skr. *vyūha*-m. — \$ 151.

vilaunem "to groan, to sigh", Pany. *vilapna*, H. *bilapna*, *billana*. Skr. *vilapati*. — \$ 145, 149, 152. Cf. *vivalnem*. vit with f. "palm". G. *venit*, H. *bita bita*, Sim.

S. vinnro "separated, H. *bitāna*, K. *vatharaun* "to extend" *vatharun* "bed", Sim. *vātreṇāva* "to spread oneself, to overflow", *vatura* "flood", *vitara* "breadth". cf. Pkt. *vitthara*. Skr. *vistara-vistara*-m. — \$ 122.

vindrum vindhrum n. "hole", Skr. *vidra*-n, poorly attested and M. -rum? Cf. G. *vindhun* "hole", S. *vindh* "perforation of pearls", H. *bedh bindh* "hole", which are related to the following word. — \$ 89, 123.

vindhun "to pierce, to perforate", G. *vindhun*, S. *vin-dhu*, Pany. *vinhna*, H. *bindhna bedhna*, B. *bindhte*. Pkt. *vindhai* beside *vehai* (cf. Pany. *veh*; H. *beh* "hole") Skr. *vidhyati*. — \$ 82, 124, 230.

inaunem "to supplicate, to implore", G. *inauauun*, H. *binana* "to revere, to to venerate". Pkt. *vinavei*. Skr. *vināpayati*. — \$ 135, 152.

ināti vinanti f. "request", G. *vinati*, *vinanti*, S. *vinati*, H. *binati*, B. *binati*. Skr. *vināpti*-f. — \$ 70.

ipara adj. "contrary, perverse, idiot, child who comes with feet first", G. B. *biparit*. Skr. *viparyaya*, *viparita*. — \$ 65, 143.

inem "to melt, to become threadbare", G. *varun* "to be tired out", Sim. *virya-nava* "to melt, to flow out", with reference to *vilin* "liquid", Ro. *bil*- "to melt". Pkt. *virai*, cf. Ved. Skr. *virite* with reference to *viriyate*. — \$ 142.

viyat. Alberuni gives the form *biyat(u)*; Pkt. *vihati-*. Skr. *vitasti-* f. Cf. K. *vyeth*, V. Pany. *vehat* "the river *Vitasta*." — \$ 63, 88, 122. *vir viri* f. "force". H. *birj* m., Sim. *vera* "force". P. Pkt. *virya-virya-*. Skr. *virya-* n. — \$ 143.

vis "twenty". G. *vis*, S. Pany. *viṣ*, H. *bis*. B. *bis*, Sim. *visi* *vissa*, K. *vuh*, Ro. *bis bis*. Pkt. *visam*. Skr. *vinśati-*. whose nasal is unique in all I.E. languages (except in Auss. : *insai*, see Brugmann, *Grundriss*². II, 2, p. 31 n.). — \$ 150, 153, 223.

vil f. "ebb and tide". G. *vil* *vil*, S. *virī*. Deśi. *vilī tarāṅgaḥ* (263, 9)

veceṇem "to spend" "to be separated from G. Pany. *vec-*, H. B. *bec-* "to sell", see under M. *viknem* Apa. *veccai* (*prayacchati*). Skr. *vyayati*. — \$ 151.

vejit adj. "vanquished". Skr. *vyajita-*. Tatsama with dissimilation. — \$ 171.

veith f. "forced labour, burden". G. *veih*, Sim. *vit* "price, pay". Pkt. *viṭhi-*, *veithi-*. Skr. *viṣṭi-* f. — \$ 77, 80.

vedhēnem "to surround", *vedh* n. f. "ring, circle". G. *vitunm* (*vedh* "ring"), S. *vedhannu*, H. *bedhna*, B. *bedite*, Sim. *velanaua*. P. *veithati*, Pkt. *vedhai*; Deśi. *vedḍhia-* for Pkt. *vedhia-* (264, 11, 13). Skr. *vestiyati-* — \$ 112.

ven f. "pain". Pkt. *viana*, *veyana*. Skr. *vedana* f. — \$ 63. *vet* m. "rush (plant)". Pany. *vella-*. Skr. *velra* m. n. e 77 191

veinḍhiā adj. "stupid, disordered, improper". *veiddho urdhvokīro visamsthula aovidhahsitihitam gataśceti caturarthatḥ* (271, 1). — \$ 63.

verim "dial. position. "until, towards" (time and space). G. *vere* "to marry) with". Skr. *upari*, which normally gives *var*, *vart*. — \$ 142, 166.

vel m. f. "creeper". G. Pany. *vel*, Pany. also *vah*, S. *vali*, H. *bel*, Sim. *val*. Deśi. *vella valli* (270, 13). Pkt. *velli-*. Skr. *valli* f. — \$ 148, 166. *velhai* m. "dear", f. "mistress". Deśi. *vellahalo komalo vilāsi* ca (271, 7). — \$ 148.

vesa. *vesay* *vesa* m. "business". — See S. V. *vasa*. *veve* exclamation of terror. S. Pany. *ve*. Pkt. Deśi. *veve* (*bhaya vāraṇa viśāḍama-ntranārtiḥsu*, 270, 14.)

vesa f. "adulteress, debauched woman". Pany. *vesa* m., H. *besua* f. Sim. *ves-* (in comp.). Pkt. *vesa*. Skr. *veśya* f. — \$ 77, 157.

vehiā vheia m. "myrobolon". H. *baheḍa*; K. *bulela* (Persian *balil*, Arabic *balily*) is to be separated. Skr. *vibhittikā-vibhidakā-* m. \$ 80, 118, 171

vel f. "sea-shore". S. Pany. *ver*, H. *ber* beside Pany. H. *vella*, K. *vella*, "time"; Sim. *vel* "river-bank". Skr. *vella* f. — \$ 39, 142, 145, 153, 154, 194.

vevhar n. "business, profession". S. *vaavahar* "business"; Pany. *beora*, H. *byora*, K. *vevhar*, Sim. *vahara* "custom". Skr. *vyavahara-*

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vevhar n. "business, profession". S. *vaavahar* "business"; Pany. *beora*, H. *byora*, K. *vevhar*, Sim. *vahara* "custom". Skr. *vyavahara-*

sak n. m. "group of 6; on a die, 6 multiplied by ..etc." Pany. *chakka* K. *saka*. Pkt. *chakka*. Skr. *śaṅka* n. — \$ 48, 93, 156.

saknem "to be able to". G. *saknem*, S. *saghuu*, Pany. *saknuu*, H. *saknu*, K. *hēkun*, Ro. *say* - ? Sim. *saki* *haki* "capable". Pkt. *saketi*, *sakka*. Skr. *śaknoti śakyate*. — \$ 48, 93, 156, 230.

sakar m. "acceptance of a credit note", G. *sakar*, S. *sakaranu*, "to accept, to do honour to", H. *sakara*. Pkt. *sakkara*. Skr. *śakkāra* m. — \$ 156.

saga adj. "own, relation". S. *sago*, H. *saga*, Pany. *sagg*, Sim. *siya*, *siyau*. Skr. *svaka*. — \$ 98, 157.

sagla adj. "all, each". G. *saghum*, Pany. *sagal*, *sagra*, H. *sagar*, *sagrd*, *sagal*, *sagla*, Sim. *siyala*, *siyalla* "totality". Pkt. *saala*, Apa. *sagala*. Skr. *sakala* — \$ 98, 156.

sangem "with, in company of". G. H. O. *sange*, Pany. H. *sang*, Pany. *sagg*; Pany. *sane*, H. *san*, K. *san* (*sang* "company"), S. *sant* "in consideration of" (*santu* "parent by marriage"). Skr. *sangata*. — \$ 98, 156, 193.

sancarnem "to penetrate, to possess. (demon)". G. Pany. H. *sancar*. Apa. absol. *sancari*. Skr. *sancarati* — \$ 49, 101, 156.

sai saih f. "sixth day of the fort-night"; *sai saih sahi* deity of the sixth day after birth (Durgā); the cult which is rendered to Durgā". G. *chaih*, S. *chahi* Pany. H. *chaih chah* "sixth day"; G.

m. semi tatsama; cf. M. *vāvar* from *vyāvar*. — \$ 158.

veḷu m. "bamboo". Isolated; cf. under M. *vāmsa*. P. Pkt. *veḷu*. Skr. *venu* m. — \$ 147.

vai, *vai*, *vahi*, *vay* f. "closure, palisade". Pkt. *vai*, cf. Desi. *vatti* *taṭha* *vavēla* *deva* *elau* (247, 9) Skr. *viti* f. — \$ 57, 154, 161.

vair n. "enmity". S. *veru*. Pkt. Skr. *vaira* n. — \$ 57.

vainsem *vansēm* n. and fem. pl. "husband's sister", M. *vahini* "wife of my elder brother", Pany. *vannim* "woman, wife" gives the first member of the compound; for the second cf. Pkt.—*ssia* (Skr. *svasikā* f.) whose normal representative in Marathi is *si*, for example in *maṇṇi* "aunt". — \$ 63.

vhai m. f. "streamlet". Sim. *vahala* beside *vahana*. Desi. *vahalo* *vāhala* *virao* *trayo* *pi* *laghujala* *pravaḥavācākāḥ* (250, 5). Cf. M. *virha*.

— *si* post position. — \$ 197, 198.

— suffix of nouns of relationship, as *āyas* "grandfather", *ājis* "grand mother", *ales* "aunt", *bāpus* "father", *bhaus* "father", *sāus* "mother in-law". Similarly *lāus*, see S. V. Skr. *śri* f. — \$ 38, 157.

ai, *say* f. "female friend, female companion". G. *sai*, *saiyar* f., S. *sahi* m. S. Pany. H. *saheli*, Sim. *saha* "friend". Pkt. *sahi*. Skr. *sakhi* f. — \$ 46, 57, 156, 161.

ai, *say* f. "recollection". Sim. *sihya* *sihi*. P. *sati*. Skr. *smṛti* f. — \$ 57, 156.

chaiti, S. H. *chaiti* "cult rendered to Durgā"; H. *chaitā*, *chaitā* "sixth"; Skr. *sashti*-f. — \$ 88, 110, 218. Cf. *sāh* "sixty".
idnem "to rot". G. S. Pany. H. B. *sād*. Skr. *saiati*- — \$ 46, 111, 156.
idhai adj. "liberal, prodigal". Pkt. *sīdhila*-, P. *sīhilo*-. Skr. *sīthila*-. Cf. M. *dhila*-. — \$ 30, 31, 42, 112, 156.
in m. "festival, vocation". G. *khan* f. Pany. *khiṇ* m., *chin* f. "moment"; S. *khunu* "inter-val, respite"; H. *chan*, *chin*, *khan*, *khiṇ* "instant, certain day of the moon-lit fortnight"; Bg. *e-khan*, *ta-khan* "then"; K. *vun-kēn* "at that time"; Sim. *sānā*, *sana*, "moment, festival", *sanda* "whilst", *kenēhi* "at that very moment". Deśi. *chano*, *utsavaḥ* (120, 8); Pkt. *chana*-, *khana*-, P. *chana*-festival", Skr. *khana*- "moment". Skr. *kṣana*-m. — \$ 104, 134. *an* m. "hemp of Bengal". G. Pany. *san*, S. *sinu* "name of a species of herb", H. *san*. Skr. *śana*-m. — \$ 134, 156. *at* n. "essence, force, virtue", G. S. H. *sat*, Pany. *sati* m. "essence", Sim. *sata* "creature". Pkt. *satta*-. Skr. *satva*-n. — \$ 130, 156. *ami* m. "saint, devotee". G. Pany. H. *samt*; S. *samtu*. Pkt. *santa*-. Skr. *san*-, or *śanta*-? Mr. Meyer informs me that if the *Zend* word *spento* had a parallel in India, it could not have had any other form. One could then more simply think of the European word "saint", Italian, Por-

samt adj. "soft, calm (breeze, flame, temperament)". Pany. *samt* f., Sim. *set* "tranquility", cf. Sim. *sati* "end, annihilation". P. Pkt. *santa*-(*santi*-). Skr. *śanta*-(*śanti*-f.). — \$ 121, 156.
sattar "seventy". G. *sitter*, S. *sattari*, Pany. H. B. *sattar*, O. *sattori*, Maith. *sattari*; Sim. *satta* (*va*), K. *sataṭh*. Pkt. *sattari*; P. *sattali*, *sattari*. Skr. *saptati*-f. — \$ 118, 121, 143, 160, 219, 223.
satra "seventeen". G. O. *satar*, Pany. *sataṭam*, S. *sataṭam*, H. *sattarah*, B. *sater*, Maith. *sattarah*; Sim. *sataṭos*, K. *sadah*. Pkt. *sattarasa*-. Skr. *saptadaśa*-. — \$ 118, 121, 143, 221.
sandhevin "in doubt"; for *sandehin*, G. *sandhe* "doubt", S. *sandehu*, Pany. H. *sandeh*. Skr. *sandeha*-m. — \$ 55, 124. *sampat* f. "richness, prosperity". G. H. *sampat*, Sim. *sapat*. Pkt. Skr. *sampatti*-f. — \$ 121, 156.
sapan m. "dream". Tatsama, Skr. *svapna*-m. Cf. the words for "to sleep" cited under M. *jhompiem*. — \$ 162.
saphānisi (coin, medal) provided with a hook for hanging the same". From *sa*+*phānis* (Skr. *pāśa*-), see under the word. The compound with *sa*-remains alive. — \$ 84. Skr. *sambhar* "hundred". *śatam*+*bhar*—or *bhar*—? — \$ 224. Cf. *śem*.
samajnem "to understand". G. *samaj*-, S. Pany. *samajh*-, H. *samujh*-(cf. H. *mujh* from Skr. *māhyam*); cf. Pany. *sohaj* f. "intelligence, view, ostentation". Skr. *sama-*

beginning of the word would be treated as tatsama; several Prakrit words as representing Sr. *samanyate samantayati* would have behaved in this manner. — § 89, 107, 252. *sar* m. "necklace, garland". S. *sar* f. Deśi. *sarā mala* (272, 12). — § 156. *samor* "opposite". G. *sāmun samhom*, Pany. *sauhem* "opposite"; Sim. *hamwa* "opposite"; Skt. *samukha*. — § 64, 138, 161. Cf. M. *mohar. sardā sardhā* m. "chameleon, lizard". G. *sardo*, W. Pany. *saddur*, H. *saraj*, Deśi. *sarada* (276, 1). Skt. *saraja* m. — § 111. *sarjem* "to advance, to do well". G. S. Pany. H. *sar*; K. *hā-* "to grow"? Pkt. *saraj*, Skt. *sarati*. — § 46, 156. *sarva* m. "heavy shower". G. *sarava* m. pl. Deśi. *sarivā tatha siharāo āsarāh* (276, 9). — § 46, 50. *saraj* "straight, honest". G. *saraj*, S. *sarajo*, Pany. H. *saral*. Pkt. Skt. *sarala*. — § 145. *sarm*, *sarm* n. "shame". G. *sarm*, *sarm*, S. *saramu*, Pany. *sarm*, H. *sarm*, *sarm*, Persian *sarm*. — § 155. *sarsa* adj. "similar, contiguous", *sarsim* "with". G. *sarsum* "against, with", H. *saras* "similar, according to", Pany. *sarih* "in the presence of", Sim. *sari* "resemblance, with", cf. Ro. *sar* "like, why", S. *saru* "according to" (or should they be linked with the family of Skt. *sar*, cf. *anusārana*? In any case, the long *a* presents no

difficulty, cf. M. *sārkha* parallel to *sarsa*). Pkt. *sarisa* (cf. Deśi. *sarisāhul* 175, 5). If Saur. Pkt. *tadisa*, from Skt. *tadisa* (M. *taiśā*) is to be separated from Pkt. P. *tārisa* Gr. *telixos*, which far from being sure, should be admitted, the confusion is very old because are found on the model or *tārisa*; *etārisa* -*yārisa* in Asoka and in Pā (by the side of *idisa*-*kidisa*- then *erisa*-*sarisa* *ahmārisa*- the anthology of *Hāla* and following the equation Skt. *sadisa* : *sadikṣa*. Pkt. *sariccha*-*sariccha* in the sam collection; see all the Pkt forms in Pischel — § 24; — § 143. *sarā* m. "liquor of palm-juice spirituous liquor". S. H. *saro*, contamination of Skt. *sura* f. and *sāra* m. n. ? — 74. *saru* m. "sleeve, handle (axe etc.)". — G. *charo*, *cha* "knife", Sim. *saru* "sleeve sword". Pkt. *charu*. Skt. *charu* m. Cf. m. *tharu*. — 46, 103. *sal* f. piercing, acute pain", m. n. "splinter". G. *salak* f. *salako* m., Pany. *sal* "piercing pain". H. *sal* "thorn, embarrassment", Sim. *sal* "porcupinequill". Skt. *śalya* m. n. — § 148. *salag* adj. "continuous". G. *salag*, Skt. *samlagna*. — § 798, 148, 156. *sa* f. "the North". Skt. *sa* "left". — § 152, 156. *sa* f. "taste, pleasure". S. "love", Pany. *sa* "true". Ve

Marathi has only *vel*, in the sense of "river-bank", leads us to regard *M. saver* as loan.

— \$ 142.

sasā m. "hare", *G. saso*, *Panj. H. sasā*, *Sim. sava hāva sā hā*, *Ro. soṣoy. Skr. śaśa-* m. — \$ 46, 156.

samsār m. "world, human life", *G. H. samsār*, *S. samsāru*, *Sim. sasara*. *Pkt. Skr. samsāra-* m. — \$ 156.

sahā, *sāy*, *sai* f. "cream". *Deśi. sāho. . dadhisarāh. dadhi*

saro dadhna upari saram (291, 15). — \$ 46, 52, 161.

sahā "six", *sahāvā* "sixth". *G. cha*, *S. cha(h)*, *Panj. che*, *H. cha*, *che*, *B. chay*, *O. chōh*, *Maith. chau*, *Sim. sa, saya, ha*, *haya*, *K. śih*, *Ro. so, soṣ. Pkt. cha*, *Apa. chaha*. *Skr. sat*

(Indo-Iranian, **ksaks*). — \$ 39, 41, 104, 156, 218, 226. *sai* "irritating, tormenting conduct". *G. S. chaj*, *Panj. H. chal*, *Sim. sala sala* "ruse".

Skr. chala- n. 103, 145. *sai* m., term of respect, originally

nally "master". *G. sāni*

"fakir"; *S. sānim*, *Panj. H. sāim*, *B. o. sāim*, *Sim. sāmi*, *himi*, *himina*. *Pkt. sāmi*. *Skr. svāmin-* m. — \$ 153, 157.

sai f. "ink". *G. sai*, *Panj. syāhi*, *H. sāhi*, *syāhi*. *Persian. syāhi*.

— \$ 155.

sak f. "person sent on a search, guard; credit, reputation."

S. Panj. sākhi, *K. sōksi*

"witness", *H. sāk*. "credit, evidence". *Skr. saksin-* — \$

156. *sāṅkal* *sākai* *sāṅkhal* f.

"chain". *G. sāṅkal*, *S. sān-*

ghar, *Panj. sāṅgal*, *H. sāṅkal*, *sāṅkar sikaḍ*, *B. sikhāl*, *K. hōṅkal* *Sim. sākilla hōkilla*.

Skr. sapati "to look for, love", *śapa-* m. "penis" ? — \$ 156.

rang "cheap". *G. songhun*, *S. sāhango*. *Skr. samargha-* — \$ 46, 69, 88, 152.

pad "in face of", *saḍyam* "opposite". *Deśi. saḍam-* *muho abhimukhaḥ* (281, 7) — \$ 46.

vat f. "rival". *H. savat*, *saut*; *Panj. saut* "fertile" (*saputra*) is to be separated. *Pkt. savatti*. *Skr. sapatni* f. — \$ 40, 46, 121, 152, 156.

vā adj. "and a quarter". *G. S. Panj. H. B. sava*, *Maith. saavayā*, *O. sauyā*. *Skr. sapāda-* . — \$ 46, 60, 61, 152, 156.

vāṣā m. "Brahman tribe, member of this tribe". *G. saḍso*, *H. saḍsan*. *Deśi. saḍso brahmanah* (273, 17) shows the antiquity of this form. *Skr. sapāda-śataka-* — \$ 155, 156, 224.

ven "in company, with". *Prob. Skr. sahita*. — \$ 198, Cf. *M. sim*.

ven- c "immediately, spontaneously"; *sav* (*sam-*ca**) "at the moment (of twilight)". *G. H. samo*, *Panj. H. Sim. sama* "time". *Skr. samaya-* m. (*samayena*, *samaye*). — \$ 46, 58, 152, 156, 193.

imvithai n. "flat terrain". *Skr. sama-sthala-*. — \$ 46, 122, 152, 156.

ver "exactly at". *G. savera*

saveja, *S. savere savele savero* (adj. and adv.) "early", *H. saver savel*, *H. savera* "dawn";

the presence in these languages of *S. Panj. ver*, *H. ver* "time" by the side of

ber "time" which

Pkt. *samkhala* *sinkhala*. Skr. *śinkhala* f. — \$ 30, 31, 71, 89, 96, 156.

sāmkāḍ n. "difficulty". G. *sāmkādūm* S. *sāmkaiu* "vexation, misfortune", *sāmgaiu* "interruption", K. *sakhtah* "hard", Sim. *sakuju*, *sakuju*, Pkt. "hard, compact". Pkt. *sāmkāḍa*-. Skr. *sāmkāḍa*- n. — \$ 82, 93, 111.

sākhār, *sākar* f. "sugar". G. *sākar* f. Pany. H. *sakkar*, Sim. *hakuru* "palm-sugar". Pkt. *sakkara*-, *sakcharin* (Per. Erythrian Sea), P. *sakkhara*. Skr. *sarkara* f. — \$ 47, 89, 93. *sāmkhniem* "to get congeal, to co-agulate". Pany. *samghna* adj. "thick, close". Desi. *samkhai samstiyāte* (276, 2). — \$ 89.

sāmkū m. "bridge". H. *sāmkhu*. Skr. *sāmkū*-m. — \$ 156. *sāmgāḍ* m. f. "raft made of two boats tied together". G. *samghāḍo* "tower", Sim. *samghala* "pair", *hāmgulu* "raft"; — Cf. Tamil *sāngaḍam*, Tulu *jangala* "raft". Desi. *samghāḍi* *yugalam* (174, 12); in Limurike *saggara*, name of raft according to Periplus of Erythrian Sea; cf. P. *naḍasamghaia*-. Skr. *samghaia*-, *samghaia*-. — \$ 89.

sāmgāḍniem "to hold, to attach", *sāmgūlniem* "to get congealed to be co-agulated". Desi. *samghalai samghaiate* (280, 13). — \$ 79, 89, 146. *sāmgniem* "to say". Pkt. *samghai* *sāhai*, Mss. of Dut. Rhins *sajhai*. Skr. *samsati*. A word without a parallel in any other modern language, but which seems to be

old; for the change internal s, which is already present in the Pkt. form see \$ 160; the guttural articulation, which goes back to the same period, is due to the nasalisation of preceding vowel, cf. P *siṅgha*- from Skr. *siṅgh* — \$ 89, 156, 229, 239, 240.

sāc, *sāncā* adj. "true". *sāc* n. "truth", *sāsum* "true", *sāce* "truly", S. *sacu*, *sacc*, *sāncā*, H. *sānc*, B. O. *sācā*; Sim. *sānc*, "truth", Ro. *caco*. P *sacca*-. Skr. *satya*-. — \$ 101, 156.

sānc m. "place, countenance", *sāncā* m. "mould", *sānci* "to accumulate", G. *sācūm* "to gather", *sācūm* "machine; mould"; S. *sācū* "to supervise", *sāncū* "to accumulate" Pany. H. *sāncā* "mould", K. *sāncē* "accumulation". Pkt. *sāncin* Skr. *sāncayā*-m. — \$ 6 101, 230.

sāny *sānyh* f. "evening". *sāny*, S. *sānyhi* *sānyho*, Pany. H. B. O. *sānyh*, H. *sāny*, Sim. *sāncā* *sāncā* f. — \$ 88, 107, 156. *sānyem* "to decorate, to suit" G. *sānyum*, S. *sānyānu*, Pany. *sānyā*, H. *sānyā*, Sim. *sādenā* Pkt. *sānyei*. Skr. *sānyayati*. — 47, 106, 156.

sānyem n. "vow, promise" Elsewhere the word has the sense of "sign, signal"; *sānyā*, H. *sān sān*, Sim. *sānyā* Pkt. *sānyā*. Skr. *sānyā* — \$ 106, 135.

sāih "sixty". G. H. *sāih*, S. *saihi*, Pany. *saiih*, B. *sai*

O. *sāhie*, K. *sāih*, *seih*,
 Sim. *hāia sāia*. Pkt. *sāihī*.
 Skr. *sasī*-f. — \$ 110, 218,
 223.
mīhīnem "to accumulate". H.
sāmīhīna; Sim. *sāiahān* "sign,
 form". Pkt. *sāmīhāna*. Skr.
samsthāna-, *samsthāpāyati*. —
 \$ 89, 110.
īhīm, *sāim* "in view of, for".
 G. *sāie* "in exchange, for";
sāihī "because, why, how";
 S. *sāio* "exchange"; *sāihāio*
 "at an advantageous
 moment"; *sāihāim*, Sim. *īa*
 "for". Skr. *sārtha*-. — \$ 89,
 114, 197, 198. See *sāih*.
impīnem "to spread, to throw
 down". G. *chāimīdum*, S.
chāimīdūn, Pany. *chāimīdūna*,
chāimīdūna, H. *chāimīdūna*, B.
chādite, K. *chādūn*, Sim.
heīanava, Ro. *cat*- "to vomit".
 Pkt. *chādādei*, *chādādei*. Skr.
chardayati. — \$ 47, 69, 70,
 103, 115, 230.
amīd m. "free bull". G. H.
sāimīd, S. *sānu*, Pany. *sānh*.
 Skr. *sāimīda*-m. — \$ 111, 156.
sādī f. *sādā* m. "woman's
 dress". G. H. *sādī*, S. Pany.
sādīhī, Sim. *sānuva*, *haluva*-.
 Pkt. *sāika*-. Skr. *sāia*-m.
 — \$ 156.
ade n. "a half" (from three
 onwards). G. *sāda*, S.
sādha, Pany. H. *sādhe* (Pany.
sād f. "half"), B. *sāde*. Pkt.
sāddha-. Skr. *sārdha*-. — \$
 46, 89, 115, 156, 225.
sādūn m. "husband of wife's
 sister". G. *sādū*, S. *sāmīdūn*,
 Pany. *sādūn* *sāmīdūn*, H.
sādūn, *sādū*. Skr. *syātivodhi*-
 m. — \$ 89, 112, 157, 164.
san f. "place for the palanquin
 of Holidēvi". G. *chāvam*, S.
chāimīvini "camp", H. *chāna*

"to cover", Pany. *chann*, H.
chan "straw-roof", *chāimī*
 "cantonement, ceiling",
 Sim. *hizana* "to cover, to
 shelter". Pkt. *chāna*-. Skr. *cha*-
dayati, *chādāna*-m. — \$ 61.
sān *sahān* f. "mill-stone". Pany.
sān, Sim. *sāna-hāna*-, Ro.
asan. Desī. *chāna*- (124, 14).
 Skr. *sāna*-m. — \$ 52, 156,
 161.
sat "seven". G. H. Bih. *sāt*,
 S. *sat*, Pany. *satt*, B. O. *sāto*,
 Sim. *sat*, *hat*, K. *sāih* Palest.
 Ro. *hōi*. Pkt. *satta*. Skr. *sapta*.
 — \$ 121, 156, 219.
sātvan n. *sāvin* m. f. n. "echites
 scholars", plant which has
 seven leaves and one stalk,
 cf. Sim. *satpat*, *saidala*. Pkt.
sattavāna-. Skr. *saptaparna*-
 m. n. — \$ 47, 121, 135, 152.
sāta *sāmīta* adj. "being". Pany.
samīda, S. *hāmīdo*, K. *sond*
hond (used to form the
 adjective of belonging). Pkt.
santa-. Skr. *sant*-. — \$ 71,
 156, 202.
sātū, *sātū* m. "barley, flour
 of parched barley". G.
sātū m., Pany. *sātū*, H.
sātū, *sātū*, "flour of parched
 wheat". Skr. *saktu*-m.
 — \$ 47, 121, 156.
sāih f. "company, companion",
sāihī *sāi* m. "companion",
 G. Pany. H. *sāih* *sāihī*, S.
 cf. *sāihū* *sāihī*, K. *sōihī*,
 Sim. *sātva* "merchant",
 Pkt. *sāttha*-. Skr. *sārtha*-.
 — \$ 114, 156. Cf. m. *sāim*.
sād m. f. "appeal, cry". G. H.
sād, Pany. *sadd*, S. *sado*, K.
 Sim. *sada*. Pkt. *sadda*-. Skr.
sabba-m. — \$ 123, 156.
sādāine "to be humid". Pkt.
saddala-. Skr. *sādvala*-. — \$
 47, 130, 145, 156.

sunu, *sunu* f. "joint, fissure".
G. sandh f. "joint, cleft";
sandhaun "to join"; *S.*
sandhu m. "joint"; *sandhi*
 f. "hole made by thieves";
senधि, *senध* "friendship";
Panj. sanhi, *H. senधि* "hole
 made by thieves"; *B. O.*
simhi; *Sim. sanda* "arti-
 culation"; *handiya* "joint".
Pkt. sandhai. *Skr. sandhi*-
 m. — \$ 88, 124, 156.
sap m. "serpent". *G. B. O.*
sap, *S. sapu*, *Panj. sapp*, *H.*
sāp, *Sim. sapu*, *hapu*, *Ro.*
sap, *P. Pkt. sappā*. *Skr.*
sarpa-m. — \$ 69, 125, 156.
sarpādhnem "to fall in, to find
 oneself at, to encounter." *G.*
sarpādun "to find, to dis-
 cover"; *K. sombar* "to
 gather, to collect"? *Desi.*
sarpādām labdham (277,
 15). *Skr. sampatati* "to
 encounter"? *CF. M. padnem.*
sampnem "now"; *sampēca* adj.
 "actual, of to day". *Pkt.*
sampayam *Skr. sampratam.*
 — \$ 62, 71, 156.
sāmba m. n. "cervix Elaphas".
G. sābar, *S. sāmba*, *sāmba*,
H. sābar, *sāmba*. *Skr. sam-*
bara-m. — \$ 127.
sābun, *sābun* m. "soap". *sābu*,
Panj. sābun sābun, *H. sābun*,
K. sāban. *Ar. Per. sābun.*
 — \$ 42, 134.
sāmāsi adj. "of six months";
sāmāsem, *sāmāsem* n. "com-
 memorative rite performed
 after six months from death".
sahā+mas (*māsa*-). — \$
 138, 161.
sāy sāva, *sāg* m. "teak wood".
G. H. sāg m., *S. sāgu*. *Skr.*
sāka-m. — \$ 98, 156.
 old *M. sāyar* m. "ocean".
Sim. sayuru. *Skr. sāgara*-m.

— 3 to, 34, 100, 202.
sar n. "essence, juice; fruit
 syrup". *G. Panj. H. K. s*
S. sārū, *Sim. sara* "substan-
 cream, etc." *Skr. sara*-
 n. — \$ 156.
sārā adj. "all, entire"; *pa*
 of *sānem* "to activate,
 terminate". *G. sārū*,
sāro, *Panj. B. sārā*, *K. sār*
 "all, complete" (*Panj. s*
 also "each"), with referen-
 to *H. Panj. sārā*, *B. sār*
 "terminate, to repair". *Ti*
 is not exactly similar to *Si*
sārā, *Pkt. sārā*, *P. sabb*
G. sārī, *S. sārū*, *Panj. sa*
habb, *H. sab*, *Sim. sārū* *h*
Arm. Ro. sar, *Eur. R*
saroro saro "all". Nevertheless
 one could attach *M. sārā*
 the large group of which
Skr. sārā is one of the
 representative and parti-
 cularly, despite the dif-
 rence of meaning to *La*
solus, *Got. sels* "good, apt
 cf. Walde, in the article
satus.
sārkhā sārkhā adj. "simila-
 equal". *G. sarkhun*,
sarkho, *H. sārkhā sārkhā*
sārka; *Pkt. sārkhā*-. —
 143, *CF. M. sarsā*.
sārī f. "thrush, *turdus salica*
H. sār, *Sim. sālā*, *hālā*. *Pk*
sarī. *Skr. sārīkā* f. — \$ 4
 140.
sāl f. "bark, skin"; *G. chāl*
 "skin, peel, bark, cover"
S. chil (*u*), *Panj. chāl*
 "bark, husk"; *H. chāl*
chālā m. "skin, bark"; *I*
chal "morsel". *Desi. cha*
teak (120, 8). — \$ 104, 14
sāv, *sāu*, m. "banker, respec-
 able man". *G. sāhu*, *sā*
S. sāhu, *Panj. sāu*, *H. sāl*

“respectable, banker”, *sāu*
 “docile, innocent”, K. *sōu*
 “rich”, Pkt. *sāhu-* Skr.
sādhu- — \$ 46, 55, 156, 161.
āmo f. “muscle”. Different
 treatment in Pkt. *nāru-*
nāu- P. *nāra-* and Sim.
naharaya- Skr. *snayu-* f. n.
 — \$ 157.
āmar f. “bombax heptaphy-
 llum”. G. *samar*, Panj.
sambhal. Desi. *samari sālmalī*
 (282, 2). Cf. under *semvri*.
 — \$ 46, 77, 142, 152.
 Did M. *sāvaritu* m. Panj.
savāndri “neighbour”. Skr.
sāmanta- m. — \$ 38, 46, 121,
 152, 156.
avī f. “shadow” *sāvat* f.
 “shady-spot”. The original
 word **sav-* of whom only
 derivatives found in Marathi
 is found in G. *chāmī*, S.
chām, *chāmī*, Panj. H.
chām, Sim. *se* (is used in
 compounds for forming
 adverb : *suvā-se* “happily”,
ese “thus”). Skr. *chayā* f.
 — \$ 46, 90, 103.
avai n. f. “big branch of
 palm-tree” *sāvi* f. “small
 or medium size branch of
 cocoanut & palm-tree” Desi.
sāhūti... *sākha* (292, 1).
 Probably derived from Skr.
sākha f. — \$ 46, 55.
ānvīa adj. “of clear comple-
 xion; purple”. Only mean-
 ing. G. *sāmīu*, S. *sāmīlo*
sāmīro, Panj. H. *sāvīa*
 “sombre”; cf. Panj. *sāvā*
 “green, grey”, Sim. *sam*
 “black”. Skr. *syāmala-*
 (*syāma-*). — \$ 46, 152, 157.
ava sāmva m. “millet”. Skr.
syāmāka- m. — \$ 152, 157.
āsta m. “father-in-law”. G.
sasto “in compound”

sāsar-), S. *sahuro*, Panj.
sahura sahrā, H. B. O. *sasar*,
 Ro. *sasto sas'ro*, cf. Sim.
hura “brother-in-law”. Skr.
svāsura- m. — \$ 50, 157.
sāsu f. “mother-in-law”. G.
sāsu, S. *sasu*, Panj. *sassu sass*,
 H. B. O. *sās*, Sim. *suhul*,
 Greek Ro. *sasuy*. P. Pkt.
sassu. Skr. *svāsu-* f. — \$ 47,
 50, 157.
sāhīem “to suffer, to endure”.
 G. S. Panj. H. K. *sah-* Pkt.
 Skr. *sah-* — \$ 52, 156, 159.
sāhan san adj. “small, thin”. S.
sāho, Sim. *sumga*, Ro. *sano*.
 Pkt. *sāha-*. Skr. *ślakṣana-*.
 — \$ 136, 157.
sai f. “unhusked rice”. G.
sāliyūm, *sai*, H. *sai*, Sim.
hal, al “standing paddy”.
 P. Pkt. *sāli-* Skr. *śālī-* m.
 — \$ 145, 156.
sai f. “school, workshop”. G.
sai, Panj. *sāla* f. H. B. O.
sai, Maith. *sar*, K. *hal*
 “covered market, house”,
 Sim. *sal hal* “market-place”.
 Pkt. *sāla*. Skr. *śāla* f. — \$
 145, 156.
sāla m. “brother-in-law”. G.
sālo, S. *sālo*, Panj. H. B.
sāla, Ro. *salo*. Skr. *śāla-* m.
 — \$ 46, 145, 157.
sai f. “porcupine”. Panj. *salla*
 “ratoo”, G. *saliyo*, Sim.
sala, “porcupine-quill”.
 Skr. *śalya-*, *śallaka* are not
 the direct prototypes, as is
 shown by the cerebral i
 — \$ 156.
siknem siknem “to learn”. G.
sikhūm, S. *sikhū*, Panj.
sikhina, H. *sikhina*, K. *hēchun*,
 Ro. *sik-*; Sim. *hak* “study”.
 Pkt. *sikkhai*. Skr. *sikṣati*. —
 \$ 89, 96, 156, 252, 254.
sikem n. “chord for hanging

siṅga m. "holi or the month of holi". Deśi. *atra sugimhaa phalgunotsava iti sugrīsmāka śabdabhavaḥ; diśyate cāyam samskṛte; yad Bhāmahaḥ sugrīsmāko na diśta iti* (287, 17). Skr. *sugrīma-* m. — \$ 138, 167.
sīras m. "mimosa". Panj. *siris*. *sirīṇḥ*, H. *siris*, *siras*, *sirā*. Pkt. *sirisa-*. Skr. *sirisa-* m. — \$ 42, 156.
siṇem "to touch". G. H. *chu-*. S. Panj. *chuh-*, B. *chum-*. Pkt. *chivasi chihai*. P. Skr. *chupati*. — \$ 253.
siṇem "to sew". G. *siṇum*, S. *sibān*, Panj. *siṇa* (caus. *siṇāna*), H. *siṇa*, B. *siṇe*, K. *siṇun*, Ro. *siṇa*. cf. Deśi. *siṇi tatha siṇiṇi sucti* (284, 3). Skr. *siṇyati* — \$ 152, 156.
siṇa m. "light sprinkling". Deśi. *sarivā* (cf. M. *sarā* "heavy shower") *tatha siḥarao āsarāḥ* (276, 9). Or. from Skr. *kṣip*? — \$ 55.
siṇsāv m. "rose-wood, dal-bergia siṇso". G. *siṇam*, Panj. *siṇu siṇam*; H. *siṇo*. Skr. *siṇśapa* f. — \$ 152, 156.
siṇem siṇem n. "lead". G. *siṇum* n., S. *siṇu*, H. *sis*, *siṇa*. Skr. *siṇa* n. — \$ 156.
siṇa adj. "settled, cold". G. *siṇum*, H. Panj. *siṇa*, S. *siṇu*, Ro. *siṇalo*, for ex. Sim. *hila* *hal*. Skr. *siṇala-*. — \$ 63, 145, 156.
sim post position "with". See words cited on p. 199. Skr. *sahita*. — \$ 65, 66, 156, 183, 193, 198.
simk f. "sneezing". G. H. *chimk*, S. *chik*, Panj. *chikk*, Ro. *cik*, cf. K. *chih*. Deśi. *chikkam spisiam ksulam ca*

objects". G. *siṇkum* m. Skr. *siṇka-* n. — \$ 93, 156.
siṇg *siṇg* n. "corn". G. *siṇg*, S. *siṇu*, Panj. *siṇg*, H. *siṇg*, K. *hēng*, Sim. *siṇgu* *siṇa*, Ro. *siṇg*. Pkt. *siṇga-*. Skr. *siṇga-* n. — \$ 30, 31, 156.
siṇga m. "young horse, colt". Deśi. *siṇgao tanaḥ* (284, 15).
siṇicnem "to water, to sprinkle". G. *siṇicnum* Panj. *siṇiṇa*, H. *siṇa siṇca* Skr. *siṇcati*. — \$ 101.
siṇgāda m. "trapa bispinosa". G. *siṇgōdum*, Panj. H. *siṇgāda*. Pkt. *siṇgāda*. Skr. *siṇgāṭaka-* m. *siṇem siṇem* "in the process of being cooked, to be agitated". G. S. H. *siṇ-*, Panj. *siṇh-*; Sim. *id-* "to mature". Pkt. *siṇhai*. Skr. *siḍhyate*. — \$ 89, 156.
siṇd f. "wild date-tree". Deśi. *siṇdi tatha siṇdoli kharijuri* (284, 3).
siṇdal siṇal siṇal adj. "licentious". G. Panj. H. *siṇal*. Deśi. *siṇno tatha siṇiṇalo jarah*; ... *siṇiṇa* *siṇiṇali* *siṇiṇi* (121, 12). Skr. *siṇa-*. Cf. the following for the dental, cf. M. *siṇicnem*. — \$ 103, 123, 136, 145.
siṇa adj. "separate, distinct". G. S. *siṇu*, Panj. *siṇu*, H. *siṇu*, K. *chēn*, Ro. *cin-*, "to cleave, to uproot"; Sim. *part. sun*. Skr. *siṇa-*. — \$ 135.
siṇpi m. "tailor" (name of caste). Sim. *siṇa* "art, work of art", *siṇi* "artiste". Pkt. *siṇpino* gen. Skr. *siṇpin-* *siṇpika-* m. — \$ 125, 156.

sis m. "head". G. *sis*, S. *sisu*,
 Pany. H. *sis*, Sim. *sis his*,
 Arm. Ro. *sis*. Pkt. *sis*-
sis-a. Skr. *śiṣa*-n. — \$ 156.
sis n. "unripe fruit of cucurbi-
 taceous". Desi. *keci chi-*
chayam salatu phalam ahuh
 (125, 5). Skr. *śiṣa*-n. ?
 — \$ 156.
śil f. "stone (chiefly flat stone
 for washing and ironing)".
 Pany. *sil*, S. *śir* f. and K.
śiru "brick". Pany. H. *sil*,
 B. O. *śil*, Sim. *sal, sala, sel,*
sela, hela hal, "mountain,
 rock". P. Pkt. *śila*. Skr.
śila f. — \$ 156.
śil n. "nature, disposition,
 good nature". G. *śil*, S.
śilum, śiru, Pany. H. *sil*,
 Sim. *sil*. P. Pkt. *śila*. Skr.
śila-n. — \$ 145, 156.
śu f. "needle". G. *soy*, S.
 Pany. H. Maith. *śu*, Sim.
hīndu idi - ? Ro. *su*. Pkt.
śu. Skr. *śu* f. — \$ 44, 64,
 156.
śu, *śu* m. "parrot". G.
śu, H. Pany. *śu*, Sim.
śu. Skr. *śu*-m. — \$ 55,
 156.
śu m. "cook". H. *śu*, Sim.
śu. Skr. *śu*-m. — \$ 44,
 64, 156, 258.
śu adj. "dry". G.
śu, S. *śu*, Pany. *śu*,
 H. *śu*, K. *hokh*, Ro.
śu, Sim. Pkt. *śu*. — \$ 44,
 89, 93, 156, 231.
śu "to smell, to sniff".
 G. *śu*, Pany. *śu*, Ro.
śu. Desi. *śu*. — \$ 89.
 (Dhatup.) *śinghati*. — \$

(125, 4); cf. Pkt. part. *chīyamaṇa*. Skr. *chikka* f. — S 93, 103.
ṣiṭ f. "bird-dropping". Pany. *ṣiṭ* "act of throwing, of lifting", H. *ṣiṭh* "ordure, spittle of beetle", Sim. *ḥatya* "sort, character". Pkt. *ṣiṭhi*-. Skr. *ṣiṣṭi*-. To be separated from Pany. *ṣeṭh* "residue of sugar-cane", H. *ṣiṭh* "residue of indigo", from *ṣiṣṭa*-. — S 30, 31, 88, 156.
ṣin m. "lassitude", *ṣinim* "weary". Sim. *sun* "annihilation"? rather un-doubtedly, as *sun* "cut", from *chinna*-, old M. *ṣina*; Cf. Sim. *hunu* "cement" from *cūna*-, old M. *cuna*. Skr. *ṣina*-. — S 135, 156.
ṣit n. "grain of boiled rice, rice offering. H. *siṭh*. Skr. *ṣikha*-. m. n. — S 88, 156. *ṣit* n. "bow-string". Desi. *ṣiṭha lala jīva ca* (292, 6). — S 88.
ṣir *ṣir* n. "head". G. Pany. H. *ṣir*, S. *ṣiru* m., Ro. *ṣero*. Pkt. *ṣira*-. Skr. *ṣiras*-. n. — S 156.
ṣil n. "breach, place of the river where a barrage is desired to be constructed." Pany. *chill* "skin, bark" (cf. *challa*); Pany. *chilla*, H. *chilla* "to peel a fruit, to decorate". Desi. *chillam chidram kuit ca* (124, 18). — S 141.
ṣiv G. "bank, limit". G. *ṣim*. "end", *ṣeḍo seḍho* "limit", Pany. *ṣim* *ṣim*, H. *ṣima*, *ṣim*, Sim. *ṣim*, *hima*, *ima*. Pkt. Skr. *ṣima* f. S 156. To be separated from *ṣeu* m., see S. V.

abundance of seasm." *Deśi.*
suggam almakuṣalam niviṅgh-
nam... (292, 16). *Maḍe*
 on the model of *Pkt. dugga-*
 from *Skr. durgā-*. — \$ 44,
 98, 156.
sugum sugam adj. "easy". *Skr.*
sugama-. — \$ 76.

suñiem "to relax, to become
 undone". *G. chuiyum*, *S.*
chuiānu, *Panj. chuiṇā*, *H.*
chuiṇā. *Pkt. chuijā-*, *part.*
 of *choḍei*. *root. chui-* (*chedane*)
 — \$ 103.

suḍāvañiem "to dash". *Pkt.*
chūḍhā-. *Skr. kṣudhā-*. — \$

231.
suñiem n. "dog". *H. suṇā*, *K.*
hūn. *Pkt. suṇāha-*, *suṇā-*;
P. sunakka-. *Skr. suṇaka-* m.

— \$ 156.
sutar m. "carpenter". *Skr.*
sūtradhāra- m. — \$ 156.

sumḍiem "to crush". *G. chund-*
vum. *Pkt. chundai*. *Skr.*
kṣodati kṣunatti. — \$ 104,

230.
sudā sudhā "correct, good". *G.*
sudhum, *S. sudhi*, *Panj.*
suddhā, *H. sudh*, *Sim. sudu*
hudu, *K. sōd*; *Ro. sul-av-*

"to clean". *Skr. suddha-*.
 — \$ 89, 156.

sunā adj. "empty". *G. sunum*,
S. sun f. "insensibility,
 torpor", *suṇo*, *Sim. sun*,
hun. *P. Pkt. sunna-* *sunna-*, *P.*
sunna-. *Skr. sunya-*. — \$

44, 135, 156.
sunib n. m. "twists of the fibrous
 integuments of coca-nut".
Panj. subb "twisted tobacco";
Ro. selo "chord" is to be
 kept aside. *Pkt. subba-*. *Skr.*
subba- n. — \$ 127, 156.

surāng m. "mine". *H. Bih.*
surang, *B. suḍang*, *S. siringha-*
Skr. suruṅga suraṅga — \$ 156.

surān m. "edible root, arum
 campanulatum". *G. surān*
n., *S. surānu*, *H. suran*, *soran*.
Deśi. suraṇo kandaḥ (288, 9).
Skr. surāṇa- n. — \$ 156.

surā m. "knife". *G. charo*, *G.*
S. H. churi, *Panj. H. churā*,
B. chora, *Ro. curi*; *K. khūr*
 "razor", isolated, contra-
 dicts the doctrine explained
 in — \$ 104, *Pkt. chura-*.
Skr. kṣura- m. — \$ 104.

susar f. "alligator". *S. sesāru*,
Panj. sisar, *W. Panj. sisar*,
H. susmar, *sus*. *Pkt. susumāra-*
suinsumāra-. *Skr. siṃśumāra-*
 m. — \$ 156, 166.

suk m. "Venus". *Panj. suk*,
H. suk. *Skr. sukra-* m. — \$

\$ 93, 156.
sumih f. "ginger". *H. G.*
sumih, *sumih*, *S. sumḍhi*, *Panj.*
sumḍh, *H. somi*, *B. O.*
sumih, *K. somi*. *Skr. sunhi-*
 f. — \$ 110, 156.

sut m. "yarn". *G. sutar*, *S.*
suṭu, *Panj. H. B. O. sut*,
Sim. suta. *Pkt. sutta-*. *Skr.*
sūtra- n. — \$ 121, 156, 187.

sun f. "daughter-in-law". *H.*
sunu (has undoubtedly taken
 the final of the more fre-
 quently used *bahu* *Skr.*
vadhū-), but *S. nuhum*
nuham *Panj. nuḥm*. *Pkt. sunha*
 beside *ṇhusa suṣa*. *Skr. snuṣa*
 — \$ 136, 137.

sup n. "winnowing basket".
H. sup, *G. supḍum*, *S. supu*.
Skr. supa n. — \$ 125, 156.

sur m. "note of music". *G. H.*
sur, *S. suru*, *Panj. sur*, *K.*
sor "breath". *Skr. stara* m.
 — \$ 76, 157.

sur f. "spirituous liquor". *Skr.*
sura f. — 156.

sul m. "hook". *G. sul*, *sul*,
Panj. H. sul, *Sim. sul*, *hula*,

ul; K. holu "hooked (wire etc.)". P. Pkt. sula. Skr. sula m. n. — \$ 145, 156. sem, "hundred". G. so, sem, S. sau, Pany. H. sau, sai, B. saye, O. sae, Maith. sai. Sim. siya, K. hat, Ro. sel. Pkt. saa sayā. Skr. sāta. n. \$ 39, 62, 66, 155, 156, 224. segat, cegva m. "moringa pterygosperma". Skr. sigru- m. — \$ 39, 156. sey. f. "bed". G. sey, sayj, S. Pany. H. sej, H. O. sayā, Sim. anda? Pkt. sejā. Skr. sayā f. — \$ 77, 106, 156, 166. sey f. "woman-neighbour", sejhār ceyār m. "neighbour- hood". Desi. sayjho prati- vestmikah; sayjhiām tu prativestyan (175, 11). sei seih seihi sei m. title of respect given to bankers & merchants. G. seih. S. seihi, Pany. H. seih, Sim. hitu. Pkt. seihi-; Desi. seihi grāmesāh (288, 17). Skr. sresihin- m. K. seihāh "much", Sim. seiu "noble" go back to Skr. sresihā- — \$ 77, 89, 110, 157. sendā m. "head, end", sendi f. "wick, crest". Desi. chimdām cūda... chimdām ity api (124, 19), chemdā sikhā... (126, 1). Skr. sikhanda- m. \$ 63, 111, 156, 161. sm. n. "cow-dung". S. chemu, cheno. Skr. chagana- m. n. \$ 103. senai seni senai, name of a group of Brahmins, See M. senarai. m. "general". cf. Pkt. vānaravai. Skr. sena- pati- m. Cf. m. dāti (dala- pati-) see under this word;

surve (surapati-). — \$ 58, 77, 152, 156, 193. set n. "shield". S. khet, Pany. H. B. O. khet, K. khit, Sim. ketu; on the other hand G. khet, S. khetu, H. kheda, See also in M. khedem. Pkt. chetta-khetta-. Skr. ksetra- n. — \$ 77, 104, 194. sendinem "to make small inci- sions". Sim. sindinaṇa "to uproot". Pkt. chinai. Skr. chinatti. Cf. m. sinda, sindai. — \$ 80, 103, 230. sendur m. "minium", sendra adj. "colour of minium". S. sindhuru, H. sendur, Bib. senur, Ass. sendur sindur. Pkt. sindura, sendura. Skr. sindura- m. — \$ 80, 156. sep semp m. "tail". Pkt. cheppa, Pkt. Desi. (125, 4; cf. 122, 8) chippa-. Skr. śepa- m. — \$ 102. semba m. semb sem f. "mucus flowing from the nose of horse". H. sembha, Sim. sem, sema. Pkt. simbha, sembha, P. silesuma-semha-. Skr. slesman- m. — \$ 88, 127, 157. sera m. "end, extremity". Pany. H. sirā "diadem, crown", K. hyor, "at the top, above". Pkt. sirāra-. Skr. sikhara- m. n. — \$ 63, 156, 161. sev m. g. "cut in a palm tree to make the juice flow". H. chev, cheo, S. chehu. Pkt. chea- Skr. cheda- m. — \$ 55, 63, 77, 103. sev m. "bank, extremity", sevai m. n. "end". G. sevai chevai "end", chek f. "end", adv. "entirely, very"; S. chehu; see H. chee "at the end", H. sevai "extremity, conclusion" Desi. should be a loan.

cheo anto (125, 14). This word, as also the preceding one should be distinguished from *M. siv.*

senuti f. "rosa glandulifera, *salvia indica*." G. *seuti*, Pany. H. *seoti*. D. *simantayam* (286, 8). Skr. *simantika* f. — \$ 71, 121, 152, 156.

senuri f. "bombax". G. *simlo*, Pany. *simbal*, H. *semal*, *simbal*, B. O. *simul*, Sim. *imbul*. Pkt. *simbali*. Skr. *śalmali* — \$ 77, 142, Cf. M. *sāmvar*.

śeldūm n. *śeti* f. "she-goat, billy-goat". H. *chela*, *chera*. Desi. *chela* *chagah*; *kāpra*-*tyagābhāve chelo ity api* (123, 10); Pkt. *chala*. Skr. *chagala*-M. — \$ 62, 103, 145.

sair adv. "freely, without restriction". Pkt. *saira*, cf. Desi. *sairavasaho dharmaya tyakto vīśabhah* (282, 9). Skr. *svāra*. — \$ 57, 157.

sond f. "trunk of elephant". G. *sund*, *sundh*, S. *sundhi*, Pany. B. *sund*, H. *sund*, Sim. *sonda*, *sonda*, P. *sonda*. Skr. *śunda* f. — \$ 80, 111, 156.

sodien "to loosen, to release". G. S. H. *chod*, Pany. *chud*, Ro. *cor* "to pour". Pkt. *chodei*. Skr. *choiyati*. — \$ 103.

sonem "gold" n., *son-vani* "gold-water" (medicine), *sona* adj. "gilded" (appellation of a child). G. *sonum*, S. *sonu*, Pany. H. *sona*, B. *sona*, O. *suna*, Sim. *suva*, K. *son*, Ro. *sona* - *sorna*. Skr. *suvarna* - n. — \$ 78, 156.

sonipnem, *sopnem* "to entrust". G. *sonipvum*, H. *saumpna*. Pkt. *samoppha* - part. . Skr. *samar-*

payati. — \$ 125, 153, 156. *solnem* "to peel". G. H. *chol*, Ro. *col*. Pkt. *chollai* "to rub". Cf. m. *colnem*? — \$ 103. *soyā* m. "a relation by alliance, friend". Skr. *sahodara*, *sodara*? — \$ 54, 156.

somval, *somal* adj. "fragile, tender". Sim. *sivumali*, "tender". Desi. *somalam*, *sukumāram*; *somallam* *saukumāram*; *elau śabdabhaṇau* (290, 3); Pkt. *suumara*. Skr. *sukumāra*, *contaminated with sukumala*; the o causes a difficulty in any case. see \$ 64. — \$ 138, 140, 145, 152, 156.

sos m. "envy, violent desire". G. *sos* "acute thirst, desire, S. *sos* "anxiety"; Pany. *sos* "dry". Skr. *śosa* - m. — \$ 78, 156.

soja "sixteen". G. *sol*, S. *soramham* Pany. *solam*, H. *Maith. solah*, B. *sol*, O. *sohal*, Sim. *sojasa*, K. *surah*. Pkt. *sojasa*, Apa. *sojaha soja*. Skr. *śodasa*. — \$ 78, 146, 156, 221.

stā, *ta* postpos. "because of, for". See — \$ 198. Cf. \$ 276.

hakānem "to call", *hakkar* m. "cry, appeal". G. *hakārum*, *hakārum*, H. *hakārna*, B. *hāmkite*, Pany. *hak hakkal* "call", G. *hakar*, "a cry of animal." Pkt. *hakkārai*. Cf. Skr. *hakkayati*. — \$ 93.

hagem "to discharge excrement, to throw". G. *hagvum*, *hānganu*, Pany. *haggā*, H. *hagna*. Cf. Skr. *hadati*. — \$ 252.

hajar "1000". Persian *hazar* borrowed almost every-

where in India. See — S

224.

hai hai m. "market, bazar". G.

hai f. n. S. *hai*, Pany. *hai*.

hai f. H. B. *hai hai* f. K.

aih m. Pkt. Skr. *hai* m.

— S 48.

hādākeni "to strike (for crush-

ing)" *hādāseni* "to draw

violently". G. *hādsetum* "to

push violently". Skr. root

haih-, *haiha*- m. — S 46,

169.

hadda m. *hadden* n. "shackle,

embarrassment". B. *hadi*.

Buddh. Skr. *hadi*- — S 46,

111.

hāndī f. "pot". S. H. *hāndī*,

G. Pany. H. O. *hāndī*. B.

hāndī. Huen-Tsang *utakia*

hancha. i. e. **udaka-hānda*-,

the *Waihand* (see Stein

Raj. II, 338). Skr. *hāndikā*,

hādīkā f. Cf. *bhānda*- m.

— S 159.

hanien "to strike". G. *hanzun*,

S. *hanu*. H. *hanna*. Pkt.

hana. Skr. *hanti*, *hanana*- n.

— S 46, 159, 229.

hambaren "to low", *hambardā*

m. "lowing". Skr. *hambha*

f. — S 89, 138, 169.

haran m. n. "antelope". G.

haran n., S. *haru*, Pany. *haru*,

H. *harin*, *harin*, *haran*, *hitan*,

B. *harin*. Skr. *harina*- m.

— S 42, 46, 159.

harin *harin*, "to carry off,

to uproot, to lose". G. S.

Pany. H. B. Sim. K.

(meaning of "to grow")

har-. Pkt. Skr. *har*-. — S 46,

49.

haryā m. f. "small green

serpent". G. *harum* *harum*

haryalum "green". S.

haryāli *haryāli* *haryāni*

fresh", Pany. *hara harā*

"green, fresh; parrot"

harāla "verdant", H. *haryā*

harila "verdant", H. *haryā*

"green pigeon", B. *halida*

"turtle-dove". Pkt. *harila*-

halitara- Skr. *haritāla*- "green

pigeon", n. "ornament";

harita- "green". — S 46, 63,

75, 141, 145.

hasnien *hasnien* "to laugh, to

ridicule". G. *has*-, S. *has*-,

Pany. *hass*-, H. *has*- *hans*-,

H. *has*- *hans*-, Sim. *has*-, K.

Eur. Ro. *as*-, Arm. Ro.

xas-. Pkt. *hasa*-, *hasai*-, Skr.

hans-. — S 46, 71, 156.

halad f. "Indian saffron, ter-

meric. G. *halad*, *halidar*, Pany.

haldhi *haladar*, H. B. O.

haldi, B. *halud*, Sim. *haladu*;

Cf. K. *ledor* "yellow". Pkt.

halidda, *haladda*. Skr. *haridra*.

— S 42, 46, 52, 75, 123,

141.

hal m. "plough". G. *hal*, S.

haru, Pany. *hal*, H. *har hal*

hal, K. *ala*. Skr. *hala*- m. n.

— S 145.

halhai f. "anxiety". G. *halmaj*

"agitated". Desi. *halahalani*

tumulaḥ kautukam ca (299,

10). Cf. under M. *halien*.

— S 48.

halis m. n. *halas* m. f. "beam

of plough". S. *hala* f.; H.

halas, *hars* f. Skr. *haleśa*,

halisa f. — S 40, 145.

halu halka adj. "light". G.

halu hale, H. *halu*, "lightly";

G. *halkum*, S. *halke*, Pany. B.

H. *halka* "light". Pkt.

halua-. Skr. *laghu*-. — S 46,

145, 167. Cf. M. *lahulahan*.

ha adj. "he, him". Desi. *aha*

asa (4, 19). Cf. for the initial

G. *ahē* (*ahiyām* "here"). S

- hū*, H. *wuh*, Ro. *ov* is not fool proof. Should be distinguished in any case. H. Panj. K. *yih*, arm. Ro. *hev*, and for example G. *ahe*, from Pkt. *ehu*, Skr. *eṣa*. The aspiration recalls that of P. *h-evam*, Asoka *h-edisa*. — § 58, 160, 203, 276.
- hāmknem*, *hāknem*, *haknem* “to drive”. G. H. B. *hām*-, Panj. *hakk*-. Pkt. *hakkai* “to push-back”. — § 48, 69.
- hātñem* “to break, to chop”. Pkt. *parihaṭṭai*. — § 47.
- hād* n. “bone”. G. H. *hād*, S. *hadu*, Panj. B. *hād* *hadd*, K. *aḍijū*, Sim. *āta*, Palestinian Ro. *har*. Deśi. *haddam asthi* (193, 13). Pkt. *aṭṭhi*-. Skr. *asthi*- n. “bone”, *aṣṭi*- f. “kernel”. — § 110, 112, 168, 188.
- hān* f. “loss, damage”. G. Panj. *hān*, S. *hāni*, H. *hāni* *hān*, K. *hōni*-. f. Skr. *hāni*- f. — § 134.
- hāt* m. “hand, arm”. G. H. *hāth*, S. *hathu*, Panj. *hatth* *hāth*, Nep. Bih. B. O. *hāt*, Sim. *ata at*, K. *atha*, Arm. Ro. *hath ath*, Palestinian Ro. *hast*, Eur. Ro. *vast*. Pkt. *hattha*-. Skr. *hasta*- m. — § 88, 122, 169.
- hatti* m. “elephant”, *hattin* f. G. S. Panj. H. *hāthi*, H. B. O. *hātī*, K. *host*“, Sim. *ātā* m. *ātini* f., Pkt. *hatthi*. Skr. *hastin*- m. *hastini* f. — § 40, 122, 169.
- hālñem* “to move, to stir”, *halñem* *halhālñem* “to stir, to tremble from over excitement”. G. *hālvūm* to move”. S. *halṇu* “to go”, Panj. *hallnā*, H. *hālnā* “to shake”; G. *halphalvum* “to stir”, S. *halhali* “instablity”, Panj. *hall halhalāṭ* “shaking”; H. “*halphal*” haste, confusion K. *al^arācun* “to shake”. Deśi *halliam calitam* (194, 16); *hallapphaliam śighrārtham* (293, 13) Cf. m. *halhāl*. — § 47.
- himṅ* m. “assa foetida”. G. Panj. *himṅ*, S. *hiṇu*, H. *himṅ*, *himṅū*, B. *him*. Skr. *hiṅgu*- m. — § 39.
- himṅul* m. “vermillion”. G. *himṅlo*, S. *himṅulū*, H. *himṅul*, B. *himṅul*, Sim. *imṅul*. P. Skr. *hiṅgula*- m. n. — § 40, 50.
- himḍulā* *himḍolā* m. “craddle”. G. *hindolo*, S. *hindoro*, H. *hindulā*, B. *hemdlā*, Sim. *idolu*. Skr. *hindola*- m. § 145.
- hiyyā* m. “courage ardour”, old M. *hiyem* n. “heart”. G. *haiyum*, S. *himāmu*, Panj. *hām* *hiyām*, *hiyūm*, H. B. O. *hiyā*, Ro. *yilo*; Sim. *la* (Pkt. **hādaa*). Pkt. *hīaa*-. Skr. *hṛdaya*- n. — § 30, 31.
- hirḍā* m. “green myrobolan”. S. *harir harir*, Panj. *harad* *harid*, H. *harrā*, *har*, *harrai*, *harlā*, *hardā*. Skr. *haritakī* f. — § 75, 141.
- hilagnem* “to be suspended at, to hang”. H. *hilagnā*. Skr. *abhilagna*-. — § 149, 159, 174.
- himu* n. “cold, cold fever”. Panj. *hium* f. “snow”; elsewhere the *tatsama* : G. B. *him*, H. *him* *himā*. Skr. n. *hima*. — § 152.
- himsñem* *hisñem* “neigh”. S. *himkṇu*, H. *himsnā*, Panj. *himgnā* “to bray” *himkṇā* “to neigh”. Deśi. *hikkiam tathā hisamaṇam heṣāravaḥ* (297,

7). Skr. *heate* Cf. M. *hesnem*
— § 70, 80.
hukūm m. "order". Panj.
hukam etc. Arabic *hukm*
— § 76, 102.
het adv. "below". G. Panj.
H. *heṭh*. S. *heṭhi*. B. *hem*.
Sim. *yata*. Pkt. *heṭṭhā*. Buddh.
Skr. *heṣṭā heṣṭhā*; Skr. *ad-*
hastāt. — § 39, 88, 110.
hesnem "to neigh". Pkt. *hesia-*
Skr. *heate*. § 70, 80. Cf.
M. *himnem*.
helā adv. "easily". G. *helāmām*
"easily", *heli* "instead."
Deśi. *helā vegah* (298, 9);
Pkt. instr. *helāa*. Skr. *helayā*.
— § 61, 193.
helnem "to look down upon".
Bg. *helite*. Sk. *helana-* n.—
§ 142, 145.
hoṭ homṭ m. "lip". G. *hoṭh*,

S. *hūmṭhu*. Panj. H. *hoṭh*.
B. *thomṭ*. Pkt. *hoṭṭha*. Skr.
oṣṭha- m. — § 168, 170. see
under the word M. *oṣṭh*
hoḍ f. "bet, stake". G. S. H.
hoḍ. Deśi. *huddḍi panah* (298,
3).
honem "to be"; *hoūn*, *hūn* "cf."
G. *honem*, S. *huam* *hūm*.
Panj. *hond*. H. *hond*. B.
hoite. S. *hoibā*, Sim. *honad*.
part. *vā*, for example Ro.
u-: on the other hand K.
bāun. Pkt. *hoi*, *hoḍai*, *hozon*.
Skt. *bharati*. The radical
ho is already found indi-
rectly in the Vedic period
through *bodhi*. "I may" see
Wackernagel § 108, p. 128.
— § 71, 159, 195, 197, 202,
229, 230, 232, 237.



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